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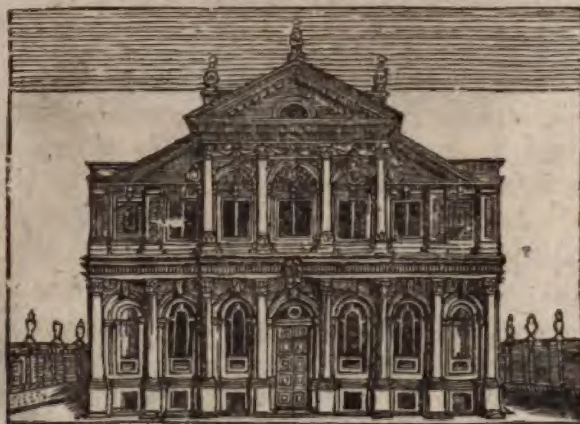
A
PRESERVATIVE
AGAINST
SOCINIANISM:

SHEWING
The Direct and Plain opposition between
It, and the Religion Revealed by
God in the Holy SCRIPTURES.

THE FIRST PART.

By JONATH. EDWARDS D.D. and
Principal of Jesus Coll. OXON.

The Third Edition.



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T H E P R E F A C E.

TH O Custom hath in some sort made it necessary to entertain the Reader with a Preface, before he enters upon the perusal of a Book, shewing the design, and the occasion of Writing of it; yet in this case I hope there will be no need, either to Court his Favour, or Mollifie his Displeasure, for undertaking the Defence of Christianity against those who are the great and dangerous opposers of it. For this being the common cause in which every man who is called by the name of Christ, having an Interest, he may I hope without begging pardon, or if he please without shewing any reason, engage in the maintenance of our holy Religion, embraced by the whole Church of God, as well as by that of which he is a Member; against all such, who shall either openly oppose, or secretly endeavour to undermine it.

Here every man is a Souldier, and by his Baptismal Vow having bin listed under Christs Banner, is obliged to fight under it, against all the Enemies of his Saviour; and such are the pernicious Opinions here represented, which carry in their forehead an open, and declared Hostility, and direct opposition to the Divinity, and the Cross of Christ. The adversaries of our Holy Religion have taken the Confidence to publish their Impious Opinions, not only without Leave, but in Opposition to the just Authority, and the known and standing Laws of this Nation: they have revised the Opinions, reprinted the Books of some former Socinian Writers, which had almost bin
forgotten

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forgotten, but they have taken care to refresh our memories; and all this hath bin done in defiance to the Government, as well as in the Face of it,

As it hath bin the occasion of trouble to all Good men, so it hath afforded matter of Wonder and Enquiry to all Considering men, to find the Nation pester'd with such numbers of Socinian Books, which have swarm'd all upon a suddain, and have bin industriously dispersed thro' all parts of the Kingdom, whereby many weak and unstable Souls have bin beguiled, and their minds corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ.

Who they are, who have bin the secret abettors and promoters of these Antichristian Doctrines as it is variously discoursed, so I shall not Curiously Enquire; least by Roaving and uncertain Conjectures, the Innocent may be mistaken for the Criminals. Only this I think is so evident, that it may be taken for granted; That since there have bin no considerable numbers of men formerly, that we know of, who have openly and avowedly professed the Impious tenents of Socinus; They must have lain lurking under some other outward name and profession, watching the first and most convenient opportunity to divulge their Opinions, which for some just and weighty reasons no doubt, they thought fit for some time to stifle and conceal. I think there are scarce any among us so foolish as to imagine, that like Cadmus his Off-Spring (tho' without doubt the old Serpent hath had no small hand in this Affair) these men should spring out of the Ground; or as some have fancied of Woodcocks, that they have dropped out of the Clouds among us: it is therefore beyond all doubt, that they have lain hid and disguised under the denomination of some other Sect or Party, and Profession.

But among other persons or parties concerned in this Affair, it would be a Miracle, greater than any of late years pretended to be wrought in France for the Conversion of the poor Hugonots there, if the Papists should not be engaged in it: who never as yet have stood by as unconcerned Spectators, when any mischief was in contrivance against our Church: But have always watched, and laid hold on the fittest opportunity, of sowing and increasing Divisions among us; and who have by a late experiment sufficiently convinced the World, that they have a much better Talent at Unsetling and Disturbing

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Disturbing our Religion, than in Establishing and Defending their own.

Without question it must afford matter of no small sport and entertainment to them, to find a Generation of Men, or Vipers rather shall I call them? risen up in their stead, who may tho by different methods, at length perfect that design which they have bin long since projecting; viz. the Ruine of this poor Church, and the destruction of that Holy and Excellent Religion, which by Gods Right Hand hath bin Established, and hitherto wonderfully preserved among us.

But whatever the Causes have bin of this suddain Appearance of Socinianism, or whoever were the Authors that have secretly and in masquerade, abetted and encouraged it; much of which lies as yet in the dark; the pernicious effects of it have bin, and are, at this day too Visible. The minds of men, as we said before, throughout the Nation being strangely corrupted; Infidelity and Scepticism universally prevailing. Some deriding all Religion, which they either laugh at as the effect of Folly and Superstition, or detest as a meer Cheat and Contrivance of some Cunning and designing men.

Others profess themselves Enemies to Revealed Religion, speak opprobriously of the Holy Scriptures, deride the Sacred Pen-men of them, and make but a jest of any thing that is said in vindication of their Authority and Inspiration.

A Third sort seem to own, and profess to believe the Bible, yet oppose, nay not only so but Ridicule all the Great Mysteries of our Religion; such as are the Doctrines concerning the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Redemption of the World by the Merit of his Death and Sufferings; the belief of which has bin hitherto looked upon to be the Badge and Mark whereby Christians have bin distinguished from Jews and Mahometans.

Lastly, a Fourth sort there are (for you must know there are several Ranks and Orders of these Enemies of our Religion) who receive the Holy Scriptures as we do, and Believe, at least they tell us they do so, all the Great Mysteries of our Faith contained there; but yet at the same time they take care to let us know, that the belief of these is not necessary. So that whether you are a Believer or an Infidel in these matters, it makes no great difference;

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rence; forasmuch as the Honour of God, the Welfare of Religion, and the Salvation of your own Soul, is not concerned either one way or other. And if so, I am sure no wise man ought to trouble himself, much less to give others any Trouble about such Trifling and Inconsiderable Opinions. And these I look upon to be the greatest and most dangerous of all the forementioned Enemies, forasmuch as by the Observation of all Ages, it hath bin found a much surer and speedier way, to ruin any cause by betraying than opposing it; and that you may much easier guard your self from the Open Hostility of a professed Enemy, than from the Treachery and falshood of a pretended Friend.

To prevent therefore if it be possible, (and I hope it is not too late to Attempt it) the Growth and Progress of that Infidelity which is to be found in many; That Coldness and Indifference about the Great and Sacred Mysteries of our Religion, which is to be observed in others; All which are the blessed effects of Socinianism; and which seem to have diffused themselves among all Orders and Ranks of men among us, beyond the Example of former times; It hath bin Judged an adviseable course, to shew the plain and direct opposition, that is between the Doctrines of Socinus and those which are revealed by the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures, and especially in the Writings of the New Testament. And this, among such especially who have not extinguished all Regard for Religion, may, as it is hoped, be of some good use, to fortify them against the Infection of these pernicious Errors, which have already spread like a Gangrene.

Our Writers generally have bin Employed, and that very Commendably, and for the most part with great success, in vindicating our Holy Religion, from the Bold and Impudent Cavils of these Hereticks; and so have stood upon the Defensive part. Now it may be thought, for many good Reasons, adviseable, to make an Offensive War upon these Infidels; and to bring it into their own Territories. That is, that the charge of Unreasonableness and Impiety, which they with Equal Falshood and Impudence, have laid at the door of the Christian Religion; should be retorted upon their New, and dangerous Opinions; which upon Examination will be found to be Opposite to Piety, Repugnant to plain Reason, and in the conclusion

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clapson such as will conduce to the Overthrow of all true Religion. And to discover this, (which I hope in some measure is done in them) is the design of these following Papers; viz. That the Religion of Socinus as opposed to Christianity is both Impious and Absurd. So that fairly to represent Socinianism will be the best method that we can take to Confute it; and rightly to state the Controversy, will be the speediest way to put an end to it.

I confess as to the point of Reason, the Socinians have laid such a claim to it, as if they did intend to Engross and Monopolize that to themselves, which yet, tho' in several degrees, is the Right and Inheritance of all mankind. And for their attainments in this, they have so magnified themselves, and have bin so undescently as well as unjustly magnified by others; that many innocent and well meaning men have bin afrasd to enter the Lists with these Sons of Anak, these Champions of Infidelity. But I dare venture to assure the Reader, he needs not fear to encounter these Giants upon the plain square of Reason, notwithstanding all their Boasts and Brags of it. And I think it may be easily made out, that in Opposition to some Important Articles of our Faith, upon pretence of their Repugnance to Reason, they have advanced some other positions, so contrary to Reason; that when they come to be compared, I believe it will be found, that there is scarce any thing in Popery, not excepting that Gross Fulsome Doctrine of Transubstantiation; which contains greater Absurdities, more opposite to, and incomprehensible by natural Reason. Particularly what they say concerning the Factitious Divinity of Chrilt, is by far more unconceivable than what the Papists aver of the change of the Elements in the Eucharist. And any man that hath abilities to judge of these matters, will upon enquiry find; that it is less Absurd and Impossible, if there are Degrees of Absurdity in Contradictions, and of difficulty in things that are Impossible; that a piece of Bread should be Transubstantiated into Flesh, than that a man should be Transformed into a God.

*In short, the Reason be the Idol of these men, yet I must desire to be excused if I do not stand in any great awe and admiration of it: and truly for my own part, I should much rather fear the Malice than the Reason of a Socinian, at any time. And I am
afraid*

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afraid, that if ever these men (Quod avertat Deus) should gain strength and numbers sufficient among us; they would prove one of the most Cruel and Sanguinary Sects, that ever yet disturbed the peace of the Church. It is not to be denied, but that they have in their Writings advanced some parts of Christian Morality to a great height, and have spoke many and deservedly great things, concerning forgiveness of injuries and patience under them, in compliance with the commands, and in Imitation of the Example of our Blessed Saviour: But I should be loath to trust a Socinian for all that; and if we were forced to make the Tryal (tho I hope we may be in no danger of the experiment) I doubt not but we should find, the forgiveness of these Men more Implacable than the Revenge of others: and that their meekness and moderation would have more terrible effects, than the rage and fury of the Arians and Donatists, in ancient times. And that the Reader may not think I utter this without ground, tho I have a great many, I will at present offer but one reason for my conjecture, and that is taken from their Boysterous, Impudent, Scurrilous way of treating the great and adorable mysteries of our Religion; which shows what usage the professors of them would in all likelihood meet, if they ever had them in their power.

The Blessed Trinity is by some of them styled Triceps Cerberus, and the doctrine concerning it they have ascribed to the Invention of the Devil, and tell us that it was fetched from Hell. Sometimes they will speak very honourably of our Saviour, but at other times, and upon other occasions so reproachfully of his divine nature, that they treat him worse than either the Jews or Romans who condemned and Crucified him. And tho they pay Divine Honour and Adoration to him, yet that doth not take off the guilt and impiety of their Sacrilegious denial, and as far as in them lies Despoiling him of his Divinity; but herein they transcribe the Copy which the Roman Souldiers before mentioned set them after his Condemnation by Pilate, who put a Crown upon his head, and a Scepter into his hand; and yet at the same time they spit in his Face and Buffeted him.

*One would think that the great and venerable mysteries of our Religion, entertained by all the Wisest, and Learnedst, and best Men and Churches, in all ages ever since Christianity was first planted in
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the World; tho they had bin Errors, yet had deserved to be treated with a little more Civility and Respect, than these men have shewed in their Writings: who have wanted something else besides a good Cause to defend: for they have wanted Modesty and Civility in the Defence of a very bad one; have wanted the Candor and ingenuity of fair adversaries; and have treated the mysteries of our Faith with such a Prostitute, and Impudent Scurrility; that we cannot well tell what reply to make to them; except in Imitation of the blessed and meek Arch-Angel Michael, we should desire God to Interpose in his own quarrel, and to rebuke the Blasphemies of these men, but to have mercy upon the Blaspemers.

To Conclude all, as there is no danger at present, God be thanked, that we should be frighted out of our Religion, so I hope we shall not be wheedled out of it, by any of the Artifices of these seducers who lye in wait to deceive; nor by any other specious pretences that they may make; no not by the pretence of Peace, which I know hath sometimes bin offered in their behalf. I confess peace is a most desirable thing, the blessings that attend it are so great that we cannot tell how sufficiently to value, and so many, that we can scarce number them. So that all humble and truly pious Christians should be content to part with any thing to obtain it.

But I must recal that last word, for upon second thoughts I find it may be too dearly purchased; as it certainly will be, when bought at the expence either of Truth or Justice; without which, Peace tho otherwise the most useful and excellent, would prove one of the most pernicious and mischievous things in the World. And when I speak of Truth I chiefly and principally mean those fundamental Truths which are treated of in these following Papers, the Belief of which has hitherto bin looked upon by most Christians, to be necessary to our Salvation: and if there be any Truths of that Importance, I hope every man will consider, that tho Peace be much to be desired, yet that it is not advisable for him to hazard his Salvation to secure it.

When all is done, the reputation of being esteemed a Peaceable and moderate man will stand a man but in little stead when he comes to appear before the Tribunal of Christ, and there to be charged with the guilt of betraying his Religion, and at the same time, the Souls

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of them committed to his charge, to endless perdition and ruin. In one word, tho Peace be so great a blessing that a man might be content to lay down his Life, yet no man should lay down his Soul for the sake of it. And tho a Pious man might in some cases' commendably submit to Death, yet no wise man, nay indeed no man not out of his wits, would venture upon Damnation to Obtain it.

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Socinianism.

IN all ages ever since the first planting of a Christian Church in the world, God for many wise reasons hath thought fit to exercise it with various and different sorts of trials. The Apostles who were immediately commissioned by Christ, and sent to teach all Nations, and thereby to bring them over to the belief and obedience of the Gospel, (according to the prediction of their blessed Master in the 10th. of *Matth.* who had forewarned them of it,) met with great and violent opposition, and that both from *Jew* and *Gentile*, who with an extraordinary zeal or rather fury, set themselves to oppress and stifle this new doctrine, if it were possible, at its first appearance, and before it had gained much ground and footing in the world.

But besides the open force with which the enemies of it endeavoured to destroy the Christian doctrine, the Apostles and other Ministers of it, met with another and more dangerous opposition from some false brethren, who did not aim so much at the destruction of the Christian faith, as by some undue mixtures to corrupt the purity of it. Such were the Judaizing Christians, who tho they embraced the doctrine of the Gospel, yet still they retain'd a mighty affection for their old Religion and the law of *Moses*, to the observance of which they thought themselves under an indispensable obligation: and not only so,

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And were all other Converts to the like observance; and this matter occasioned no small trouble to the Apostles and Ministers in the Churches, where they first planted the Gospel: See *Act. 15.* and *Gal. 5.* And tho' this was a matter of no small concern, and might in the conclusion have proved of dangerous consequence, yet it was not considerable in a manner, if compared with many other execrable opinions and practices which began very early to be introduced into the Church, by *Edon* and *Cerinthus*, *Menander*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides* and *Cronorates*: Succeeded afterwards by *Valentinus* and *Marion*, *Marcion*, and *Hermogenes*, and a long train of *Hereticks* (that I call them? or *Hobgoblins*; (for so I think they might well be styled, if we consider either the darkness and ignorance of all religious matters with which they were encompassed, or the wild pranks which they played, to the great disturbance of all good men;) who were all descended from that son of perdition *Simon Magus*, who was their *Patriarch* and Ring-leader.

It were a difficult task to muster up the names, but almost an endless attempt to reckon the senseless and extravagant opinions of these *Hereticks*; by reason of whose pernicious ways, the way of truth was evil spoken of. For many of the objections of the Heathens against Christianity, tho' all of them were false, yet were taken from the execrable opinion and practices of these lewd miscreants, who thereby brought no small disgrace upon the Christian Religion, and put no small stop to the growth and propagation of it.

But not to prosecute this matter any farther, if we descend a little lower, we shall find that God had no sooner dissipated the storm that hung over the Christian Church for some Centuries; and put a stop to the effusion of any more of that blood, (which without any distinction of Age or Sex, was spilt like water under the ten famous persecutions) by the advancement of *Constantine* to the Empire; but the devil betakes himself to new shifts: who finding his former methods of cruelty so signally baffled by the patience and constancy of the Martyrs, he begins to play a new, or rather to revive his old game, and since he cannot destroy the professors of Christianity, he will endeavour to undermine their Religion.

Religion. He had indeed made a vigorous effort, to extinguish both the name and memory of the Christian Religion, and to have tore up both the faith and the believers quite by the very roots; but herein he was disappointed: and therefore he endeavours to compass that by stratagem, which he could not effect by storm; and in this method he finds greater success than in the former. For being baffled as we said before, in his attempts upon the disciples of Christ, he attacks the doctrine which they embraced: and here *Inimicus homo*, the enemy came and sowed tares among the Wheat; hoping thereby to *choke the word*, which now he despaired to *extirpate*. And herein he found fit instruments for the execution of his design; for taking advantage of the ambition and curiosity, the discontent and revenge, and other disorderly passions of *Arius*, *Photinus*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and others, he soon prevail'd with them to assist him in the project which he had laid, for corrupting the doctrine and thereby disturbing the peace of the Church. For they presently broached many dangerous opinions, whereby they did either plainly deny, or some other way pervert the doctrines then generally entertained by the whole Church, concerning the natures and the person of the Son of God.

But these errors having long since bin buried in the Western Church, and lain forgotten in a manner with their Authors, were again unhappily revived at the beginning of the Reformation, by the endeavours chiefly of some *Polanders and Italians* in the last age, and among them principally of *Faustus Socinus*; who having gathered up the dangerous errors of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Photinus* chiefly, against the divinity of Christ, he put them together in one body, together with those of *Pelagius* in the point of original sin, and those other doctrines which are supposed to have a necessary dependance upon it.

And herein *Socinus* seems chiefly to have chosen *Pelagius* for his pattern. For the other Hereticks, I mean *Arius*, *Photinus* and *Macedonius* being content with the denial of those fundamental doctrines, concerning the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, or with their particular Errors about the natures and person of Christ, as *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*; they did not attend to,

or at least did not draw out those doctrines into all their pernicious consequences, which might when clearly understood, overthrow all the other parts of the Christian Faith. But *Pelagius* gave us a system of his Divinity, and drew out his Errors into a greater length, in opposition to several important parts and branches of our Religion; chiefly that which concerned the doctrine of *Original sin*. The denial of which did by consequence overthrow the necessity of the satisfaction made by Christ, and the redemption of the world by the merit of his death and sufferings, as the Fathers, and particularly St. *Austin* observes.

For he was master of reason enough to consider where it was that his first error would naturally lead him, and he was content to follow it, and thereby fell into that Labyrinth of errors, from which with all his skill and sophistry he could not disentangle himself: for when pressed with the arguments of his adversaries, and the authority and tradition of the Catholick Church; tho he could and did find as many shifts and tricks as any other, to escape the force and conviction of truth; yet his former and fundamental error in denying the imputation of *Adam's sin*, and the original guilt and stain of our natures contracted thereby, hung like a dead weight about him, and sunk him down into those impious opinions which he broached concerning the grace of God, and the liberty and freedom of mans will in religious matters in opposition to that Grace; concerning the nature and efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism, the merit of good works and the justification of a sinner, the nature of Gods law and the possibility of rising to a state of perfection in this life, by yielding a perfect obedience to it, &c. all which having been picked up by *Socinus*, together with what was delivered by the other *Hereticks*, against the divinity of the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost, he hath at length given us the most *perfect system of Heresies*, in opposition to the doctrine of the Gospel, in almost all the parts and branches of it, that ever was ushered into the world. And indeed to give him his due, tho in point of time and standing he was inferior, yet in point of skill and management, that is, in the art of *Heresie*,

refie, he was superior to all that went before him, most of whom were but fools and bunglers in comparifon.

For many of the ancient *Hereticks* had feveral extravagant and incoherent notions, which had no more connexion between one another, than the parts of a rope of fand: fo that like a company of mad and hair-brained people, they attacked the Chriftian Religion with great fury, but it was at random and without skill; flinging about their mad opinions like wild-fire, with which indeed they did a great deal of mischief, but it was at all adventures, without order, and as one would imagin, without any certain aim.

But *Socinus* comes more gravely and leafurely to work, and what *M. Cato* faid in another cafe of *Julius Cæfar*,¹ may be applied to him, *Sobrius accellit ad perdendam religionem*. Like a man that had his wits, tho, as many think, not the fear of God about him, he comes more foberly and with greater deliberation to deftroy the Chriftian Religion: he puts his opinions into better order, his errors are better united, and have as far as the nature of error would allow, for the moft part, a good correſpondence between one another: like a wary and well difciplined Captain he puts his arguments into good array, levels his Batteries againft the great myſteries of our Religion, and chiefly againft the eternal Divinity of the fon of God: as well knowing that if he could fucceed in his attempt upon that, he might promife himſelf an eaſy and cheap victory over all the reſt of our Religion; and therefore having, as he thought, effectually overthrown that main and fundamental Article of it concerning the ever bleſſed Trinity, he was reſolved to follow his blow, and to purſue his imaginary conqueſt in that point, to the overthrow of all the other parts of the Chriftian doctrine. He ſaw where *Arius*, *Photinus*, *Neftorius*, &c. were wanting, who having, as was ſaid before, contented themſelves with their particular errors concerning the natures and perſon of Chriſt, as perſons who thought they had done miſchief enough, they ſeemed content with what they had done, and went no farther. But *Socinus* in imitation of his be-

¹ *Ad everteendam Rempublicam ſabrinum acceliſſe*, Splet. in Jul. Cæſ.

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enlarged our prospect into his Religion, and from
which he laid down, he drew out his conclusions
for having denied the Trinity, and parti-
cularly the divinity of our Saviour, with it he could not
obtain satisfaction, and the redemption of the world
by his death and sufferings; having disowned the
existence of the Holy Ghost, the necessity of his grace, and
the efficacy of his operations upon the minds of men, must
at the same time fall to the ground.

Together with these he hath published many dangerous errors
concerning the nature and attributes of God; concerning his
wisdom and providence in the government of the world; con-
cerning the creation of man and the fall of *Adam*, and that cor-
ruption of our natures which is the consequence of it; concern-
ing justification, and faith which is the means of obtaining it;
concerning the Church, its nature and the notes whereby it may
be distinguished from all other societies; concerning the mini-
stry and the persons to whom Christ hath committed the care
and government of his Church; their distinction and autho-
rity to preach the Gospel, and to exercise discipline in it;
concerning the Sacraments and the end of their institution,
and particularly concerning the nature and efficacy of Baptism
and the Lords Supper; lastly, concerning a future state and the
condition of men after this Life. To which may be added
some other doctrines, which do not seem to have any necessary
connexion with the former, but yet are of dangerous consequence
to the peace and welfare of all civil Societies: those I mean
which he hath advanced about the power and authority of the
Civil Magistrate, against the Lawfulness of War and Oaths in a
Christian Commonwealth, which have as mischievous an influ-
ence upon the order and peace of States and Kingdoms, as his
other opinions have upon Religion.

So that *Socinus* having observed what was wanting in the
former *Hereticks* to make their attempts entirely successful a-
gainst the Christian Religion; being engaged in the same design,
but in order to make it more effectual, he wisely resolved to
correct what he thought was amiss in them: wherefore lay-

ing aſide what was more groſs and abſurd in the wilder and more extravagant opinions of the ancient *Hereticks*, and ſupplying the defects of the more ſubtile and refined who came afterwards; he and his followers have at length given us a body of their divinity, more compleat in its kind than ever the world was bleſt with before their time. Not but that in ſpight of all their art and ſkill, ſuch being the fate and folly of error, they cannot avoid, eſpecially in the defence and maintenance of their opinions, falling into many and thoſe very plain contradictions.

Upon the whole matter I think it may be reaſonably doubted whether *Socinus*, any more than that grand Impoſtor *Mahomet*, may be properly called a *Heretick*, as being the founder of a new Religion, rather than the Author of a new name and ſect among Chriſtians. For as the *Alcoran* of the former, is, as we are told, a fardel of errors and abſurdities ariſing from the impure mixture of *Chriſtianity*, *Judaism*, and *Paganism*, together with ſome idle and extravagant notions of his own; ſo the doctrine of *Socinus*, ſeems to be a compoſition of the errors of *Arius*, *Photinus*, and *Pelagius*, &c. together with ſome additions of his own, not indeed ſo ſeemingly abſurd, as thoſe of *Mahomet*, but, I am afraid, no leſs dangerous to the Chriſtian Religion; of which he hath retained only the name together with the empty ſound of the words; but with ſuch falſe głoſſes, ſuch forced and malicious interpretations, as have quite deſtroyed the true notion, as the whole deſign of the Goſpel: in oppoſition to which he hath given us a kind of natural and new Religion, not ſuch as the ſpirit of God hath revealed in his word, but ſuch as his own carnal reaſon ſuggeſted to him, in oppoſition to that revelation.

And that this may not be looked upon to be an uncharitable becauſe a groundleſs charge; I ſhall lay before the reader a ſcheme of the Religion revealed by God in Holy Scripture, and particularly that publiſhed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the writings of the *New Teſtament*; and which hath bin embraced by all ſound Chriſtians in all ages of the Church, from the firſt planting of one in the world, to this day; together with another of the new, or newly revived opinions of the *Socinians*: that by comparing

comparing of both, he may be able to make a judgment of what is here suggested, which upon examination I hope he will find to be agreeable to truth, and not contrary to charity. And first, as it is fit, we shall begin with the great object of our Religion, Almighty God: in the knowledge and worship of whom, together with an obedience to his commands, consists the entire nature of Religion. And here upon enquiry I believe we shall find, that what the Scriptures have revealed concerning the nature of God, is widely different from the account which *Socinus* and his disciples give us of him.

As to what concerns the nature of God, the Scriptures propose him to be considered two ways by us. *1st*, Absolutely in his glorious and essential attributes, or *2dly*, Relatively in the great and adorable mystery of the ever blessed Trinity.

First, if we consider God in his Attributes, we shall find that the first great, and, if I may so call it, fundamental attribute which the Scriptures reveal, and indeed natural reason dictates concerning him, is the *unity* of the Godhead, Deut. 6. 4. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.* Deut. 32. 39. *See now that I, even I am he, and there is no God with me.* 1 Cor. 8. 5, 6. *For tho there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth, &c. But to us there is but one God the Father of whom are all things.* 1 Tim. 2. 5. *There is but one God, and one Mediator between God and man, &c.*

Here undoubtedly it will be said that the *Socinians* are beyond all suspicion orthodox, all their studies and labors being employed in asserting and vindicating the *unity* of the Godhead in opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity, which according to their apprehensions must infer a plurality of Gods. But for all their boasts concerning this matter, and assuming to themselves upon that score the name of *Unitarians*, we must not be too hasty in acquitting them from the imputation of *Polytheism*; for tho they deny the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, and say that he had no existence before his being formed in the womb of the Virgin, and appearance in the world; and that the being which he then had was purely humane: yet after his resurrection from the Grave, and his
ascension

ascension into heaven, they say that God the Father as the reward of his obedience and sufferings, exalted him to the honour and dignity of a God; not indeed to be the supreme and eternal God, but however *deus verus*, a true God, distinct and separate from his Father; and Socinus takes it ill of his adversaries, that they should charge him with denying Christ to be God¹, and complains against them that will not be brought to confess and worship him² for their Lord and God, who was once a weak and infirm man: and herein he saith the power and goodness of God was discovered, and his admirable wisdom displayed, in extolling and deifying this man, beyond what we can imagin³.

And to the objection that might be made against this opinion, as that which did unavoidably infer a plurality of Gods, Woltzenius will tell you, that if by two Gods you mean one of whom are all things and we in him, and the other by whom are all things and we by him, we are so far saith he, from being ashamed of worshipping two such Gods, that we rather glory in it⁴. But if it shall be farther said, that to do them right, they acknowledge but one supreme God by nature, and that Christ is only a God by Appointment and Office, not *natus* but *factus*, not born but made, and deified after his ascension by a communication of the divine power, wisdom and goodness to him.

I Answer that this is so far from abating, that it rather increases the difficulty, and makes the Socinian notion both absurd and impious, as may be shewn more at large hereafter, when we come to lay the charge of Idolatry at their door. Indeed one would think it should be a debasing of the name and honour that is due to God, to give either of them to any but him that is so from all eternity; the same Woltzenius will tell you, you may if you please, reproach them for so doing, but he values it not a rush, *nos non erubescimus*, saith he we are not

1 Quasi nos Christum verum deum esse negamus, quod tamen à nobis non fit, Socin. oper. Tom. 2. p. 645.

2 Ut pro Deo ac Domino suo venerentur. p. 631.

3 In eo homine supra quam dici potest extollendo & deificando, Ibid.

4 Ut potius

id gloria nobis & laudi ducamus; Woltzen. Prolegom. in Evangel. Johannis cap. 8. de vera divinitate Christi.

ashamed to own that we worship *Deum factum vel factitium*, a made God; not made indeed by a Goldsmith or Engraver, *ab aliquo sculptore vel aurifabro*, but they acknowledge with St. Peter Acts 2. 36. that God hath made Jesus who was crucified Lord and Christ, that is, saith he, *deum eximium fecerit*, hath made him a great and eminent God, *Ibid.*

If this be not enough, if you please to consult *Smalcus*, he will give you all the satisfaction that you can possibly desire further in this matter. For first, he will tell you, that whereas the Scriptures assure us that there is but one only true God, yet that must be taken *sano sensu*; not as if there were no other true God besides God the Father, but that there is none that is God; *eodem prorsus modo*, just in the same manner as he is¹. For otherwise the thing is certain and past all doubt, that there are more true Gods than one; and let the Inspired writers be never so positive yet he and his friends can and will with equal confidence advance this contrary position, that the true God is not one only God². Nay it is not an indifferent matter, but a truth which they firmly believe and earnestly contend for³. And therefore pronounce it without any hæsitati-
on, that there are more true Gods than one.

And indeed they have reason to contend earnestly for this opinion, if it be true what he saith in the same place, that to acknowledge and confess, and adore one only chief and supreme God, is purely *Judaical*, and a *renunciation of the Christian Religion*⁴. Here he speaks as home to the point as you can possibly desire, and it is enough in all conscience. Thus whereas the Scriptures tell us there is but one God, the *Soci-nians* say there are two; one God by nature, another by grace,

¹ *Quod vero Deus ille unus qui pater est, solus verus dicitur, id non ideo fieri dicimus quod nemo alius præter Patrem deus verus sit, sed quia nemo alius præter Patrem, isto prorsus modo deus verus sit, quo ille est.* Smal. Exam. Cent. Err. p. 4.
² *Certissimum est quod non unus tantum verus Deus sit.* Ibid. ³ *Contendimus & firmissime docemus esse plures Deos præter unum. Eosque veros.* Refut. Smigl. de Novis Monst. Nov. Ar. p. 14. ⁴ *Tantum unum summum Deum agnoscere, unum tantum natura Deum Colere, unum tantum Independentem Deum confiteri, esse Judaicum quiddam, & abnegationem Christiana Religionis.* Ibid. p. 26.

one Supreme, another Inferior, one Greater, another Lesser, one Elder and eternal, the other a Junior and modern God: and this by *Socinus* is made the great mystery of the Christian Religion: greater indeed if true, and more incomprehensible than any other, or than all the other stupendous and adorable mysteries of our Faith put together.

Now as the *Socinians* say there are two Gods; so if you believe *Curcellaus*, he will confidently tell you there are three, who tho he be no *Socinian*, yet he agrees perfectly with them in *almost all* their other Errors, except that which concerns the doctrine of the Trinity, where he hath a peculiar notion of his own, distinct as he tells you both from *Arius* and *Socinus*: for he makes the Son and Holy Ghost to have a divine nature communicated to them from all eternity, but yet such that is different in each of them, so that they are three distinct divine beings. And to the objection made by *Maresius*, that this notion must inevitably imply that there are three Gods; he Answers, that if by three Gods, be meant three specifically distinguished from each other, he disowns any such distinction between the persons of the Trinity; but if by three, be meant three persons agreeing in the same common nature, yet numerically distinguished in each of them, it is that which he owns and earnestly contends for, viz. that the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, are as much three Gods as *Peter, Paul, and John*, agreeing in the same common nature are three distinct men. And if you believe him, he will tell you the Ancients were not afraid of the imputation of *Polytheism*, in this sense; and to think of the same individual nature being communicated to three persons, was a notion as he saith, that never entered into the heads of any of the Fathers, in their disputes against the *Arians*, as being against both Reason and Religion, *Curcell. Dissert. prima de vocibus Trinit. cap. 105. & deinceps.* And *Limburg*, who publishes and recommends his works to the world, I suppose is of the same opinion.

The 2d. Attribute which the Scriptures ascribe to God, is his *immensity and omnipresence*, assuring us that his nature is infinite, and consequently that it cannot be confined to any

place, or circumscribed within any limits. Tho he is peculiarly and eminently resident in Heaven, yet *Solomon* will tell us that *Heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him*, 1 King. 8. 27. and the *Psalmist* puts the question, *Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there also*. Pl. 139. 7, 8. So *St. Stephen*, Act. 7. 48. *the most High dwelleth not in Temples made with hands*, that is, is not confined within those limits, as many of the Heathens thought their Gods were, for, as saith the Prophet *heaven is my Throne, and the earth is my footstool*. And indeed not only the infinite nature of God, but the belief of his providence necessarily supposes it. Upon which account we are said *in him to live, and move, and have our being*, Act. 17. 28. forasmuch as he is *above all, and through all, and in all*, Eph. 4. 6.

Now in opposition to this important truth, which is not only revealed in Scripture, but dictated by the light of nature, and acknowledged upon that score to be such, by all sober Heathens, as well as by sound Christians; the *Socinians* will tell you, that God is not infinite in his Essence, or Nature, but that he is so confined to the Heavens, as not to be substantially present elsewhere, or not to fill any places out of those limits. And therefore when urged with those places of Scripture, which say that God *fills Heaven and Earth*, and that he is *every where present*, Jer. 23. 24. Pl. 139. They answer, that they must be Interpreted, only with respect to the *virtue, power, and operations of God*, which extend to the remotest places where he is not essentially present¹. As the Sun, which is the Instance some of them give us to illustrate this matter, is confined to the Heavens, and indeed takes up but a small room there in comparison, yet may be said to be, *ubique terrarum*, because he diffuses his Light, Heat, and other influences, to

¹ *Ea verba*, speaking of those words Jer. 23. 23. [Am I a God at hand, and not a God afar off?] *Snadere videntur, ipseus Dei substantiam non ubique pariter presentem esse, & sic eam non esse immensam seu infinitam, quamvis ubique tamen sua virtute & providentia sit ipse Deus præsens*. Socin. *de Dei essentia Cognitione* p. 68. vid. Crellium, cap. 27. *de Dei Immensitate & Omnipræsentia*.

the remotest parts of the Earth. But of this Attribute more hereafter.

The 3. Attribute ascribed to God in Scripture, is his *omniscience*, whereby he knows all things past, present, and to come : which knowledge of his extends it self not only to all things and persons, but likewise to all their actions and the effects of them, and together with them views the secret springs and principles of those actions, discerning the designs and contrivances of men, and all the thoughts and intents of the heart, *There being no creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do*, Heb. 4. 13.

What our Translation renders open, is more Emphatically expressed in the Greek, τετραρχηδισμένα, all things are, as it were, dissected and anatomized, the very inside of all things are laid open to his view. What is lodged in the darkest corners and deepest recesses of the Soul, cannot be hid from his sight, whose eyes are in every place, *like a flame of fire, beholding the evil and the good*. Nay this knowledge is of so vast an extent, as to comprehend within its mighty compass, not only things past and present, but likewise all things to come; for his duration being commensurate to all the parts of time, he doth not measure things as we do, by first and last, but all things present and to come, are open to him at one view, *with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and one day as a thousand years*, 2 Pet. 3. 8. Nay not only those things which are properly future with respect to any necessary causes of their production, but even those which are most contingent, as depending upon the spontaneous motion of mens free will; all such actions, together with the most casual events, as well as remote consequences of them, are the objects of Gods knowledge, who doth not only discern our Intentions and designs whilst they are *in fieri*, in the time of their hatching and framing in the Soul, but antecedently, long before the mind comes to any determination, he *understands our thoughts afar off*, Ps. 139. 2.

And of this besides the plain declarations of Scripture, the predictions that have bin made by God of the most contingent and fortuitous events, are an Argument that one would think should place

place this truth beyond all contradiction: It being that which God Almighty made choice of, to vindicate the honour of his divine nature and perfections, in opposition to the vain claim that was laid to them by the dull Idols of the heathens, and their more stupid worshipers, *Esay 41. 22. Let them bring forth and shew us what shall happen, let them shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them, and declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods.*

It is true this knowledge of God as it extends to things to come, is too wonderful for us, we cannot attain to it: and therefore if we think to measure his knowledge by our own shallow conception of things, we engage in a task more absurd and ridiculous, than if we should attempt to take up the waters of the Ocean and inclose them in the hollow of our hand.

And of this absurdity are the *Socinians* guilty, who will by no means be brought to acknowledge this great truth; for tho when you come to discourse with them upon this subject, they will tell you, they allow God to be omniscient, and that he knows all things; yet you must not be too hasty in taking an advantage of that concession. You must give them leave to explain themselves; God knows all things, That's true, but with this limitation, *quatenus sunt scibilia*, as far as they are capable of being known. But future contingencies must be excluded out of that number, having no being either in themselves, or in any certain or necessary causes of their production; and therefore are no more the object of any, even divine knowledge, than darkness is the object of sight: your eyes may as soon be dazled with one, as your understandings be affected or receive any Impression from the other.

For Gods knowledge, say they, is agreeable to the nature of the things known; which may in some Sense be true, but is a truth ill applied by them, when they tell us, that God knows things that are *certain*, as such that *shall* come to pass; things that are *likely*, he considers as such that *may probably* come to pass; things that are *barely possible*, as depending upon the arbitrary, and therefore uncertain determinations of mens

free will, he knows as *possible*; that is, they may or may not come to pass; but whether of these two shall happen, that is still a *secret* even to God himself; whose divine knowledge cannot arrive to the knowledge of such future contingencies, of which, according to the known *maxim*, there can be no certain or determinate truth or falshood.

Perhaps you will say this *maxim* is true, with respect to second causes, and any *created* knowledge, but not with respect to the knowledge of God, to whom the most *casual* events are present, and therefore certain; for as much as he foresees which way men will freely determine their own choice, either in acting or forbearing to act, in doing this, or doing the contrary. And without this prescience we cannot well imagin how God should be able to govern the world, and particularly Angels and Men, in whose actions and the event of them, his own glory is so eminently concerned.

The *Socinians* will tell you all this is a great mistake, and that such a notion of Gods knowledge is so far from being necessary to his providence, that it is derogatory to the freedom of mens will, and thereby tends to the overthrow of all Religion, which *Crellius* endeavours at large to prove *Lib. de Natura Dei cap. 24. de Sapientia Dei*.

And after he hath taken some pains to shew that this omniscience is opposite to *reason*, he comes to shew its repugnance, as he thinks, to the plain declarations of Scripture, and what he and his Master say upon this head, and upon that which follows, it will be worth our while a little to enlarge upon, so far as it will help to give us a true Idæa of *Socinianism*, which tends plainly to the dishonour of God, and in the conclusion to the overthrow of all natural as well as revealed Religion.

Now the places of Scripture which *Crellius* quotes to this purpose, are those which speak of Gods waiting for the amendment and repentance of sinners, as he doth in that remarkable manner, *Esay 5. 4. What could I have done more for my vineyard, that I have not already done to it; and yet when I expected it should bring forth grapes, it brought forth wild grapes? and v. 7. When he looked for judgment, behold oppression; for righteousness be-*
hold

hold a cry : How saith he could it be said either with propriety or truth, that if God had foreseen their *obstinacy*, he could have waited and hoped for their *amendment* ? He farther refers us to two other places, to *Gen. 18. 21.* Concerning *Sodom*, and to that concerning *Abram Gen. 22. 12.* this is certain saith he : That God here by a new and an extraordinary experiment, made a discovery of the faith and piety of *Abraham*, which he was not certain of before he made this trial of it : And of the execrable Impieties of the *Sodomites*, which he would scarce believe they could be guilty of, till he came down from Heaven on purpose, and made as it were his own eyes the witnesses of the truth and certainty of those matters.

For a further confirmation of his opinion, he cites those places of Scripture where God is said to tempt *Abraham*, that is, to make a trial of his obedience, *Gen. 22. 1.* and so those other *Deut. 8. 2. Judges 2. 21.* where God is said to have lead the Children of *Israel* in the wilderness forty years, *to prove them, and to know what was in their hearts*, and whether they would keep his commandments or no : and to have left off the *Canaanites* in the land declaring his resolution not to drive them out thence, *that he might prove Israel, whether they would keep the ways of the Lord as their Fathers did or no.* From all which he concludes that he must be *pertinacissimus*, extremely obstinate that should oppose this opinion, which if you believe him, is supported not only by the evidence and strength of reason, but by the Authority of Holy Scripture.

What *Crellius* here saith against Gods prescience, he learned from his Master *Socin. Praelect. Theol. Cap. 8. p. 585.* Where the Master goes farther than the Scholar in aggravating the inconveniencies that must attend the notion of prescience ; for from hence saith he it must follow, that many things are ascribed to

1 Quo enim pacto potest quispiam dici id expectare, quod non eventurum planissime intelligit, imo jam reipsa videt ? Ibid. 2 Deum novum quoddam & insigne experimentum, illic quidem impietatis Sodomica videre voluisse, hic vero pietatis Abrahamica vidisse, quod antequam fieret, plane certum & exploratum non erat. 3 Non modo Evidentissima & plane cogente ratione nititur, sed & sacrarum literarum auctoritate stabilitur. + Crell. Ibid.

God in Scripture either *falsly*, or else must suppose him guilty of such *imprudence*, which we cannot imagin any man could be liable to, except he were *stark mad*. And then quotes the places before cited by *Crellius*, and to them adds *Numb. 14. 12. &c.* where God sware that the *Israelites* should not enter into the Land of *Canaan*, which yet he sware to their forefathers he would give them, and he did oncē really intend to put them in possession of it, but their murmurings and rebellions caused him to alter his resolution.

Now if God had *foreseen* the disobedience and impieties of the Children of *Israel* which moved him to change his purpose concerning them, in promising to bring them into the Land of *Canaan*, and confirming that promise with an oath; he must have acted, saith this *Bold man*, so, as we cannot suppose any man to have acted, that was not *quite out of his wits*². But now against all this, the foretelling of future events, even such as are most contingent, as depending upon the entire freedom of mens wills; and the numerous as well as plain predictions of these matters which stand upon record in the book of God, one would think should be an *unanswerable objection*. And it seems it was so with *Episcopus*, who tho he agrees too well with *Socinus* in many of his other loose and dangerous notions concerning the *nature and attributes* of God, yet here he leaves him, and declares himself of a contrary Opinion, being chiefly induced thereunto from this Argument of predictions.

But yet to mollify the matter; and to give as little offence as might be, to a party whose favour he courted, he tells them and us³, that it was but a small matter about which they differ'd, which should break no squares between friends; for tho he affirmed, and they denied, yet the⁴ matter of the dispute was purely problematical, which had divided the opini-

¹ *Quæ ne in hominem cadere possunt, nisi plane dementem. Ibid.* ² *Quis ex hominibus ita amens est, ut juret se aliquid facturum, quod se facturum minime esse jam probe noverit. Ibid.* ³ *Lib. 4. Inst. Th. cap. 18.* ⁴ *Inter Eruditissimos Theologos Lis adhuc sub judice est. Ibid.*

ons of the most learned Divines, but never to that day had received any determination; That there was not one Christian in a thousand had any knowledge of it; in short, that it was so trifling and inconsiderable a matter, that neither Religion nor the worship of God was at all concern'd in it. But what *Episcopus* could not do, *Socinus* hath done, or at least hath attempted the doing of it; viz. the reconciling the truth of God's predictions with the denial of his prescience, and it is worth our while to hear what he saith upon this occasion.

1. Then, sometimes God's predictions are no more than his warnings, *Potius monet quam prædicit*, Socin. præl. Th. cap. 10. God dealing with men, as men sometimes deal with children, telling them that they will do such and such ill actions, to deterr and shame them from so doing, *Solemus nos cum puerum ab aliquo errore committendo detertere volumus*, &c. Ibid.

2. God foretells some actions, and particularly some wicked actions, not as if he knew they would certainly be committed by evil men; *Quia ea certissime futura nosset, sed quia sic plane verisimile erat*, Ibid. but because it was very likely they should be so: that is, what we call a prediction, and what the Scriptures without any limitation deliver as such, *Socinus* accounts but a conjecture, that is a probable guess, of what may likely come to pass. But what may come to pass, may likewise not come to pass, and so for all their confidence, the Inspired Writers, and what we cannot think of without horror, the Holy Spirit that directed them might be mistaken. But forasmuch as these two former Answers may serve for some predictions, but cannot give a reasonable Enquirer just satisfaction as to others, which are so plain that the force of them cannot be thus eluded:

Therefore once for all to put an end to this objection, and you may well imagin he was hard pressed, before he would betake himself to this last, and in him a desperate shift; he is forced to take sanctuary at those very decrees of God, which at other times he opposes with all his might: like a Malefactor when

1 Vix credo millesimum Christianum dari qui scientiam hujus rei habeat. 2 Absque hujus scientia religio cultusque divinumque apud innumerat hominum Myriadas factus rectus constat. Idem ibid.

close pursued, and finding no other way of escape, he flies for protection to those very *Altars*, which at other times he hath so often profaned by his crimes.

For saith *Socinus*, the things which God foresees, are either good or evil; if good, he may absolutely decree what is so¹, and make that necessary which otherwise would be but contingent, nay he may impose a necessity upon the Wills of men, and make them to do and choose what is good². Now this is downright *Calvinism*, and if you had a mind to believe it to be true, yet the *Socinians* themselves, and the *Remonstrants* their friends, will furnish you with such objections against the belief of it, that to them at least they must be unanswerable. For it is a *known* and an *avowed Principle* among them both, First that where there is necessity, there is no Religion; and consequently neither good nor evil³. If our actions proceed not from freedom, they lose their nature, and may be any thing else, but cannot be virtue and vice, forasmuch as *necessity* takes away the *distinction* of actions good and bad.

2. That Freedom and Necessity are so opposite one to another, that Omnipotence it self cannot reconcile them, forasmuch as they are plain contradictions, and terms that destroy each other⁴. That necessity robs you not only of your freedom but of your will it self, to which freedom is so necessary, that without it, it is no will, it being an essential property of it, *proprium quarto modo*; and to say that the Will can subsist without its property, that is its *essential liberty*, is *absurditate ipsa absurdius*⁵.

Now let us put both these things together: there is no Reli-

¹ Si testimonium loquitur de bonis operibus certo praescriptis, sine dubio Deus ipse decrevit. Socin. Prael. Th. cap. 10. p. 749. ² Crell. cap. 24. de sap. Dei. ³ Hoc est possumus religionem, quae nulla proprie est ubi est necessitas. Smalc. contra Smigl. cap. 2. ⁴ Crell. cap. 24. de sapientia Dei p. 204. Ubi talis necessitas est, nec ullum verum peccatum est, nec meritum punae. Ubique necessitas dominatur ibi religioni non est locus. Examen. censurae. cap. 7 p. 82. So say the Remonstrants. ⁵ Quod necesse est, hominis libertatem a se penitus excludit. Socin. Prael. Th. cap. 8. Arbitrium libertatem in se continet quam si demas, arbitrium esse desinet. Crell. de volunt. Dei cap. 21. p. 239. Qui necessario vult & agit, is libero arbitrio praeditus non est. Id. cap. 24. de sap. Dei. p. 206. ⁶ Exam. Censurae Conf. Remont. cap. 6. p. 76.

gion, consequently neither Good nor Evil, Virtue nor Vice, where there is necessity; and yet *nihil prohibet*, saith *Crell*. nothing hinders, consequently neither religion, nor the nature of good and evil hinders, but that God may absolutely decree things good to be done¹; and decree them so as to become necessary by virtue of that decree.

Again, the Will cannot be *necessitated* in any of its actions, forasmuch as this would destroy its freedom, which is a fundamental radical property of it, and cannot be separated from it without destroying the Will it self: And yet God can *impose a necessity* upon the *wills* of men of choosing this thing or another²; and *Socinus* will tell you, that God usually leaves the *wills* of men to their freedom, *except* it be when his judgements require him to lay them under a necessity³.

Now how shall we reconcile these sayings, which to us poor Christians seem to be plain contradictions, and therefore impossible to be true. But *Socinus* is not only a great admirer of reason, but a great master of it too; and therefore by the help of a distinction, he doubts not but to bring himself fairly off; for in the forementioned place, having in order to give an account of some of the predictions of Scripture, bin forced to bring in the *Decrees* of God into his assistance, which could not, one would think, but *entrench upon the freedom* of mans will, by making all actions subject to these Decrees necessary; he gravely tells us, and we are beholding to him for the discovery; That notwithstanding his Decrees, God hath left man entirely to his liberty; for besides the direction and government of his *external actions* which indeed God hath reserved to himself, he hath left every thing else in the power of mans will⁴. That is, when you say a man is a free *Agent*, you must distinguish between the *inward* and *outward* Act, between *choosing* and *doing*; in the former sense a man is entirely at liberty, for what can be freer than thought,

¹ *Nihil prohibet, quin Deus simpliciter bona fieri decernat.* *Crell.* de sap. Dei p. 210.
² *Potest necessitatem homini imponere boni vel illud volendi.* *Ibid.* 3. *Deus voluntatem liberam esse sinis, nisi quando ut eis necessitatem afferat, ejus judicia requirant.* *Socinus.* Praelect. Th. cap. 7. p. 344. + *Voluntas hominis ad extremum usque est plane libera, adeo ut praeter ipsum factum externum, omnia in ejus sint potestate.* *Ibid.*

who can lay a restraint upon man's will, or shackle his desires? The decrees of God, can put no force upon these, and here *Sapiens dominabitur astris*; they only govern mens outward actions; which may indeed thereby become necessary, but that's no great matter; *animus cujusque est quisque*, the mind is the nobler part; let a man but assert the honor and dignity of that; and he need not be much concerned what becomes of his outward actions. But against this it may be objected, that a great part of Religion consists in the practice of many External actions of Piety towards God, Justice and Charity towards men; and if these are not free, they are no longer Acts of Religion, any thing else but not Virtue and Vice as was said before. To this he will tell you, that God measures mens Obedience or Disobedience respectively, not by the External Fact, but by the Internal Actions and consent of the Will.

Which tho in some sense, and with a just limitation it may be true; yet as it is here brought in by him, to serve his present purpose, is a very loose and a dangerous determination. In short this whole matter, as it is stated by *Sacinus*, is liable to very many and those unanswerable exceptions.

For 1st. whereas he saith the will even to the last is entirely at liberty, tho the external actions are subject to the decrees of God, and thereby become necessary; this is a plain contradiction to what both he and *Crellius* before told us, that God might *necessitatem afferre voluntati & necessitatem imponere hominibus hoc vel illud volendi*: force even the will, as well as make the outward actions necessary.

2^{dly}, He asserts a freedom in men to little or no purpose; for one would think if God gave man a principle of freedom, he did it chiefly for the government of his actions; and if these are not in his power he had even as good be without his liberty; and that his will and his actions should run the same fate, and be both equally subject to it. For my part I should think I had as good be shackled and manacled, as to have a

Deus Obedientiam & Inobedientiam hominum, ex ipsa perfecta & consummata voluntate, non autem ex ipsa Externo facto metitur. Ibid!

full

full power of moving, and yet not be able to stir either hand or foot.

3dly, If *Socinus* should be asked, how it can be imagined that the actions can be necessary, when the principle from whence they proceed is absolutely free, for it is of humane and voluntary actions that *Socinus* in that place is speaking, I believe it would puzzle him to give a satisfactory answer.

4thly, Tho *Socinus* takes care of the *freedom of mans will*, which he in this place is concerned to vindicate, yet as far as I can perceive he hath taken little care of *Religion*; for if, where there is necessity there can be no Religion, as the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants* said before, and that a great part of Religion consists in *external* as well as *internal* actions; I cannot see but that thereby Religion is left in great danger, if not entirely overthrown, and that *Vertue and Morality*, are for any assistance that *Socinus* in this place affords them, fairly left to shift for themselves.

Well, but however tho *Socinus* by making good actions subject to Gods decrees, and thereby necessary, may be guilty of *contradicting himself*; yet there is no great harm in all that: his opinion may be absurd, but he doth not design to encourage impiety thereby; for tho he make God the cause of good actions yet he doth not as his adversaries do, make him the *Author of Sin*. In reference to what is *Evil*, here man is left entirely to his own freedom, the guilt of which cannot be transferred upon the decrees of God, which are not in any wise concerned in them; but the shame and blame of all must be laid at man's own door, and imputed only to his own freedom. But soft and fair: there is no general rule but may have some exceptions; for there are plain predictions in Scripture, not only of *some good*, but of many *evil and wicked actions*, such for instance, as were the Treachery of *Judas*, and the denial of *Peter*, &c.

Now these according to the *Socinians*, God could not foresee except they were necessary, and they could not well be necessary without his decree; and therefore to reconcile the prediction and the event, God first resolves to have an ill thing done, and then wisely foretels the doing of it. Read what

what follows and then you will be further satisfied in this matter, and that *Socinus* and his followers are not wronged in having this laid to their charge.

For first, saith *Orellius*, if God finds men fit and disposed for any mischief, *Eorum malitia uti potest ad consilia sua exequenda* ¹, he may make use of their wickedness to compass his own designs. Nay not only so, he may likewise decree something to be done by them, *Quod sine peccato ab iis fieri nequit*, Ibid. which cannot be done without sin. What *Orellius* saith in general, *Socinus* gives us an example of in the Egyptians, whose sin in oppressing the Children of Israel, God long before foresaw and foretold, *Gen.* 15. as having decreed it to be done. But to excuse this matter he saith, God did not put that wicked disposition into the minds of the Egyptians, but found it there, *Malam eam mentem in ipsis invenerat, qua ad judicium suum exequendam, quodammodo abusus est*. Prælect. Th. cap. 10. p. 547. and what he found there, he made use of for the execution of his judgements,

This is something, but it is not full enough: this is but beating about the bush, therefore he will keep you no longer in suspense. Not only an action that could not be done without sin, but the sin it self must be decreed and effected by God, *Si quid ab hominibus contra Dei legem committitur, id non quidem decernente ac autore Deo fieri asseveramus, nisi raro ac quibusdam de causis*, Socin. Præl. Th. p. 544. that is, if God be the Author of sin it is but rarely, and that for very weighty reasons. Here again *Socinus* to our great amazement, is a downright Predestinarian, and if we may judge of the opinions of *Calvin* even by the representation of his adversaries, he is *Calvino ipso Calvinior*.

What *Socinus* here affirms, that God sometimes is the Author of mens sins, is confirmed by *Smalcus*, but with this difference, that whereas by *Socinus* God is made the immediate Author of sin, *Smalcus* will bring in the Devil to bear part of the blame, *Deum quandoque per diabolum homines compellere ad scelera perpetranda* ². God indeed, saith he, compells men

¹ Crell. cap. 24. De Sapientia Dei p. 210.

² Smal. Contra Frantz. p. 416.

to do evil, but he makes use of the ministry of the Devil who is the instrument in the Compulsion.

What they say thus in general, they do further illustrate, if you think what *Irath bin said* may not be so clear, but that it may want a Comment, by particular instances, and specially that of *Peter's* denial of his Master, which was a *contingent Event*, one would think, as depending upon the freedom of his will, and yet this was foretold by Christ. But how could this be? why *Socinus* will tell you this denial of *Peter*, was not a matter so contingent as you may imagin; for God for the punishment of his confidence, decreed to withdraw his Grace from him, upon which subtraction of his Grace, that denial could not but follow¹. Nay he goes farther; not only withdrawing his Grace from *Peter* in the *Hour of Temptation*, but taking *effectual course* that he should be tempted. For, saith he, *Peter* being disposed to commit this sin, and wanting only an *Opportunity* of putting it into practice, to make good the truth of his prediction, God took care to offer him *that occasion*. And this he thinks may safely be said, without any absurdity². Here he speaks home and full to the point.

Indeed at another time he himself can scarce *digest*, what he here would have his Readers *swallow without straining*; for, saith he, to say that God *foresees evil, because he decrees it, cannot be affirmed without impiety*³. How shall we reconcile this with all we before quoted out of him? I confess I was in some pain for him, to know how he would come off, but he soon relieved me: by the help of a distinction he can perform wonders, among which one of the greatest is to *reconcile contradictions*. For, saith he, *Si certa mali operis prædictio erit, ipsum quidem opus à deo decretum fuerit, non autem cordis malitia*, p. 549.

¹ Negatio ista necessario consecutura erat, Socin. ibid. p. 548. ² Non alia re opus erat, nisi ut occasio Christi negandi Petro daretur, id quod deum ipsum curasse, i. e. Effecisse, nihil absurdi continet. Vid. Smal. Contra Franz. p. 431. Ubi asserit voluntatem Petri quodammodo esse coactam & ad breve temporis spacium libertate sua privatam, idque Deum interdum & facere posse & solere. ³ Peccata ita à deo nota fuisse affirmare, quia futura omnino ita decrevisset, impium prorsus videri debet. Socin. Ibid. p. 547.

That is, you must distinguish between the *Act* and the *Obliquity* of it, and then you may reconcile the honour of *God's justice* and the *truth* of his *predictions*: a very nice and Metaphysical distinction, and which I should almost have despaired to have found any where, but in the writings of a *Schoolman* or a *Calvinist*.

Upon the whole, I think, we have reason to admire the *Judgment* of God, upon these men; in giving them up, as a *just punishment* of their contempt of his *Revelations*, to the *conduct* of their own *carnal* and *corrupt Reason*, which when it is not assisted by a Divine Revelation, is but a blind guide in matters of Religion; and therefore it is no wonder if we find them roving and wandering in a labyrinth and maze of Errors, like men bewildered, going backward and forward, saying and unsaying, and at length growing giddy, and falling back into those very opinions which they have made so much haste to fly from, and upon the account of which, they and the Remonstrants have raised so many, and such *tragic* exclamations against their adversaries.

4thly, The next *Attribute* that the Scriptures ascribe to God, is his *Immutability*, whereby he is incapable of *Alteration*, and therefore not *liable to change* 1 Sam. 15. 29. *The strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man that he should repent.* This would argue God to be like our selves, of like weakness, and like passions with men.

For whatever *Alterations* may happen in the world, yet he remains *unalterable, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning*, James 1. 17. Indeed men upon many accounts, and for many very warrantable reasons, may be obliged to shift and change their Counsels and Resolutions: who for want of *wisdom and foresight* in laying their projects, or for want of *strength to execute them*, and by a great many other *unexpected accidents*, which the greatest prudence could not foresee, nor consequently avoid; oftentimes meet with many and fatal disappointments.

But when *Infinite Wisdom* is joined with *Infinite Power*, nothing can hinder such an *Agent* from bringing his purposes to the desired Event. *My counsel, saith the Lord, shall stand*

stand, and I will do all my pleasure, Esay. 46. 10. Who can withstand the power of God? who can baffle his Contrivances, or resist his will? For the Counsels and Decrees of God are as *Immutable* as his Nature; for be they Absolute, or be they Conditional, as long as he foresees the performance of the Condition, it makes no difference in this case: many devices may be in man's heart, *but the counsel of the Lord that shall stand, Prov. 19. 21.* however men may alter, and the dealings and *dispensations of Gods providence* in several acts of mercy and justice upon that score, may be different towards them; yet this is without *alteration* or change in his purposes towards them, *who remains still the same, yesterday, and to day, and for ever.*

The Socinians utter many bold and *dangerous* expressions in opposition to this plain truth, which is the unavoidable consequence of their denial of Gods Omniscience. Forasmuch as there are many events which depend upon the actions of men, which arising from the freedom of their Will, are therefore purely *contingent*, and consequently out of the reach of *Gods knowledge*; this must, according to them, *unavoidably* cause God to alter his counsels, to take *new measures*, to change his affections towards men, and alter his *purposes concerning them*: that is, he who is a *Reprobate* to day, may be an *Elect* person to morrow: and he who at present is elect, may afterwards be reprobated, and those may *finally perish, quos Deus salutis destinavit*, whom God once *designed* for eternal happiness. *Socin. de Off. hominis Christiani*, cap. 11. Now this one would think should be an Argument of *inconstancy*, and consequently not fit to be ascribed to God.

Crellius will tell you, there is no such matter; this is only an *instance of his freedom*; it shews you only that there is a *variety* in the acts of Gods will, *but no inconstancy*. For a man is then said to be constant to his purpose, who persists in it till some good reason obliges him to alter it: and therefore

1 Constantis est persistere in animi proposito, nisi quid intervenerit, cujus ratio non immerito haberi possit, & quod in aliam sententiam voluntatem jure flectere queat. *Crell. cap. 25. de Sanct. Dei. p. 265.*

what you would call wavering, he will say is the result of wisdom¹; God accommodating his decrees to the nature of things, and the actions of men; so that in short, *God is subject to change*, but not without good reason, he may alter his purposes as wise men usually do, according to the *different circumstances* of things, and as the exigence of his affairs shall require.

But with the leave of this bold man, another would be apt to think, that tho men may without the imputation of levity alter their counsels, because this arises from the *imperfection of their natures*, and particularly of their *knowledge of future events*, which tho it be no *fault*, yet it must be acknowledged a *weakness*, tho such an one as they are no more accountable for, than they are, because they cannot restore sight to a man born blind, or raise the dead. But it cannot be ascribed to God without a *derogation* to his infinite knowledge, and *unerring judgment*, and is therefore an argument of weakness, notwithstanding all that *Crellius* urges very weakly to the contrary, *Ibid.*

Therefore that we may return where we first began, to the Decrees of God concerning the future, and final state of men; this is certain, that they with relation to their several and respective objects, are fixed and unmoveable, for be they *antecedent* or *subsequent* to his foresight of mens *faith or infidelity*, it matters not in this case: the Scriptures however assure us, and right reason will confirm the same, that they are *immutable*, more stable than the *Foundation of the Earth*, or the *Poles of the World*, which may and shall be shaken, and stagger out of their places like drunken men, *but the Counsel of the Lord that shall stand.*

For let holiness and perseverance be the cause or the effect of Gods election, yet all sober persons agree in this, that whoever lives an holy life, and perseveres in it, *is undoubtedly chosen* by God to eternal life: and whosoever lives and dies in his *sins and impenitence*, is certainly designed and shall be

¹ *Quæ rebus mutatis ita consilia mutat, ut ea illarum rationi attemperet*, Cap. 32. de Decretis Dei. p. 350.

doomed to everlasting punishment: *here the foundation of the Lord standeth sure, the Lord knoweth them that are his*, and them that are not so. But *Socinus*, who denies the certainty of Gods knowledge of many future events, *viz.* those which are contingent, such as are the actions of men, as depending upon the *uncertain because free* motions of their will; must in pursuance of this principle, deny the certainty of Gods Election; because he cannot foresee who will obey his commands and continue to do so, against all the temptations which they will meet with in the world to the contrary: and consequently he must say, what another would account Impiety to think, that God Almighty for *want of knowing* the determination of mens choice, must likewise *be ignorant* of the final event of their actions: and therefore he who at present is the object of his Love, and designed by him for the joyes of Heaven, may in the conclusion for ought he knows, merit his displeasure, and be tumbled down to hell.

Now that men may make such *uncertain conjectures* concerning their final state, and thereupon meet with a *fatal and terrible disappointment*, may be a certain tho a sad truth, and therefore no great wonder: But to think that it should thus happen to the *Alwise Creator of men*, is to have too mean and dishonourable conceptions of him; and such the *Socinians* have, doubting not to aver, that God finds reason to alter not only his dispensations towards men according to their behaviour, but his own intentions of kindness and displeasure, choosing what at first he refused, and refusing afterwards what once he thought worthy of his Approbation and choice, *Socin. præl. Th. cap. 7.*

A fifth attribute in God, and which indeed cannot be separated from him without overthrowing all Religion, is his *Justice*: and that not only as it signifies *his holiness and righteousness*, but as it betokens his, *anger, indignation, his severity and displeasure* against Sin and Sinners. And this the Scripture speaks very often of, *Psal. 5.* the Psalmist describes God as one not only *that hath no pleasure in wickedness*, ver. 4. which arises from the holiness and righteousness of his nature; but as one
likewise

likewise that *hates all the workers of iniquity*, ver. 5. and particularly, who abhors the deceitful, and will destroy the lying man. *The wicked and him that loveth violence his Soul abhors*, Psal. 11. 5. Hence he styles himself a jealous God, jealous of his authority and honour, and will revenge the contempt of it: *he is slow to anger*, but yet will not acquit the wicked, forasmuch as he is jealous, and furious, who *will take vengeance on his adversaries, and reserves wrath for his enemies*, Nahum. 2, 3. and when God proclaims his name, the name by which he desires to be known, it is the *God merciful and gracious*, &c. *but yet one that will by no means clear the guilty*, Exod. 34. 6. Numb. 14. 18. *he is Deus ultionum, the God to whom vengeance belongeth*, Ps. 94. 1. *the God of recompences*, Jer. 51. 56. and in short, *a consuming fire*, Heb. 12. 29.

All which expressions seem plainly to denote, that Justice in God is a necessary and an essential attribute, and which you can no more separate from him than you can his nature: I mean *that Justice* which betokens his *severity and indignation* against sinners, and moves and enclines him to punish them, tho the punishment it self may in some sense be said to be *arbitrary*, and subject to the freedom of Gods will; as are also the *Emanations of his goodness*, and the *effects* of his power: but yet all this doth not hinder but that power and goodness may be essential Attributes of God, and are acknowledged so to be by the *Socinians* themselves. And the like we affirm of *Justice*, to the terrible effects of which, the sins of men render them necessarily obnoxious: all guilt which is the inevitable consequence of sin being in its own nature an obligation to punishment.

But *Socinus* will furnish you with new notions concerning God in this matter, and quite different from what either Jews or Christians have conceived of him. For he will tell you, that Justice and Mercy in God, not only as to *their external effects* as they are discovered in rewards and punishments, but likewise in themselves, are not attributes essentially belonging to God, but are things purely arbitrary and indifferent: and particularly that *justice*, as it bespeaks an hatred of sin and indignation.

dignation against the workers of iniquity, is not a *permanent property*, or, as he loves to speak, a *quality* residing in God, which belongs to him *per se*, but *ex accidente*, that is, it is a matter purely contingent, and the effect only of his *free and mutable will*.

Now this as it is laid down by the *Socinians* I take to be not only a false but a dangerous position; forasmuch as it furnishes us with such a notion of God as is *dishonorable to him*, and will naturally lead us to a contempt of him. But before I come to prove this, (forasmuch as I take it to be a matter of great importance in it self, and especially is so in our disputes with the *Socinians*, who have introduced this notion of God without Justice, in order to destroy the *true reason* of Christs death and sufferings, which was to give *satisfaction to the Justice* of God for the sins of mankind,) I must crave leave to lay down certain positions, which tho I might take for granted, and call *postulata*, as being commonly known and received Truths: yet I shall as I go along endeavour to prove them so.

The first thing therefore which I shall lay down, is, that if there be a *Providence*, it must be chiefly and principally employed in the care and government of human affairs: for there can be no imaginable reason assigned, nay it would be contrary to all reason to suppose, that God should take care of *Beasts and Inanimate Creatures*, and neglect one of the noblest parts of the Creation, I mean man, for whose sake chiefly, next to his own Glory, he created the visible world, and to whom as to his *Vicegerent* he hath given the Dominion over the works of his hand, having put all things under his feet.

¹ *Iustitia ea, quæ severitas vel vindicta, vel ira, vel indignatio, vel simili alio nomine nuncupatur, non est qualitas seuDavis proprietates, nec vere residet in Deo, sed tantummodo effectus est voluntatis ejus. Socin. disp. de Christo Salvatore, p. 123. Nullam ejusmodi in Deo proprietatem, b. e. qualitatem in ipso perpetuo residentem, esse censemus, quæ Deum ad peccata puniendâ simpliciter moveat. Sed id quod in ipso existens eum ad peccata puniendâ simpliciter movet, iram & severitatem, misericordiæ oppositam, esse statuimus; quæ non proprietates est in Deo perpetuo residents, sed veluti effectus quidam ipsius, & libera voluntatis effectus. Creil. Resp. ad Grot. de Satisf. Christi. p. 1.*

2dly, There can be no *providence* nor care of human affairs without giving men *Laws* for the government of their actions: for as Gods providence towards *other creatures* is seen, in giving them certain laws of motion and rest suitable to their respective natures, and in guiding and governing them so, as may most tend to his own glory, and the welfare and beauty of the universe: so his *government and care of men* consists in giving them certain Laws as rules of their actions and manners; it being much more requisite upon many accounts that they should act by a certain direction; forasmuch as the confusion and mischief that must be the consequence of their disorderly living must be far greater, and more repugnant to the nature and righteousness of God, than if other creatures should swerve from the Laws of their Creation; which yet they inviolably observe, except when God thinks fit to *interpose*, for the ends of his own glory, and the good of men.

3dly, That Laws are so a ¹ Rule of *Moral actions*, as to put us under an *obligation* of yielding obedience to them. And in this they differ from ² *good counsel and advice*, which tho it tend to our advantage, and the promoting of our truest and best interest, yet it puts us under no necessary obligation of complying with it; every man being left to his liberty to take or refuse it at his pleasure.

4thly, That the violation of a Law naturally and necessarily upon that very score makes a man *liable to punishment*: which is but the same thing tho in other words with the foregoing proposition: for therefore are we *obliged* to yield obedience to Laws, because if we refuse to do so, we are thereby *obnoxious to punishment*. This is that which in the civil Law is called *Jus seu obligatio delicti, quo quis ob maleficium ad pœnam tenetur*. The prescribing of a Law is the act of

¹ *Lex est regula actuum moralium, obligans ad id quod rectum est*, Gr. de Jur. B. & P. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 9. ² *Obligationem requirimus, nam consilia & si qua alia sunt præscripta honesta quidem sed non obligantia, Legis aut Juri nomine non veniunt*, Ibid. *Ubi consilium datur, offerentis arbitrium est; ubi præceptum, necessitas servitutis*, Hieron. Lib. 2. contra Jovin. *Decretum necessitatem facit, exhortatio liberam voluntatem excitat*, Gratian. Dist. 4. ad finem.

a Superior, whereby he obliges his Subject to regulate his actions according to that prescription; which if he refuses to do he may be called to an account as one that deserves to be punished for his disobedience¹. This is one of the prime dictates of nature², as well as the Language of Scripture, *that he who doth wrong, not only as that signifies injury, but any evil in general, should receive for that evil that he hath done*, Col. 3. 25.

Lastly, That there is a necessary relation between punishment and justice, whose office among other things is to distribute rewards and punishments. I do not say that Justice is always *obliged to exact the punishment*, which the Delinquent is always and necessarily *obliged to suffer*, I mean is necessarily obnoxious to; but wherever there is punishment if just, it must flow from that *Habit or Attribute* which we call *Justice*; and that not only as it bespeaks *Righteousness and Equity*; but likewise as it signifies that *severity and indignation* which every Lawgiver is supposed to conceive against him that transgresseth his Laws, who thereby violates his Authority and offends against the publick good.

It hath bin doubted indeed whether in human punishments, the Civil Magistrate may aim at the vindicating of his own Authority, consider'd abstractedly from the publick good. And here that famous passage of *Seneca*³, is often cited upon this occasion, and which he translated out of *Plato de Leg. no wise man punishes a fault because it hath bin committed, but lest the like should be committed again for what is past cannot be recalled, but wise and good men in punishment aim at preventing mischief for the future.*

But tho this may be true with respect to men, yet it is not so with regard to Almighty God, to whom, as *Grotius* in

¹ *Præceptum ibi est, ubi est pœna peccati*, Ambr. Lib. de Viduis *Præcepto quisquis non obtemperat, reus est & debitor pœnæ*, August. Lib. de Sancta Virgin. ² *Inter ea quæ natura ipsa dictat licita esse, est & hoc, ut qui male fecit malum ferat: quod Antiquissimum & Rhadamantheum Jus vocant Philosophi*, Grot. de Jure B. & P. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Sect. 1. ³ *Nemo prudens punit quia peccatum est, sed ne peccetur: revocari enim præterita non possunt, futura prohibentur*, Lib. 1. de Clem. Cap. 6.

the forementioned Book and Chapter. *Señ.* 4. hath very truly and judiciously observed, those sayings of *Plato* and *Seneca* would be very ill applied; forasmuch as God in punishing the sins of men, may very righteously, and oftentimes doth, aim at nothing but the asserting of his own¹ honour, and vindicating the authority of his Laws, and in short, the *re- venging the contempt and violation of them*: as is evident in certain invisible *punishments* inflicted upon some sinners in this life, such as are *obduration* and a giving them up to a *Reprobate* sense; and will be much more evident in those *everlasting pu- nishments* (for so we will make bold to call them whatever the *Socinians* may say to the contrary) in the life to come, where God can aim at nothing but the *satisfaction of his Justice*, and thereby the manifestation of his own Glory¹.

But whatever the reasons may be of inflicting punishment either by God or man, yet Justice is the hand that inflicts it: which is called *distributive* or *vindictive*, and is therefore defined by an² Ancient writer from one of its noblest offices to be *πρωτοίας ἀπαίτησις*, an exacting of punishment: And by *Plutarch* to the same purpose, to be *τῶν ἀπολειπτέων τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ πρωτοί*, *ultrix in eos qui adversus legem divinam delinquant*.

Now these things being thus premised, I proceed to make good my charge against the *Socinians*, in calling that not only a *false but a dangerous Opinion* of theirs, which makes Justice to be no *necessary or essential Attribute* in God, but a matter purely *Arbitrary and Contingent*, as being the effect only of his free will.

1. Then this Opinion I say is false and impious, because it furnishes us with such an Idea of God as is *dishonourable* to him and will naturally lead us to a contempt of him; because it teaches us so to conceive of God, as of one that is not

1 Certe penas quorundam valde perditorum à Deo non ob aliud (scil. extra se) exigi, sacra verba testantur, cum dicunt eum voluptatem capere ex ipsorum malo, subsannari atque irrideri impios à Deo. Tum vero & extremum judicium post quod nulla expectatur emendatio, immo & in hac vita pena quadam inconspicua, ut Obdu- ratio, verum esse quod contra Platonem dicimus evincunt. Ibid. 2 Hierax apud Stobæum.

necessarily concerned in the Actions of men and the affairs of the World: that is, it gives us a notion of a God *without a providence*. For if there be a providence, it must chiefly and principally be imployed (as was said in our first Prop.) in the *care and government of Human Affairs*; there can be no government without Laws, no Laws without the Sanctions of Punishment, either expressed or necessarily implied in all such Laws; no punishment without Justice to inflict it; and consequently (that we may bring both ends of our *Sorites* together) where there is no Justice, there is no Providence; and where the one is not necessary, the other is not so too. Therefore tho the *Socinians* do acknowledge Gods providence and that he doth actually govern the World, yet this doth not take off the charge of fallhood and impiety from this position of theirs; because thereby they make his providence to be a contingent and perfectly an Arbitrary matter. You may notwithstanding all this have a true notion of God and do him no wrong, if you conceive of him as of one that may be unconcerned in the actions of men, who after he hath sent them into the world, may suffer them to live as they please, every man doing that which is right in his own eyes: which yet is great Impiety so much as to imagin; forasmuch as it is repugnant to the infinite perfections of Almighty God, helps to debase him in our thoughts, to weaken that reverence and esteem which arises in our minds when we conceive of him; and thereby leads us naturally and inevitably from a disesteem to a denial of him.

So that what at first I called a *dangerous* I am now afraid in the conclusion will prove to be an *Atheistical assertion*: upon which account *Epicurus* among the Ancients was generally accounted an Atheist¹. *Posidonius* the Stoick thought him so, and that it was only the Envy and Infamy which attended such persons, which obliged him not to profess himself one. But what *in words* he affirmed, he did in *deed* effectually overthrow: For by denying Gods providence, *Re sustulit, Oratione reliquit deos*.

¹ Cicer. de Natura Deo. Lib. 1. Cap. 123.

² Ibid.

In which charge against *Epicurus*, *Cotta* the *Academicus* hath had the consent of all wise men among the *Pleathens*, as well as the suffrage of *Christians*: whose way of arguing would be of no force, had they not bin of Opinion, that if there be a God who made the World, there must necessarily be a Providence; and if a Providence, I am sure there must be that Attribute in God which we call Justice, without which that other can never be exercised.

But you will say that God may give men Laws for the government of their Actions, and that will be a sufficient vindication of his providence; tho he assigns no punishment to the breach of them. That is, tho we cannot conceive a God without a providence, yet we may conceive a providence without Justice. Indeed *Socinus* hath told us so, for speaking of the command of God to *Adam* in Paradise requiring him not to eat of the forbidden fruit, and the threatening annexed, *In the day thou eatest thou shalt dye the death*, Gen. 3. which threatening, *Covet* his adversary told him, did flow from that Justice in God which we have hitherto bin speaking of; he Answers, that this Justice was not any thing in God inhering in him, and therefore nothing could flow from it, as being only an accidental effect of his free will: *Cum à me ostensum fuerit ejusmodi justitiam in Deo non verè residere, nec propriè Dei qualitatem dici posse, sed tantummodo effectum voluntatis ejus; nihil ex ea fluere potuit*: as much as if he had said, non entis nullæ sunt operationes, what is not, can have no influence to produce any thing. And for a confirmation of this he adds, ² that God might have given *Adam* (and what God might have done to *Adam*, he might undoubtedly have done to all the Sons and posterity of *Adam*) this law, and not have annexed Death as the punishment of the breach of it; nay if he had so pleased he might have assigned no punishment at all.

But this is delivered by *Socinus* with the same Confidence as

¹ Socin. Disp. de Christo Serv. pars prima. p. 123. ² Quod verum esse deprehendetur, si consideremus potuisse Deum præceptum illud homini tradere, neque tamen penam Mortis, si illud non servasset addere: Immo ne penam quidem ullam. Ibid.

are many of his other absurd *Errors*, in which he stands single by himself, against the constant and uniform suffrage of Divines Ancient and Modern, Fathers and Schoolmen, Philosophers and Lawyers, and those both Canonists and Civilians: among whom it passes for an uncontrolled maxim, That, that is very vainly and *impertinently commanded* which may be *securely neglected*. *Frustra est aliquid præcipere, quod impunè potest negligi*: and this bold position he lays down, and gives us not the least reason for it; but his own affirmation. But tho he gives us no reason for his assertion, I am sure there is very great as well as very apparent reason against it; forasmuch as such Laws as these will neither secure the honour of God, nor serve the ends of his providence; being but in the nature of good advice, which, as we said before, every man is at liberty to take or refuse at his pleasure.

So that while he makes the Law precarious, at the same time and for the same reason he makes the Obedience of men so too: in which case God must be beholding not to his own *Authority*, but to the *good nature* of his Creatures, that they yield any obedience to his commands. Perhaps you will say there may be other *obligations*, besides those of punishment which men may be under to practise their duty: such as are those of *Honour and Gratitude*, and the strong tie of Reason, which will bind a man to comply with his Duty, if there were no other motive to it, but this, that to do otherwise will be to act unsuitably to the dignity of his nature.

All this may be fine in speculation, but will signifie little when reduced to practice: the generality of men being governed by *sense*, the motions of which are too *headstrong* and *furious* to be curbed by the bare commands of reason, when they are not enforced with the *fear of punishment*: the voice of which will be as feeble as that of old *Eli* to his rebellious Sons, far too weak to master their violence. And therefore that *Frantick Woman* that some have talked of, who brought fire in one hand to burn up Paradise, and water in the other to quench the flames of Hell, if she had succeeded in her design, in stead of promoting would have extinguished

tinguished all virtue, and soon have rooted it out of the world.

In short, to sum up what hath been said upon this subject: if there be no *Justice naturally in God*, there might have been no *Providence*, and if no *Providence*, then men might have been left to the conduct of their own *giddy and unruly passions*, which would soon break through the restraints of reason; and when men were thus left to the government of *Lust and Sense*, the unavoidable consequence of this must have bin, that the world would have bin filled with *Blood and Murders*, with *Impurity and Uncleaness*, with *Theft and Rapine*, with *Injustice and Oppression*, and the gentle race of men would soon have become worse than the worst of wild Beasts, preying upon and devouring one another. And to suppose that God could be *unconcerned* at all this, as if there be no *Justice* in him which enclines him to punish such wickedness, he might be, is to have such a notion of God as it is reported *Lewis* the 11th of *France* had of his Leaden God, which he carried about him, and which when he had caused any man to be Murder'd, or done the like mischief, he would take into his hands, kiss it, and beg pardon, and then all was well again, and he himself became immediately safe if not innocent. In short at this rate, we should not dishonour God if we so conceived of him, as of one who did not necessarily act according to the *eternal and unalterable Rules of Wisdom, Goodness, and Righteousness*, that he might be a God not of Order but Confusion, which is not only an *Impious*, but a *Blasphemous* assertion.

2dly, My second reason why I account this Position of *Socinus* about Gods justice to be false and dangerous, is because it takes away the distinction between *Laws Positive and Natural*; which distinction hath hitherto bin looked upon, not only to be *true* but *sacred*; forasmuch as the contrary would open a Gap to all manner of impiety and wickedness. Now *positive* Laws are accounted such as ow their original only to Gods free will and pleasure; and therefore as they cannot be known, so they cannot oblige any but those to whom he hath made such a declaration, and discovery of his pleasure.

sure. *Natural Laws are those which are discovered by the light of nature, as being the necessary result of our Constitution, and that relation which we bear to God as rational Creatures: many of which tho revealed in Scripture, yet in themselves are obligatory, antecedent to any such revelation.*

Now these Laws do necessarily suppose Justice in God, without which they would be insignificant: for tho natural Laws ow their Original to the holiness of God, as being but a transcript of those essential Rules of righteousness which make up his nature; yet all their *force and obligation*, (without which they are not properly Laws) results from his *Justice*; that is, from the fear of punishment, which the *Law threatens*, and *Justice inflicts*, without which they would be perfectly insignificant. From which by a just and necessary consequence it unavoidably follows, that if there be natural Laws, there must be Justice naturally in God: so on the other hand, if there be no Justice, there can be no Laws of nature, forasmuch as without the former they can have neither *Force nor Obligation*, nor consequently have the *formal reason of Laws*.

3dly And Lastly, This Opinion of *Socinus* is both false and Impious, because it tends to overthrow all natural Religion, by supplanting that which is the chief if not the only support of it in the world, and that is the fear of God. For take away his Justice as this *Socinian* hypothesis doth, and then you have left nothing in him which a man governed by the light of nature need to fear. Not his unity, nor his eternity, nor immensity; not his holiness, nor his goodness, to be sure; nor lastly his power which in conjunction with the former, as it necessarily is in God, is as harmless and innocent as either

1 *Jus naturale est dictatum rectæ rationis, indicans alicui actui, ex ejus convenientia aut disconvenientia cum ipsa natura rationali, inesse moralem turpitudinem aut necessitatem moralem, ac consequenter à Naturæ Autore talem actum aut vetari aut præcipi. Actus de quibus tale extat dictatum, debiti sunt aut illiciti per se, atque ideo à Deo necessario præcepti aut vetiti intelliguntur, quæ notâ distat hoc jus non tantum ab humano jure, sed & à Divino voluntario, quod non ea præcipit, aut vetat, quæ per se ac suapte naturâ aut debita sunt, aut illicita; sed vetando, illicita; præcipiendo, debita facit.* Grot. de Ju. B. & P. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.

of the former Attributes, when it is not moved nor excited by a just displeasure and indignation.

Imagin therefore a *Socinian* were to discourse a *Pagan*, I would fain know how upon this principle he could convince him that it were his Duty to worship God, and to live a virtuous life. He might tell him indeed, and tell him with great truth, that the *Divine nature and perfections* are in themselves a just ground of *Esteem and Adoration*: That virtue hath many and those powerful though invisible charms, as being both agreeable to our Reason, and at the same time serving to promote our welfare and happiness in this world; yet all this would lay him under no *obligation* to do that, which otherwise would be *highly reasonable* and fitting to be done. Suppose it be *honest*, suppose it *rational*, suppose it his *Interest*, yet he is left to his *liberty* and may, and no doubt will, do what he pleases for all that: he may act indeed like a Fool and a Brute, yet he is guilty of no sin in the mean time; for where there is no *Justice*, there can be no *fear of punishment*, where there is no punishment, there is no obligation, nor consequently Law; and where there is no Law, there can be no transgression.

So that tho his reason may upbraid him with the folly, his Conscience in this case would never *check him* for the *guilt of his vices*; which if the *Laws of his Country* did not take some care to prevent, he might securely practice without any fear of *Gods displeasure*. In short, notwithstanding all the fine discourses about the beauty and amiableness of religion and virtue; the inclinations of sense would soon bear down the dictates of Reason, and the *slightest temptations* would prove too strong for these *aery speculations*; and as to the generality, the conclusion which they would draw from this principle, would be, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we dye*, and after death comes no reckoning or account. *Come on let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the Creatures like as in youth: Let us fill our selves with costly Oynments, and let no flower of the spring pass by us: Let us crown our selves with Rose-buds before they are withered, Let none of us go without his part of our voluptuousness: Let us leave tokens of our joyfulness in every*

every place; for this is our portion, and our Lot is this. Wisd. 2. ver. 6, 7, 8.

But tho this notion overturns all *natural Religion*, yet it is it self effectually overthrown by the dictates of *natural Conscience*, which are an unanswerable proof both of *the existence* and the *Justice of God*. For we must know that Conscience is something more than *bare Reason*: for Reason may *direct*, but Conscience will *prescribe*; Reason gives us a *Rule* for the government of our actions, Conscience passes that *Rule into a Law*, gives it its force and obligation. *The prescribing of a Law is the act of a Superior, and no man is properly Superior to himself, and consequently no man can by his own act, peremptorily oblige himself, except that act be enforced by some other and higher obligation.*

And therefore Conscience is not *bare Reason*, but reason as it is *Gods Vicegerent*, clothed with his Authority, armed with his Justice: and therefore in a more *Imperious way* it commands our obedience, not only perswading us to our duty, but threatening us for the neglect of it: it puts on a *Majestick Air*, tells us this must be done, or refuse it at your peril. Indeed it executes the office, and sustains the person of a *Legislator, a Witness, and a Judge*: first *prescribes* a Law, then *accuses* for our disobedience, and lastly *solemnly arraigns* the Sinner for his guilt, and then passes sentence upon him. So that these actions of Conscience and the Tribunal that God hath erected there, are one of the clearest and most *uncontrolled* proofs of a future Judgement, of which the former are a kind of *Anticipation*.

And indeed if we look back to former times, and consult the History of Ages and Countries, the most ignorant and barbarous, we shall find, that as the Light of Nature hath directed them to the *belief and acknowledgement* of a God; so

1 Facultas injungendi aliquid per modum Legis aut præcepti infert superioritatem, quemadmodum obligatio parendi arguit nos inferiores esse eo, qui præcipere nobis potest; saltem qua Imperium ejus se extendit: Ob eam causam suis decretis immediate nemini potest obligari irrevocabiliter. Puffendorf. Elem. Jur. Lib. 1. cap. 13. Sect. 4.

one of the earliest notions that arose in their minds when they have thought of him, hath bin the *Apprehension of his Justice*: of which among other things, the *numerous, tho many of them Impious and Ridiculous rites*, which they made use of to appease the anger of their *incensed Deities*, are an irrefragable Argument. And this apprehension of divine Justice, was, as one of the principal causes, so one of the chiefest, if not the only support of natural Religion in the world.

Now to apply this to our present purpose, and to bring the parts of our argument a little closer together: If men by the light of nature could discover this Attribute of Justice in God, it must unavoidably follow, that Justice in him is natural; for the light of nature can discover nothing in God but what is so: whatever is the effect of Gods *meer pleasure*, and the result of his free will, can never be known but by *Revelation*; and it is impossible it should be otherwise discovered, except we should suppose men to be Omniscient, and that they may know more of God than they can of one another. *For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man that is within him?* 1 Cor. 2. 11. so much less can any man discern the things of God but the spirit of God. He indeed searches the deep things of God, such as are the results of his free pleasure, and the counsel of his will; which lay hidden in the *breast of God*, and must for ever have done so, had not he who lay in the *bosom of his Father*, revealed them unto us: and therefore if justice were, as the *Socinians* tell us, the effect only of Gods free will; it must have lain undiscovered to the Gentile world, to whom God vouchsafed no revelation of his will; which yet is contrary to the account which the Histories of all times and ages have given us of this matter. From whence it is evident that the belief of Gods Justice among men, is *coeval* with that of their being, written in the *same Characters*, and engraven by the *same Hand*, that implanted the notion of a God in the minds of men; and if so, then the same hand that *defaces* the notion of Gods Justice, must at the same time and for the same reason *erase* the belief of his existence out of the Souls of men: and I doubt not if the *Socinians* had lived in those days, by this

Hypothesis of theirs, they would have been extreamly serviceable to *Theodorus, Diagoras, Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, in the design they were engaged in, as the Ancients tell us, of rooting the belief of a God and Religion out of the world; for they might have told men not only with great plausibility but truth (if this opinion were true) that all those *accusations of Conscience*, and *anxieties of Mind*, which were occasioned by the belief and dread of divine Justice, were the effect only of *fancy and delusion*, and did ow their Original not to a divine *Impress*, but to the *Craft and Contrivance* of Priests and Politicians, who instilled into the minds of weak and unwary men, the vain fears of invisible powers; representing them armed with Thunder and with the Sword of Justice in their hands, whereas really there was no such thing. But all this they did to keep the world in aw, and thereby to compass the designs of their *interest and ambition*.

What further design *Socinus* himself might have, or whether he had any other design by advancing this Opinion, than the overturning that great Article of our faith concerning the satisfaction of Christ, I shall not positively determine. Only this I cannot but acquaint the Reader with, which hath bin long since observed likewise by others, that *Socinus* and his followers in all their books and disputations, have made it their business chiefly to cavil and make exceptions to their adversaries, not careing what became of Religion, so that they might with any colour avoid the Arguments with which they were pressed: as is in some measure made evident by several passages which we have quoted out of their writings in the foregoing discourse. And I have this further to add, that as *Socinus*, by denying the *divinity and satisfaction of Christ*, hath plainly overturned the foundation upon which the Christian Church and Religion have bin built: so by this assertion about Gods justice, and by several others dispersed and slyly insinuated through his writings, he hath given a shrewd blow to all Religion whatsoever, whether natural, or revealed; so that an unwary Reader, by perusing his writings, may find himself an *Atheist* before he well perceives how he comes to be so:

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as he saith in another case, *viz.* of his opinion against Hell Torments, that he had so contrived the matter, *ut lector prius sentiat doctrinam istam sibi jam persuasam esse, quam suaderi animadvertat* ¹.

And now I should come to a conclusion of this discourse about Gods Justice, (which I have spun out to a greater length than I at first intended;) But that I foresee an objection will be made against all that I have said, by the *Socinians* and their friends; who will be apt to say, that I have bin taking a great deal of pains to no purpose, to aggravate the mischiefs of an Opinion, which admit it were false in speculation, yet as it is stated by them can in *point of fact and practice*, carry no inconvenience imaginable along with it.

For whatever God may do when left to his own liberty, yet he hath thought fit to oblige himself by positive promises and threatnings to reward the righteous and to punish the wicked: so that now by the revelation of his will he hath indeed abridged himself of his natural liberty, but hath thereby taken effectual care to secure his own honour, and to establish Religion in the world, and all this is plainly acknowledged by the *Socinians*.

To which I answer, *1st.* that this doth not take off the falsehood and impiety of this *Socinian* opinion, which I was obliged to discover; any more than if a man should say, that God hath indeed *resolved* to act *wisely and righteously* in the government of the World; but that neither *wisdom nor righteousness* are necessary and essential *Attributes* perpetually residing in him, but are only the effects of his free will: which were a most irreligious and profane assertion, notwithstanding the former acknowledgment.

2. Tho the *Socinians* hereby take care of revealed, yet they overturn all natural Religion, as we shewed before, where God hath made no such Revelation of his will, or discovery of his intentions how he doth design to deal with men;

¹ Epist. 6. ad Volkel.

and so as far as in them lies, by this principle, they help to make the ¹ much greatest part of mankind Atheists.

3dly, When God hath declared his purpose, and hath accordingly given men Laws for the government of their actions, and hath to those Laws expressly annexed the sanctions of *rewards and punishments*, yet according to the *Socinian principles*, this doth not sufficiently encourage men in *virtuous practices*, nor lay an *effectual restraint* upon the wicked.

1st. As to rewards it is true the Gospel affords us, as the Apostle tells us, exceeding great and precious promises 2 Pet. 1. 4. which exceed not only our *deserts*, but our *hopes*: But what absolute assurance have we that they shall be made good to us? They are only the effects as *Socinus* tells us *Libera*, or as *Vorstius* explains it, *vertibilis voluntatis*, not only of a *free*, (for therein we agree with them,) but of a mutable will: for according to them, as was shewed before, God is *liable to alterations*, and may *change* his purpose as he doth the weather, *sicut potest pluere vel non pluere*: now tho the Morning proves never so fair, yet the Heavens may be overcast; and the Sun that rose so gloriously, may set in a Cloud.

In short, if we believe the *Socinians*, the promises of God considered barely in themselves are not a sufficient Basis for a Christians hope and security; forasmuch as God being ² *mutable in his nature*, he may *repent* of what he promised, and *change and alter* his Resolution. And that the Reader may not think that I have wronged the *Socinians* in laying this to their charge, I must refer him to a Treatise writ by *Crellius*, *de Causis Mortis Christi*; where he will find this that I have affirmed of them abundantly made good. For there he tells us that the true reason of Christs dying for us, was that thereby he might be a *Mediator*, and surety of the *Covenant* which God hath made with men; for tho God had given men the promise of pardon of their sins, yet that promise was no *sufficient security*, because he might have receded or started from it: Therefore to

¹ See Breerwood's Enquiries, Cap. 14.

² *Voluntas Dei est principium cujusdam mutabilitatis in Deo*, Vorst. Disp. p. 212.

fix him as it were to his word, Christ was sent as a sponsor and surety of the New Testament, which, in the name of his Father, he did confirm and ratify, by sealing it with his Blood; whereupon now God is *obliged* to make good his promise, so that if he had a mind to revoke it he cannot, the Death of Christ *compelling* him to keep it.

Indeed he could not but be sensible, that what he had thus delivered, would sound harshly in the Ears of most Readers, those especially who had any concern for the Honour of their Maker, which by this supposition was so highly and scandalously invaded: therefore to mollify this matter he tells us, that the efficacy which he ascribes to Christs Death, was not absolutely necessary in respect of God; whose own Love, Grace and Mercy, might *move and encline him* to make good his promise; yet however this put him under no *obligation*; for if it had, there had bin no need of the *death of Christ*, either in *respect of God or our selves*, either to have tyed him to the performance, or to have afforded us security.

Therefore he tells us, that we might have a firm bottom for our hope, that if we believed in Christ, (that is, obeyed his Gospel) our sins should be forgiven us; it highly concerned us that God should be *obliged* to perform what he had promised; and not only so, but that we might acquire a *Right* to pardon; which right he founds not in the *promise of God* but the Death of Christ, which, he saith, gives us such an undoubted Title to Mercy, and that supported by such a firm and manifest assurance and proof, as will not suffer God whatever may happen, to *break his word*, and recall his promise. And

I Vis. atque efficacia mortis Christi ad remissionem peccatorum comparandam tanta est, ut etiam Deum, si forte eum promissionis suae de remissione peccatorum, & liberatione ab interitu nobis concedenda paeniteret (utimur perasit sacris literis usitata) movere atque impellere possit, ne promissum suum rescinderet, sed quod pollicitus esset, reipsa praestaret Crell. de Causis Mortis Christi. p. 613. 2 Nam ut nos tanto certius credere possemus, nobis in Christum credentibus peccata remissa iri, plurimum referebat Deum ad id faciendum obligatum esse; & nos jus ad illud obtinendum habere; juxta inquam manifestissimis ac certissimis documentis nixum, quod jam quicquid tandem interveniret, Deum non pateretur promissa sua rescindere, Ibid. 3 Hic revera finis ac scopus fuit, cur Deus Morte Christi se nobis obligare voluerit, ut porro ad Christum morti tradendum impulsus fuisset; Ibid.

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this he tells us was the true reason of Christs coming into the world, and of Gods delivering him up to death for our sakes.

By all which it is evident, that in the opinion of this man, the *promises* of God considered nakedly in themselves, do not afford us a *sufficient security*; forasmuch as something may intervene, which may cause God to *repent* of what he promised, and thereby hinder the performance. And that you may not think that he had *forgot himself*, by making an *impious or impossible supposition*, he tells us *utimur phrasi sacris literis usitata*; that he used a phrase which was frequently made use of in the Scripture it self, which often mentions Gods sorrow and repentance, and therefore it can be no disparagement to Almighty God to ascribe it to him, it being rather in their opinion an argument of his wisdom, as was shewed before.

I must indeed acknowledge that this very Author at another time, *Lib. De Deo. Cap. 25. de Sanctitate Dei. p. 241.* affirms that the promises of God put him under an obligation, and that both his veracity and faithfulness engage him to make them good. But it is as evident on the other hand, that here he *supposes the contrary*, and that his Argument proceeds upon that *supposition*. But by this time I hope the Reader will not be much surpris'd to find Socinians *contradicting themselves*, and he need not be concerned at it; for I can assure him, whether he will or no, they will take the liberty of so doing. And hereby we find the observation which we a little before made concerning them, confirmed; *viz.* that in their disputations and writings they care not what they say, having no regard to the honour of God or Religion; being only concerned for their own reputation, and to defend and maintain their own *loose and unwarrantable Opinions*.

2dly, But let us admit that God by his *promises* puts himself under an obligation to men, so that he cannot go from his word, but is obliged to make it good; yet he may be at *greater liberty* as to his *threatnings*. Indeed these, as the Gospel represents them to us, are very terrible, whether we consider the punishments threatned either as to their *Intensive pain*, or

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as to the *extent* of their duration; for we are told that *the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment; that the worm that gnawes their Conscience shall not dye, and the fire that torments them shall never be extinguished.* This indeed is enough to make the sinner look pale, and to fright him either out of *his wits*, or out of his *wicked course of living*. But for all this he need not despair of Mercy; for tho God hath *threatned severely*, yet no man living can absolutely tell us, if we believe *Socinus*, whether he is resolved to *execute his threatnings*. For as at first God might either not have punished the Sinner at all, or not with external death, so now tho he hath declared by solemn Edict that he will do so, yet for all that he may if he pleases not inflict the punishment. Deus potuisset, idque jure, homines licet peccantes morti æternæ non mancipare, sic postquam eos morti æternæ edicto suo mancipavit, ex illius imperio eximere potest. Socin. de Christo Serv. Lib. 1. p. 124.

Eximere potest, saith Socinus, he may exempt the Sinner notwithstanding his Decree of punishing him; and why may not the sinner hope that *he will*: the bare threatnings, according to Socinus, do not *oblige* God to execute them: and the considerations of Gods Mercy and Justice, to which the torments of Hell, as he may imagin, can scarce be reconciled, may upon that score afford him some ground to hope that he doth not *design to do so*. We know sinners are apt to allow themselves, as too great liberty in sinning, so to flatter themselves with too great hopes of Impunity; and if they meet with any such compassionate Casuists as Socinus, who will afford them any encouragement, they are presently apt to run away with it, and never look back, to see that *vengeance* which pursues, and will at length certainly overtake them.

But how comes this man to know any thing of God besides what he hath revealed of himself in his word? must we have recourse to that exploded distinction of the Calvinists, and for which they have bin so much railed at by their adversaries, concerning the *revealed, and the secret will of God*? For tho the question in the case may seem to be about the *power* of God, yet really and in truth it is about *his will*; forasmuch

as God *cannot* do what he hath solemnly declared he *will not* do; and that for this *plain* and *irrefragable reason*, because God cannot deny himself.

And now have we not reason to put the question, and enquire, whither went the Spirit of God from the *Inspired writers*, to rest upon the head of this *Impostor*, who makes his *exceptions* to what they have declared as the *peremptory and unalterable decree of God*? Nay who boldly ventures to affirm that, which *Balaam* could not be *hired* to utter, tho' *tempted to it by the wages of unrighteousness*; but makes that pious acknowledgement *Numb. 23. God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man, that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?* Now if it be *Impossible for God to lie*, then it is not possible for him to alter the sentence concerning the final state of men; which is delivered in Scripture in such terms, as plainly evince it to be his *peremptory and irrevocable decree*: The happiness of the Righteous, and the punishments of the wicked, as to the *extent of their duration*, being expressed in the same words, and in the same sentence: and if it be possible to know any thing of the *Absolute and Immutable pleasure* of God; the wit of man could not contrive any plainer words, than what the *wisdom of God* hath already made use of, to declare his final and unalterable intentions, concerning the everlasting punishment of the wicked.

Besides it deserves to be considered, that this Declaration is not only delivered in the manner of a *threatning*, but likewise by way of *prediction*, in the fulfilling of which, the veracity of God may seem to be more particularly concerned, than in the execution of a bare Threatning delivered in a Sermon, or Exhortation, or the like. Now in those *glorious visions* which were communicated to St. *John* which he styles the *word of God, the Testimony and Revelation of Jesus Christ, concerning the things which were, and which should be hereafter*, Rev. I. v. 1, 2; 19. which are styled the *true sayings of God*, chap. 19. v. 9. *the words that are faithful and true* ch. 21. v. 5. I say in these visions are contained, as the state and events of the Church till the final dissolution of all things; so likewise the condition and fate of the Righteous and

Wicked, after the judgment of the last day. *Ch. 20. 21.* he tells us that he *saw the dead, both small and great, stand before God, and they were all judged according to their works, and whoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of fire, ver. 15. called ver. 10. the lake of fire and brimstone, where the Devil, and the Beast, and the false Prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*

And what is said in general of the wicked, we are assured shall betide the *fearful, and unbelievers, and the abominable and murderers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, who shall have their part in that lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone, Rev. 21. 8.* this is that Furnace of fire which our blessed Saviour so often mentioneth, *Mat. 13. 42. 50. that everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels, Mat. 25. 41. That fire, which again and again he assures us Mark. 9. shall not be quenched, no less than five times within the compass of six verses, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.* to declare unto us by this Repetition, the certainty of this thing, as in the case of *Pharaoh's Dream*, which was doubled to assure him that the *thing was established by God. Gen. 41. 32.*

The wit of man could not find out words more full and significant, to express the *eternal duration* of these punishments, and Gods *unalterable purpose* to inflict them. Now to say, notwithstanding all this, that yet in the conclusion, things may happen to be otherwise than what the *Son of God* hath declared, and this *servant of God* hath foretold, is with great boldness to contradict them both: and if it be *possible* that these predictions may not be accomplished, then the words are not *faithful and true*, that is, are not undoubtedly and absolutely true: so that at the same time, that *Socinus* puts an end to the *certainty* of Hell Torments, he doth likewise put an end to the *certainty* of the writings of the New Testament, and the *predictions* that are contained there: which is highly derogatory to the Authority of those sacred Writings, and particularly of the Revelation of *St. John*; which looks too much like the *taking away from the words of the Prophecy of that Book*; which yet I hope it is not, because of that dreadful punishment which attends those that do so, *Rev. 22. 19.* In short, if things

things *may happen* otherwise than St. *John* foresaw and foretold, some Scepticks and Infidels, which the age we live in doth too much abound with, may be apt to account that a *dream*, which he calls a *vision*; and to think, the holy man was *scarce awake* when he pretended to *foresee* these things.

Neither ought the case of *Temporal threatnings* be objected here in favour of *Socinus's* assertion: forasmuch as God himself hath told us, that in all such *Threatnings*, a condition is to be *supposed*, tho it be not alwayes *expressed*; so that tho they are delivered in terms *seemingly absolute*, yet God without any impeachment of his *veracity*, may upon the performance of the condition *revoke* them. *At what instant*, saith God, *I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it: if that Nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil, that I thought to do unto them*, Jer. 18. 7, 8. and this was the case of *Niniveh*, where tho the threatning was seemingly peremptory, yet the execution was suspended upon their *Repentance*, which was the end of the threatning.

But as to the punishments of the life to come, the threatnings of them must be *absolute and unconditional*, forasmuch as there can then be no room for *Repentance and amendment*: every mans state will then be finally determined; *he that is filthy will be filthy still*, without any possibility of change, or hope of pardon: and this is that which fills up the measure of the punishment of the damned: he that sinned without the *fear of God* in this life, shall be punished *without Mercy* in the next; and this despair will be that worm which will feed upon him to all eternity, which shall ever torment, but never devour the sinner, who will then become a terror to himself and an everlasting amazement.

In short therefore, and to sum up all that remains to be said upon this subject; he that goes about to *weaken the force* of those declarations which God hath made concerning the *eternal punishment* of the wicked, gives a *dangerous blow* to all revealed Religion, of which we can have no *certainty*, if once we undermine the *veracity of God*, which is the *foundation* upon
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on which it is built, and by which it is supported. But you will say the hopes which *Socinus* gives the sinner are but very slender, and those remote ones, which no man in point of prudence or safety should venture to rely upon. I confess I think so too: but for all this sinners will be bold and presumptuous: and you cannot wonder that men should grasp at any thing, lay hold upon any the *weakest twig*, rather than *sink* into Hell. But if this be not enough, *Socinus* can give the sinner more positive and direct encouragement; such as will not only put an end to the *Torments of Hell*, but likewise to his own *vain and superstitious fears* concerning them, and will *extinguish* those flames, which our blessed Saviour (who one would think should best know) hath assured us are *unquenchable*: But of this more hereafter.

Now if what hath bin hitherto said is not sufficient to shew the *impiety and detestableness* of these *Socinian* notions, he that will be at the pains to peruse their writings, or will but have the patience to read what is here transcribed out of them, will find (if it were possible) yet greater abominations than these: particularly in the account which they give of those *affections and passions* which they ascribe to God, and with which indeed the Scriptures represent him to us, but in a quite different sense than they are understood and interpreted by the *Socinians*; who give us such a description of Almighty God as is *repugnant to piety*, and to the *general sentiments*, not only of all sound Christians, but even of Jews, and many sober heathens, who have had *truer and more honourable* conceptions of the nature of God, than these men furnish us with; who cloath him with all the *passions and weaknesses of men*, ascribing to him *love and hatred, mercy and compassion, hope and desire, joy and sorrow, fear and repentance*, which they make to be *truly and properly* in God, tho not exactly in the same manner as they are in men, no more than they are in other created spirits, or the Soul of man it self in its state of separation from the Body: that is, they are there, but without any motion, or *sensible alteration* of the *Blood and Spirits*, such as is to be found in men. But our Religion and right reason will inform us,

that these things are attributed to God, but it is ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, in a figurative sense, representing thereby to us the various administrations of Gods providence with respect to divers objects, who as they are indued with different qualities and dispositions, so God is pleased to exercise different actions towards them; which actions in men indeed arise from different principles and passions, but do not so in God, who amidst the variety of the actions and dispositions of men, and his dealings suitably to them, yet in his essence continues still the same, without any perturbation or the least shadow of change. And therefore Divines tell us, and particularly Limburg, that these things are ascribed to God, not with respect to God, but with a regard to those objects about which the acts of his providence are conversant, according to that known maxim of the School-men, *affectus in deo notant effectus*; and so far he is Orthodox: but a little after in the same Section he overthrows what but just before he asserted, and so interprets and explains himself, that a Socinian cannot be displeased with his Opinion.

For first he makes these affections to be acts, or as Crellius calls them *commotions* of Gods will, which some have thought could not be properly ascribed to him, without overthrowing the simplicity as well as immutability of his divine nature. But to let that pass.

2. He makes these passions in God to be *Analogous* to those in men, without which *Analogy*, or *resemblance*, there is no reason, he saith, why the Scriptures should ascribe them to God. *Si nihil illis Analogum Deo tribuamus, nulla apparebit ratio, cur iisdem cum affectibus humanis nominibus appellentur*. So saith Limburg, *Loc. supra citat. Sunt enim in nobis affectus commotiones quadam atque inclinationes appetitus, cui vim facultatemque Analogam vo-*

¹ Non cum relatione ad ipsum Deum, sed in ordine ad ipsa objecta, quæ extra deum sunt, circa quæ Deus operatur Lib. 2. Cap. 10. ² See Episcop. out of whom Limburg hath transcribed his Divinity, Inst. Th. Lib. 4. cap. 22. Quod non sic accipiendum est quasi affectus nulli proprie ac per se Deo competant: contra enim in Deo credimus affectus esse. Natura divinarum affectionum vix aliter à nobis concipi atque æstimari potest, quam ex natura affectionum humanorum, sive per similitudinem & Analogiam quam habent cum affectibus humanis.

luntas divina in se completitur. So saith *Grellius* Cap. 26. p. 197. and here I think they perfectly agree. But for once we will make so bold as to ask these Gentlemen, whether when the Scriptures attribute *hands and feet, and eyes and ears* to God, they think that there is something in the nature of God that is *Analogous*, and bears any *resemblance* to these parts of a mans Body, without which they could not with any reason be applyed to him.

Tho I have reason not to be over confident of a *Socinian*, yet in this case I will take it for granted, they would both answer in the negative, and that there were here no *ἀναλογία*, but what the Fathers, and particularly *St. Chrysostome* upon many occasions so often mention, *συγκατάβασις*, nay there is *μέγιστον* & *ὑπερβολή*, or, if in imitation of *St. Paul* you will joyn these two words together, there is *ὑπερβαλλόν μέγιστον* τῆς συγκαταβάσεως; nothing to be supposed in God by way of resemblance, but an exceeding great and adorable condescension in him, who stoops to our capacities, and expresses some *properties and operations* of his, by such parts, which are the *Instruments* of the like operations in men.

So with the same truth, and for the same reason it should be averred, when *human passions* are ascribed to God, it is not by reason of any *resemblance* that is between God and Men in *these affections*; but by reason of that *Analogy or similitude* that is to be found between the *operations of God*, and these *actions* of men; which in them arise from such *commotions* of the Soul which we call passions, but in God proceed from his *simple and uncompounded nature*, who is Infinite and unchangable, and therefore as our Church in conformity to the Scriptures hath taught us to believe, is *without parts and without passions.*
Article 1st.

The *Impiety* of this opinion will further appear from a consideration of those *particular passions* which the *Socinians* affirm to be in God; which cannot truly be ascribed to him, without a great *disparagement* to his Infinite and adorable perfections, and those are *Fear and Grief*: under which we must comprehend *sorrow and repentance*, which properly respect
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things past, whereas *grief and trouble* which alwayes attend it indifferently respect *things* either *past or present*. And these are passions which necessarily infer a *weakness in God*, such as a *Stoick* would not allow in his wise and virtuous man.

And first for *fear*, *Crellius* ¹ will tell us that tho at first view this passion cannot without a seeming absurdity be attributed to God, yet he is *truly lyable* to it, and indeed it is the *necessary effect of his wisdom*, as it is *conversant about creatures prone and lyable to sin*. And this he proves from *Deut. 22. 26, 27.* *I said I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease among men, were it not that I feared the wrath of the Enemy, lest their adversaries should say, our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this.* And then refers you to two other places before mention'd, *Exod. 32.* and *Numb. 14.* where we have instances, as he tells us, of Gods altering his purpose of destroying the Children of *Israel*, out of this principle of *fear* ²: lest the *Heathens* and particularly the *Egyptians*, should *misconstrue* his actions, and for want of knowing the true reasons which moved him to *this severity*, impute it either to a *malicious design*, as if he had rescued them out of the hands, and delivered them from the *Tyranny of Pharaoh*, that he might have the *Glory* of their overthrow in the wilderness: or else to his *Impotence* that he was not able to compleat their deliverance, and to bring them into the Land which he had so often promised them. Now God to *save his honour* which else might have suffered by this action, and to prevent the *upbraidings* of his Enemies, which he was *extreamly afraid of*, was prevailed upon by the *Entreaties of Moses*, and the *reasons* which he offered, to spare those, whom in his thoughts he had *solemnly devoted to destruction*.

He further refers his reader to several other places where God

¹ *Sapientia ipsius, quatenus circa creaturas versatur in peccata pronas, effectum esse prope necessarium, Cap. 31. p. 324.* ² *Moses Deum à proposito perdendi populi Israelitici revocasse dicitur, Argumento metuendi mali Eventus; quod scil. Hostes Deum essent calumniaturi. Videtur Deus hunc eventum, utpote sua natura possibilem, suo modo metuisse, & propterea à proposito suo recessisse. Vorst. Notæ ad Disp. 10. p. 451.*

is said to do something which otherwise he was unwilling to do, or to *omit the doing* of something which before he was *resolved upon*, as Gen. 5. 22. Exod. 15. 17. 35. 3. &c. out of a *just fear* of what might happen: and this is so far from being with him an Argument of Imperfection, that he saith it is the result of wisdom and a just caution, in foreseeing some probable events, and thus wisely preventing them. *Ibid.*

2. For *grief and trouble*, these likewise by the same Metaphor are to be ascribed to God, that is, saith *Crellius*, forasmuch as all Metaphors arise from *similitude*, something like these must be found in him. And for proof of this he quotes all those places of Scripture, where God is said to *be provoked, to be displeased and grieved*, Ps. 78. 40, 46. Ps. 106. 33. Esay 3. 8. 2 Sam. 11. 27. and particularly that memorable place, Esay. 1. 14. where God is said to hate the New Moons and Feasts of the Jews, *they are a trouble to me* saith God, *I am weary to hear them*. Where he hath this remark Cap. 31. p. 319. *these things are then said to be troublesome to us, and which we cannot well bear*¹, which bring *uneasiness* and a certain *disquiet* along with them. And to say and think this of God, is so far from tending to his dishonour, that the contrary conceit would overthrow all Religion, forasmuch as it would introduce an Opinion concerning God fit only for *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* to entertain of him: *quis enim*, saith he, who can form such a notion of God, as of one that is not *affected with pleasure, nor sensible of pain, nisi qui ad Epicureorum vel Stoicorum saltem sententiam de Deo accedere vult?* Loc. citat. 321. a God enjoying pure and unmixed pleasure, *perfect rest*, and an *uninterrupted tranquillity*, never *disturbed with passions*, nor *disordered* by any of the actions of men, or the changes and revolutions that happen in the world; this doctrine concerning him is fit not to be preached in the Temples of Christians, but to be published in the Schooles of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*. Indeed we are beholding to him for that *liberal concession*: that this *trouble and*

¹ Ea Demum molesta sunt, & in illis sustinendis laboramus, quæ dolorem aliquem nobis afferunt.

grief which he supposes to be in God, doth not arise from any *Internal causes*, such as are the indispositions of Body or mind which occasion grief in men, and make them uneasy: but only from *external motives and reasons*, viz. the actions of his creatures¹. So that what God cannot do himself, he hath put it into the *power of his Creatures to effect*, and that if it were not for the *follies and impieties of men* he would be *entirely happy, perfectly at rest*; all that *grief and trouble* which affects him, is solely owing to the actions of his Creatures, and not to any disorder of his own nature: A very pious acknowledgment!

Lastly, for that sort of *grief* which respects things past, which we call *Repentance*, this likewise is to be found in God: and not that only which signifies the *alteration of his Counsels*, or a change of his will, of which we have spoken before; (which may indeed be called Repentance, but that saith *Crel- lius* is *diluvio Metaphora*²;) but as it betokens the *passion and affection* it self. And for this he quotes *Gen. 6. 7.* where it is said, that God *repented that he made man, and that it griev- ed him at the heart*. This is *affectio in Deo ingrata*, *Ibid.* an af- fection that brings *molestation* with it, arising in God when he sees that those his actions which were so well designed by him, by the folly and malice of men, are so far perverted, as to produce effects so contrary to his *Intentions*.

Now against all this it would be very natural for men to object, and the *Socinian* easily foresaw it, That what is thus asserted, must be quite contrary to the sense of mankind, and to those notions which *naturally arise* in mens minds concern- ing the *perfections of Almighty God*; for to suppose such *varie- ty of commotions* in the mind of God, and these sometime *opposite* to one another, which cannot but occasion in him *mo- lestation and trouble*; which must be further increased, when he finds his *designs baffled* his *Councils overthrown*, his authority de- spised; which obliges him oftentimes to *change* his own pur-

¹ *Ex rebus extra deum existentibus, quas in creaturam arbitrio posuit*, *Ibid.* p. 310. *Ibid.* p. 322.

poses, and ~~reverts~~ his decrees: one would I say, think that all this should really be not only a *derogation* to his *Infinite perfections* but likewise a *diminution* of his *happiness*.

1st. As to what concerns the *perfections* of God, *Crellius* will tell you, that nothing of all this that is asserted of the nature of God is an Argument of *Imperfection*. It is true, he hath not the same notions of the perfections of God as you have. You may perhaps think him Infinite, but it is a weakness in you to think so. God is *finite* in his *being*, and consequently must be so in his *Operations*: he is *limited* in his presence to certain spaces: his knowledge hath its *just bounds*, he is mutable and lyable to change: he is *extended* and for that reason must be made up of parts; in him you may find a *composition* of substance and accidents, and these oftentimes contrary to one another: he is clothed with passions, which have such a resemblance to those *weaknesses* of our nature, that from a consideration of humane passions, we must make a judgement and frame our apprehensions of those motions which are to be found in God.

And these *motions* in God are sometimes more *calme*, at other times more *violent and impetuous*, the Impieties of men provoking him to that degree that he is earnestly bent upon their destruction, but afterwards calmed by their prayers: now *angry* at men for their Sins, by and by *appeased* by their Repentance. Sometimes you will find him doing a thing, by and by *repenting* the doing of it; one while *resolved* upon one action, and anon resolving the *quite contrary*: and all this to be found truly and formally in God, and not in that figurative sense in which the Scriptures ascribe them to him. For saith the same Author, separate all impurity from those passions, all *corporeal mixture*, nay it must be *concretio terreni corporis*, the mixture of a terrestrial body, that you may not mistake him: (for there is a *Spiritual Body* and *Cæstial matter* which may be-

1 Ex affectuum humanorum natura, à quibus ipse Dei spiritus ob Analogiam, ac similitudinem voces ad Deum transfert, estimanda nobis erit natura illorum voluntatis Dei actuum. (ap. 29. de Affect. Dei. p. 297.

long to God himself:) in short exclude all Impotence and Imperfection from these affections, (and indeed it must be a very nice and Metaphysical abstraction that is able to do it) and then whatever remains in the *true notion* and *formal conception* of these passions, are still to be supposed and must be left there, when applyed to God himself. *Sejungenda quæcunque Imperfectionem aut Imbecillitatem resipiunt, cætera, quæ in natura cernuntur affectuum illorum, quorum nomina deo tribuuntur, esse relinquenda.* Ibid.

But however tho this should prove no *Imperfection*, yet the *uneasiness* and *disquiet*, that is the inseparable attendant on grief, and fear, and sorrow, those *tormenting passions*, must, one would think, *interrupt that tranquillity* which we suppose God to be posselt of, and consequently be an *abatement of his happiness*.

To which he answers first in general,¹ that as we ought not indeed to urge any expressions in Scripture, so far as to oppose the *happiness of God*; so neither on the other hand ought we to urge the *belief of his happiness*, so as to affirm him not to have a true sense of evil, mixt with *uneasiness*.

But more particularly, you must consider in this case that tho men by their Sins² may grieve God, yet, as the Socinian hath wisely observed, they cannot *hurt him*: tho they may disturb, yet they cannot deprive him, of any of his essential perfections. That is something, but not enough; for among men we are apt to account it an *unhappiness* to be robbed of our ease and quiet, tho they that do so should not have it in their power to deprive us of any thing else.

Therefore 2dly, You must know, that tho there are some things of that force as to be able to create *dolorem & molestiam*, *grief and molestation to God*; yet the number of those other things which afford him satisfaction and pleasure, do so far exceed and overballance them³, that they do much *abate* the

¹ Ut jucundum quendam rerum malorum sensum ei tribuere non liceat. Idem Cap 31 p. 321. ² Ea quæ voluntati divinæ adversa sunt, illius beatitudinem non evertunt aut laedunt. Ibid. ³ Ut vim ingratarum rerum & molestiam quam

parere possunt, aut tollunt, aut imminuunt, p. 321.

trouble and uneasiness that is occasioned by them : a Blessed Apology for the *perfections and happiness* of Almighty God !

And thus much shall serve to be said upon the first head, concerning the nature of God considered absolutely in himself, and his divine attributes; by which we may see the difference between what the *Scriptures* say, and what the *Socinians* affirm of him: and I doubt not but the pious Reader, will not only be *offended*, but struck with a *just horror and amazement*, at the boldness and impiety of these blasphemers, who are thus injurious to their maker, and think and speak thus dishonourably of him. But how little regard, and how mean soever their *conceptions* be of God, yet they have a *good opinion* of themselves; in that they make not only their *reason* to be the *adequate Judge* of his revelations, but even their own *passions and weakness*, the rule by which they measure, at least make an estimate of his *infinite nature* and most *adorable perfections*; an attempt, besides the impiety of it, more ridiculous, then if a man should endeavour to take the dimensions of the Heavens with a single span, or to fathom the depth and reach the bottom of the Ocean with his little finger.

In the next place we must consider God *Relatively* in the great mystery of the *Trinity*. And that which the Scriptures teach us to believe of this matter, is briefly summed up in the first Article of our Religion established in this Church concerning faith in the *Holy Trinity*, in these words; *In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, Power and Eternity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. Or as it is with some alteration of words, but to the same purpose expressed, in the Doxology to be repeated upon Trinity Sunday; wherein we are taught to make this acknowledgement of Almighty God, *That he is one God, one Lord, not one only person, but three persons in one substance; for that which we believe of the Glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality*. A brief but *comprehensive* Epitome, of what is more largely declared and explained, in the Creed, which the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants* have so great a spight against, commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*.

This is the Faith of all the *Reformed Churches*, being herein Agreeable to the doctrine held by the Church of God in all Ages, ever since the first planting of Christianity in the world; what we and they believe of this matter, being conformable to the plain and expresse declarations of Scripture, and especially of what Christ and his Apostles have delivered to us concerning this matter, in the writings of the *New Testament*. For this you may consult the *Harmony of their Confessions*; both *Lutheran and Calvinist* all exactly agreeing in this doctrine, without any the least difference or variety: where you may likewise see the Consent of the Catholick Church from the first Ages next to that of the *Apostles*, from whose inspired writings the Fathers received this Doctrine, which by an *uninterrupted Tradition*, thro all the successive Ages of the Church, hath bin delivered and brought down to the times we live in: In this Faith we have all bin *Baptized*, being at our first admission into the Christian Church, solemnly *Consecrated* to the worship and service of those three ever blessed and glorious persons, *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* Mat. 28. These being the *three that bear witness in Heaven, and these three are one*, 1 Jo. 5. 7.

For that Text we shall not easily part with, notwithstanding the Cavils of the *Socinians*, and the *over officious endeavours* of some others, whether *Papists or Protestants*, who would weaken the Authority of that Testimony, and thereby rob us of the advantage of it. For tho some Greek MSS. want it, yet there are others more approved and of greater Antiquity in which you may meet with it. Besides it is to be found in the writings of the Ancients, *Tertull. Cypr. Athanasius*, and *Jerome* who quote these very words: and if you have a mind to know more of this matter, without going any further, you may peruse what Mr. *Poole* in his *Synopsis* hath quoted out of *Gerhard, Dr. Hammond* and other Writers in vindication of this Text.

From which, I think, it will appear, that the *Authority* of this place remains clear and in full force, notwithstanding the attempts that have bin made to overthrow it. Tho if we gave up this Text, yet we should not the holy Doctrine contained

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in it; which is so plainly delivered in other places of Scripture, and shines there with *so bright a lustre*, that a man had need wink hard, who would avoid the conviction; or else must have so great a confidence in his Eyes, that he may hope in time to stare the Sun it self out of countenance.

For as in some places of Scripture he will find the *unity of the Godhead* asserted; so in others he will find the name, and not only so, but to avoid any Cavils and exceptions that may be made about the ambiguous signification of that word: he will find the *same divine attributes, and Operations*, on all hands acknowledged to belong to God the Father, ascribed likewise to the Son and the Holy Ghost; who yet are alwayes mentioned as distinct from one another: from whence by an easie and a *necessary deduction*, it must unavoidably follow, that since they are *really distinguished* from each other, and yet agree in the same *common nature*, as the *same properties* and the *same operations* irrefragably evince; they must be, what we have bin taught hitherto to believe and profess of them, in the Language of the Church, *three Persons and one God*. And as we pretend to agree in the same doctrine with the Ancient Church, so I think it is highly fitting, and for many just reasons in a manner necessary, to preserve the same words in which it hath bin delivered down to us, in opposition to any new modes of speaking. For the Ancient words by *prescription* and long use, have obtained both a *just Authority* among Christians, and a *settled and determinate signification*: whereas new phrases may be liable to great exceptions, and introductive at long run of new and unwarrantable opinions about these mysteries; beyond the intention of them who first made use of them.

Now against all this the *Socinians* will tell you, that this doctrine concerning the Trinity is so far from being a *fundamental truth*, that it is indeed the *foundation* of all the errors that have crept into the Christian Church; as being opposite to the Scriptures, and plainly repugnant to reason: it is a *Papish doctrine*; so saith Socinus Lib. *quod Regni Polon. &c.* cap. 4. so Welsing. Lib. *de Offic. Hominis Christiani*, and by so saying they do exceed-

exceedingly advance the Reputation of Popery, by making it of so great and venerable antiquity, embraced by all sound Christians ever since the Apostles days. It is a *Paganish opinion, Ethnicismum sapit*, so saith *Smalcus*, *Exam. Cent. Err.* So opposite to reason, that it is a wonder how any man in his wits could ever have thought of it. So saith *Ostrod.* he cannot imagin, *quomodo homini ulli ratione prædito in mentem venire posset.* *Inst. Rel. Christianæ* Cap. 4. that is, sure it could never have entred into any mans head, that ever had any brains there. Nay it is not only a very foolish, but a very dangerous error, that puts a stumbling block, and rub in mens way to Heaven. Strange that that doctrine should be thought an hindrance to mens happinets, the belief of which by all good Christians hath hitherto bin thought necessary to Salvation: but so it is if you believe *Socinus*, *Lib. supra cit. eodem cap.*

And indeed it is no wonder it should hinder men from going to Heaven, if it be true that *Volkel.* tells us, that this doctrine of the Trinity is not an Error that is owing so much to the ignorance and mistakes of Men, as to the delusion of the Devil¹, That it is a blasphemous Doctrine, as another of them saith², hatched in Hell, and from thence fetched by the Son of Perdition, and obtruded upon the Church. And if this be so, I must profess my self to be of the same mind with³ *Smal.* and to hope with him, that this absurd and most false doctrine as he calls it, will shortly be chased and hissed out of the World.

But farther, particularly concerning *Christ*, they tell us that he had no existence before his formation in the womb of the Virgin: and the being which he then had was purely humane, and therefore what is said of the Divinity of Christ is a mere fable⁴, owing to senseless and absurd interpretations of Holy Scripture⁵. The Account of his Eternal Gene-

¹ *Volkel. de Vera Relig. Lib. 5. Cap. 9.* ² *Sunt blasphema Dogmata, ex imo Orco, per filium perditionis Ecclesiæ Gentium, virtute Satanae obtrusa.* *Theod. Schimberg citat. à Gerhardo in Exeg. Loc. 3. de Trin.* ³ *Propediem Exhibebitur ista obscurissima simul, & falsissima de dei essentia Opinio.* *Smal. Contra Franz.* ⁴ *Smal. Refut. Smig. Fabula ista mundo tunc non innotuerat.* ⁵ *Facessant hæc imperita ac absurda interpretationes,* *Socin. in 5. Cap. 1. Epist. Johan. ver. 20.*

ration, is a meere *Romance*, false, impossible, a plain contradiction¹; the contrivance of some idle trifling persons, who had nothing else to do but to invent such absurd and incredible notions. Here by the way, I must desire the Reader to take notice not only of the impiety, but likewise of the unparallel'd impudence and scurrility of these blasphemers, and consequently whether it be fit to entertain any favourable opinion, of the doctrines of these men, and much more to have their *Persons and Writings in admiration*.

2dly, Concerning the *Spirit of God*; they tell us that he is not a *Person*, as the Church of God hath hitherto vainly imagined: but only a quality, an accident; sometimes taken for the *Innate power* and virtue residing in God, and sometimes for the *operations* that proceed from that virtue and faculty³. *Crellius* hath written a particular Treatise *de Spiritu Sancto*, and therein he tells us that the word Spirit, in its first and proper signification, denotes⁴ that *breath* which is expired out of the mouths of Men or other Animals; and from the *resemblance* that is to be found between them, it is transferred to signify that divine virtue in God which we call the *Holy Ghost*: and therefore when Christ, *Joh. 20. 22. breathed on his Disciples*, and thereby conferred upon them the *Holy Ghost*; he did thereby give them to understand, that the holy spirit was an *Emanation from God*, not unlike a vapour or breathing. At this rate the Holy Ghost should it seems be a subtile and tenuous substance, contrary to what he asserts *cap. 1.* where he plainly tells us that the Spirit of God is not properly a *substance* but a *quality*, therefore called in the Scripture the power of the most High, & *virtus proprie qualitas est*, p. 466.

But forasmuch as many things, by his own acknowledgment, are affirmed of, and divers actions ascribed to the Holy Ghost,

¹ *Nugæ, falsum, impossibile, contradictionem implicat.* Smal. Refut. Smigl. ad Nova Monit. Ar. ² Idem Refut. Lib. de Incarn. cap. 3. *Vanissimum Commentum otiosorum Hominum.* ³ Vid. Smal. Refut. Lib. de Incarn. cap. 27. Socin. Tract. de Deo, & Contra Wier. & alibi passim. ⁴ *Flatus ex ore Animalis expressum.* p. 455. ⁵ *Indicavit Spiritum Sanctum ejusque à Deo & Christo Emanationem seu Emissionem, afflatui sive spiraculo esse similem,* Proleg. de Spiritu Sancto Ibid.

which

which cannot well agree to *qualities*, but must suppose the thing to which they are ascribed to be a *substance*; such as are *Local motion, Bodily shape, division and the like*: to reconcile therefore these seeming differences he is of Opinion, that the Spirit of God consider'd abstractedly in it self, is a meere quality; but yet this vertue may be impressed upon, and conveighed into some subtile and coelestial matter, & *ejus natura valde congrue*, which is agreeable to its nature, *Ibid.* As we find the vital energy of the Soul communicated first to the *Animal Spirits*, and by them to all the other parts of the Body: and as we find the influences of the *Celestial Bodies*, and qualities of *Terrestrial ones, Heat, Light and Odors* conveighed in some subtile *effluvium's*, from the Bodies in which they are, into the Air, and some other subjects at a great distance. So saith he, by the *Spirit of God* is sometimes meant that *tenuous matter* which contains a divine quality in it, and by which it is conveighed into the minds of men: and in this sense he conceives the spirit of God, may be called a *Corporeal substance*, which hath extension, and is capable of division, as other Bodies tho spiritual are¹.

And by this notion he thinks he hath found out an easy way, to solve the former difficulties concerning the *Local motion* of the *Holy Ghost*, and particularly, his descent upon our Saviour at the time of *his Baptism*, and upon the Apostles in the *day of Pentecost*. Of his being *poured out*, of his *being given*, sometimes in measure, and sometimes without it: of his being *divided and distributed* and the like: which tho we interpret of the *gifts*, he doth of the *nature and essence of the Holy Ghost*, which according to the account he gives of it, may like other *steams and vapors* be carry'd here and there, and may be divided and distributed in greater and lesser quantities as there occasion. And thus God took some part of this *Celestial matter*, which contained that divine virtue with which *Moses* was endued, and put it into the *70. Elders Numb. 11. 25.*

¹ *Materia subtilis, quæ qualitatem divinam in se habet, & per quam in hominum pectora deferri solet. Ibid. p. 476.* ² *Ista modo Spiritum Sanctum substantiam quandam esse, eamque corpoream non esse negandum, Ibid.*

and in the same sense *Elisba* had a double portion of the Spirit of *Elias*, that is, of that divine steam and vapor which enabled him to do wonders.

Now if we shall further enquire what that Celestial matter is, by which this divine quality which he makes to be the *Holy Ghost*, is conveyed and distributed among men; he hath not determined, but hath left it to the Readers discretion to conjecture: tho he hath given sufficient intimation how he would have him govern his Opinion. For in the other instances which he produces, the quality and the *effluvium's*, proceed from the same subject; and he gives you no limitation, no caution in the least to think otherwise in this case: it is plain that some of his friends as he tells us, were of that Opinion, that the Spirit of God, was nothing but an *Emanation*, a *tenuous steam flowing from the very substance of God*, as the breath doth out of our mouths and nostrils: *quam sententiam*, saith he, *in medio relinquimus*; he will not give you his Opinion in this case, it being but fit that in *matters of Religion*, every man should be left to his own freedom, and therefore he fairly leaves you to your own. It is plain, if he were not himself of that Opinion, yet he thought there was no harm in it; otherwise he would have given his Reader some caution about it, which he hath not in the least done.

And now we are come to the *Bottom*, or if you please, to the very *dregs of Socinianism*, and that which is the true cause and source of all those *extravagant*, and indeed *Blasphemous* Notions which these men have of *Almighty God*: who in their most refined and exalted speculations, cannot raise their thoughts to conceive any substance above matter. It is true, they call God a *Spirit*, but it is as certain that they mean a *Spiritual Body*; as appears by what *Crellius* tells us when he comes to describe God, and to give the *definition of a Spirit* which is contained in that

1 Crell. Proleg. de Spiritu Sancto, p. 1. *Substantia subtilissima Halitui Oris Analoga, & quemadmodum ille ab Ore Emanat, ita Spiritus iste à Deo.* 2 *Dens est Spiritus Æternus; Spiritum autem cum nominamus, substantiam intelligimus ab omni crassitie, qualem in Corporibus oculorum arbitrio subjectis cernimus, alienam. Hoc sensu Angelos dicimus spiritus, & aerem licet sensibus quibusdam, ut tactui patentem, & alia corpora huic familia.* Lib. de Deo. & Attrib. Cap. 15.

description. When we call God a Spirit, saith he, we mean a substance free from all that *thick gross matter* which is the *object of our senses* shall I say? no that's too much, but which can *terminate our sight*; for a Spirit tho it be *invisible*, you must know it may be *palpable*; and such is the air saith he, to which the word Spirit is a *genus*, common to it, to God and Angels¹: each of which are spirits, but that which is most subtile is likewise most spirituous.

And by this explication of the nature of a spirit, *Crellius* who calls God a spirit, and *Socinus* who plainly thought he was none, (as appears by his² forced and perverse Interpretation of those words of Christ *Jo. 4. 24.* which contain as *plain and clear* a declaration of this great truth, as could be expressed in words,) may very easily be reconciled. For whereas the *Mas-ster* denies God to be a spirit, he might by the word spirit mean an *incorporeal, immaterial being*: and the *Scholar* by acknowledging him to be one, did not intend to exclude *matter from his constitution*; but that he was not composed of such *thick gross parts of matter* as our Bodies are, which can terminate the sight; but of matter of a more *tenuous and refined Contexture*, more *subtile* perhaps, but of the *same nature* with Aer or Æther.

And from hence result all their *Impious Opinions* about God, in opposition to his Immensity, simplicity, Omnipresence: Judg- ing of their Maker by themselves; of his thoughts by their thoughts, of his wayes by their wayes, of his dealings with men by their own foolish passions: and in short, measuring all his *Glorious and Incomprehensible perfections*, by their own narrow and shallow conceptions of sensible objects. Hence it is that we have those bold assertions of *Vorstius*³. *Deus non est infinitus, nec in essendo nec in operando. Infinita virtus non est in Deo. Immen-*

¹ Quorum unumquodque hoc nomen tanto magis sortitur, quanto est subtilius, Ibid.
² Vid. Vorst. Not. ad Disp. 3. de Natura Dei p. 200. ³ Non est fortasse eorum
 verborum sententia, quam plerique omnes arbitrantur, [Deum scil. esse spiritum:] ne-
 que enim subaudiendum esse dicat aliquis verbum in, quasi vox unius Recto casu ac-
 cipienda sit: sed dñi non repetendum verbum carū, quod paulo ante præcessit; &
 unius quarto casu accipiendum, ita ut sententia sit, Deum quærere & postulare Spiri-
 tum. Frag Disp de Ador. Christi cum Christiano Franken. p. 778. 4. Ibid p. 234. 235.

suas seu infinitas est addivam. To be Infinite is impossible, and therefore so far from denoting a perfection, that it implies a plain contradiction. And among other Arguments which he makes use of to prove God not to be Infinite, this is remarkable *Ibid. p. 237.* Because God at present, saith he, is seen by the Angels, and shall be so hereafter by us, with our Bodily Eyes; and therefore not Infinite. For what is so cannot be comprehended by any sense, as he rightly upon this supposition argues: *Quia debet esse proportio inter objectum percipiendum, & personam percipientem:* and whereas it may be objected that the *Beatifick vision* respects the *inward speculation* of the mind, and not the *external perception* of the Eyes; some indeed so interpret it, saith he, *Sed nescio an sacris literis consentaneum sit; certe magnam futuræ nostræ felicitatis partem hac explicatione tollere videntur.*

Now if God be finite, it must further follow, and is plainly acknowledged by these men, *that magnitude and extension, and a true local presence* may and must be ascribed to him: and this is so far from being by them looked upon to be derogatory to the nature and perfection of God; that the contrary notion is exploded by them, not only as false, but as absurd and ridiculous, which asserts such a presence of God, as obliges us to believe him not to be confined to any certain place, neither to have any parts commensurate to the parts of that place in which he is. For this if any thing must be the meaning of *Episcopus's Atomica & Atopica essentia divina presentia;* which he rails at and exclaims against and can scarce think of without horror and Astonishment.

But further, if *Local presence* be ascribed to God, I think *Local motion* may with good reason be so likewise; forasmuch as it may be more honourable to God to Imagine that he may sometimes change, than that he should alwayes be Immoveably fixed and confined to one certain place. Lastly if *extension* may be attributed to God, and such an extension as was said before, which hath its certain *bounds and limits*, by an unavoidable consequence, *Figure* must be ascribed to him also: forasmuch

as figure doth naturally and necessarily result from the *termination of extension*: this being the definition of a figure, *quæ sub aliquo vel aliquibus terminis comprehenditur*.

And now at length we see what a blessed notion of Almighty God the *Socinians* have furnished us with; how *scandalous* and *dishonourable* to God, how *repugnant to piety*, how opposite to *right reason*, and to those sober and just apprehensions which *that* hath furnished many wise heathens with, who I am afraid may one day rise up in Judgement against these men and condemn them.

It may be now time to draw towards a conclusion of this Discourse, therefore I shall briefly sum up what hath been said upon this subject: that the Readers memory may be refreshed with the account which hath bin given him, both of what the Scripture affirms of God, and what the *Socinians* say of him.

The Scriptures have informed us that our God is *Infinite*, they say he is *Finite*. Ours is *Omnipresent*, theirs *Limited* and confined to a certain place: ours *Immutable*, theirs *Liable to change*; ours is *naturally just*, theirs *contingently* so: ours *necessarily* concerned in the government of the World, and taking care of humane affairs; theirs might like *Epicurus* his Deity, sit at ease in the enjoyment of his own happiness, leaving the world to the *conduct of chance*; and men to the *guidance* of that which is *equally uncertain*, their own giddy and unstable passions; neither giving them *Laws* for the regulating of their actions, nor assigning any *punishment* to the violation of them. Our God is *Omniscient*, theirs *ignorant of future and contingent events*: ours *without parts or passions*, theirs *compounded of one*, and *lyable* to the other; even to those which argue the greatest weakness and infirmity, and which some of the Philosophers thought inconsistent with the bravery and resolution of a wise and virtuous man. In short, our God consists of three blessed and glorious persons, subsisting in the same undivided essence: They deny the divine nature of *the Son*, and yet by an unpardonable contradiction, say that he is *a true God*; and disown the personality of the *Holy Ghost*.

From all which I think it will appear very evident, what
we

we undertook to make out at the beginning of this discourse, that the *Object* of their Religion and ours is different; and that will go a great way to prove that the *Religions themselves* are so too. In short, the difference between us is not so small as some ignorant people may imagine, and some crafty and designing persons may pretend; among whom I cannot but reckon *Curcellæus*, who most falsely and impudently against common sense and reason, and therefore one might be tempted to imagine, against his *Conscience*, would persuade the world to believe, that the difference between us and the *Socinians*, in the point of the Divinity of the son of God, was a *λογομαχία*, a contention about words rather than any real difference, in a matter of faith: which is quite contrary to the notion that either the Orthodox or the *Socinians* have of this matter: who lay a greater and truer stress upon their Opinions, than this man doth, who pretends to bless the world with a discovery of what no body ever knew before.

But I believe the Reader who hath perused the foregoing discourse, will be induced to believe that either the *Socinians* or we are in a very great mistake, the distance between us being wider, than that between *Heaven and Earth*: and indeed no less than between *Finite and Infinite*. So that upon a true state of things, I believe it will be found that our Opinions are not only seemingly inconsistent, but absolutely irreconcilable; forasmuch as in order to reconcile them, we must part with the *Infinite nature* of God the Father, and the *Divinity* of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And surely that man must be very fond, nay he must be mad for peace, that can be content, to sacrifice both *Truth* and the *Divine Author* of it, in order to purchase it. Once indeed our Blessed Saviour came down among men, and offered up himself upon the Cross in order to reconcile the two greatest Enemies, God and Man: but it is too much in all Conscience which is expected of us, that we should make a new Oblation of our Saviour: and not only as the Jews

I Curcell. Rel. Christianæ Inst. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. p. 78. *Quæ Confessio, si rem ipsam potius quam verba aut phrasas spectes, parum ab Orthodoxorum sententia differre videtur.*

did, nail his Body to the Cross, but *sacrifice even his Divinity*, to compose the differences in Religion.

But perhaps some may say the *Socinians* are men of more *reason* and *moderation*, than to desire us presently to part with all our Religion to gratifie them: They only plead *for liberty*, and in order to their joyning with us, that we would remove those *obstacles* of Communion, *viz. Articles, Creeds, Confessions of Faith*, some *useless expressions* in our Common Prayer, which contain too plain and *uncharitable* acknowledgments of the Trinity; which hinder many pious, useful and excellent persons from coming to our Churches. Why should we not strip our Faith of all those larger and unwarrantable explications which Councils and Fathers have made of it; and reduce all to the *naked expressions* of Scripture: that is, content our selves with a few Ambiguous words, (which the perverse and subtil Interpretations of Hereticks have made so) and let every man abound in his own sense.

They believe Christ to be the Son of God, so as to be true God likewise: what need we trouble our selves or them with the word *Consubstantial*; pity it is, that a word, nay a *Letter* should divide men in their Opinions and Affections. To all which, tho I have a great deal that I could answer, yet at present all that I shall say shall be this: That the *Socinians* are *wise* men, persons of a deep reach; but they must not think that all the rest of the World *are fools*. It were too much in all Conscience to desire us to part with all at first: but they know what advantage to make of our Concessions: if they can perswade us with that *foolish Woman Prov. 14. 1. to pull down our house with our own hands*, it will save them the toyl and drudgery of so doing: at least if they can prevail with us to demolish our *Outworks*, then they will be able as with greater ease, so likewise with greater hopes of success, to *attack the main Fort*. In short, the *Ancient Creeds and Confessions*, and those *Ancient words* in which the Doctrine of Faith hath bin conveyed down to us; are only 'an *Hedge of Thornes*, as they have bin truly and pertinently stiled, with which the Christian Faith hath bin guarded

against the designs of *disguised Hereticks*, and I hope they will prick their fingers, who shall attempt the removing of them.

And thus much shall serve to be said upon the first Head, of the great difference there is between what the *Scriptures* affirm, and what the *Socinians* say of the great object of our Religion God Almighty. And if there were only this in the case, I hope it might prove sufficient to guard any pious well meaning Christian from the *Infection* of their Impious Opinions, which furnish him with notions so *dishonourable* and injurious to his maker : and who by denying the *blessed Trinity*, and the *Divinity* of our Saviour, have subverted the very foundations of Christianity, altered the whole Oeconomy of mans Salvation : so that they and we must go different wayes to Heaven, as having neither the same means of Grace, nor the same hopes of Glory.

I should now proceed to shew the Opposition between the *Socinian* tenets, and the other parts of the Christian Doctrine, which are thereby contradicted, and overthrown. But this must be referred till a time of further and better leasure : But by this Taste which I have given the Reader of *Socinianism*, I may have reason to hope, that he will be of the Opinion, that Religion is like Wine, the older, the more excellent and desirable. And therefore that no man of *wisdom*, or indeed of *common sense*, who hath not *lost all Relish of divine things*, when he hath tasted of the *old Religion*, will *straightway desire the New*, because upon enquiry he will find that the *Old is much better*.

Now to the Holy Blessed and undivided Trinity, three Persons and one God, be all Honour, Glory and Praise both now and for evermore. Amen.

A
PRESERVATIVE
A G A I N S T
SOCINIANISM.
THE SECOND PART.

Imprimatur,

Henr. Aldrich

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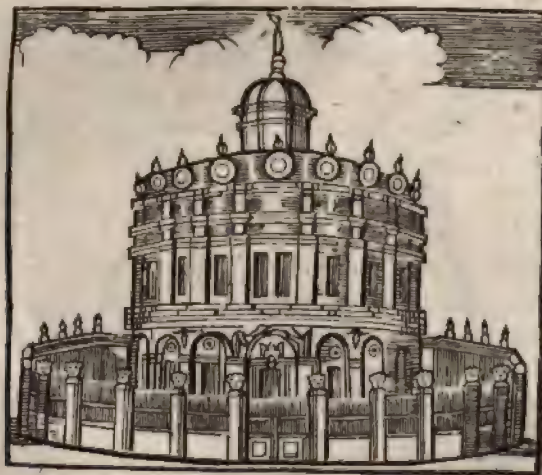
A
PRESERVATIVE
AGAINST
SOCINIANISM:
SHEWING

The direct Opposition between it and the Christian Religion, particularly in those two great Fundamental Articles of our Faith, concerning Original Sin, and the Redemption of the World by the Death and Sufferings of our blessed Saviour.

THE SECOND PART.

By JONATH. EDWARDS D.D.

The Second Edition.



O X O N.

Printed at the THEATER for *H. Clements*, 1698.

ERRATA.

Page 3. line 9. read Pfal. 8. p. 5. l. 3. after in short, read it consisted. p. 22. l. 15. for Actions, read Affections. p. 40. l. 16. for of Socinus's, read of the Socinians.

A

PRESERVATIVE

AGAINST

Socinianism.

HAVING in my former Discourse, shewed how plainly the Socinian Doctrines concerning God, considered either *Absolutely* in himself, or *Relatively* in the Great mystery of the Blessed Trinity, contradict the Account which the Scriptures give us of those matters: I come now to consider the *Opposition* between them, and the other parts of our Holy Faith; That I may make good my charge against *Socinus*, in averring, that by making those great and dangerous Alterations in the Christian Doctrine, he hath been the Author and Founder, rather of a *new Religion*, than of a *new name and Sect* among Christians: having by the Just judgment of Almighty God, fallen from one error to another, until at length he fairly *shook hands* with Christianity, and, as it is to be feared, at the same time *took his leave* of all Religion, whether natural, or Revealed: as may be shrewdly suspected from many loose and pernicious assertions, cunningly insinuated, and dispersed throughout his writings.

And here the first thing that I am to consider, is the State and Condition of man, before, and after his Fall: This being

ing antecedent both in order of time and nature, to his Redemption and Recovery; and therefore requisite to be discoursed of, before we can come to shew the *Fundamental* difference, which by their dangerous Innovations, *Socinus* and his followers have made in the doctrine of our Salvation by Christ, which is the summ and substance of the Gospel.

To begin therefore with the *Creation* of man. Here we must take our first Rise, as the Scripture doth, and where *Socinus* likewise begins his Errors. But tho he begins, he doth not end here: for as if he had raised an *Hue and Cry* after our Religion, he pursues it throughout the Bible, from the first Chapter of *Genesis*, to the last of the *Revelations*, Contradicting the account which the Scriptures give us of man, from his first *Coming* into the World, till his last *Going* out of it; that is, from the *Creation*, till the final dissolution of all things. *Socinus* was a wise man, and therefore was resolved not to do his work by halves: *primus ad extremum similis sibi*. He knew where his *Predecessors* were wanting, and he was now able and willing to correct their mistakes. For when he hath entirely vanquished the Christian Religion, then he may hope upon the Ruins of it, the more easily, and the more securely to establish his own.

First then, if we consider the Condition of man before his fall; the account which the Scriptures give us of it is this. That after God by his mighty and powerful word had spoke all things out of nothing; having Created the Heavens and the Earth, and furnished them with all the perfections suitable to their respective natures: Having I say, thus finished this Glorious Fabrick, he now thinks of a fit Inhabitant to be introduced into it. For sure it cannot reasonably be imagined, that so magnificent a structure furnished with every thing that might serve either for use or pleasure; was made either to no purpose, or for the service of some mean and contemptible Inhabitant. As therefore it was provided with all the ornaments and perfections which became so great a Palace: So God provided a suitable guest, of equal state and majesty, accomplished with all the endowments

ments of body and mind, that might qualifie him to Contemplate the admirable contrivance of the Creation, and to celebrate the praises of the alwise and powerful Creator. And therefore to put as it were his *last finishing* stroke to the work of the Creation, he introduces man into this glorious Palace, as one who was to be the *Top, Crown, and Ornament* of the Universe: for whose sake, next to his own glory, all these things were made, and to whose Government they were committed, *God having put all things under his feet*, Psal. 28. 6. And therefore it is to be observed, that when God comes to forme man, he alters his style and language; for whereas before he only made use of his *Authority*, here he calls in as it were the assistance of his *wisdom*: he did but *speak the word*, and the rest of the works of his hands were made. His mighty voice not only commands things that are, but even things that are not: Confusion and emptiness submit to his authority; he brings fulness out of the one, and order and beauty out of the other; and at his single nod the visible world appears out of its state of non-existence. It was but saying, *Let there be Light, and there was Light; Let there be a Firmament to divide the waters, and Let the dry Land appear and it was so*, 1 Gen. 3. 6. 9. But when he comes to make man, he alters his style, *Let us make man in our own Image, and after our own likeness*, Gen. 1. 26. he proceeds, if I may so say, with greater care, and calls as it were a consultation of the blessed Trinity, being now to make a Creature who was to be as it were an *Epitome* of the whole Creation; all the excellencies that were *divided and scattered* in the other Creatures, were to be *collected* as it were into one Mass, and put into him, who was himself to be a kind of a *little world*, as well as the Inhabitant and Lord of the great one.

1 *Mundani operis summa conclusa est, perfecto videlicet homine, in quo principatus est animantium universorum, & summa quadam universitatis, & omnis Mundanae Gratia Creaturae.* Ambr. Hexaem. Lib. 6. Cap. 10. 2 *Παρά τῶν ὁσίων μυστῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀνέστη, ταῦτα δεύχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ σοφία ἐκ τοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀλλοτρίου, Greg. Nyss. de Anima & Resurr. Κόσμος οὐσίματος ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συμπληροῦντων μετὰ τῶν σοφῶν, Isid. Pelus. Epist. 259.*

And this Divines both 'Ancient and 'Modern (tho some of them otherwise do not use to speak over honourably of our first Parent) take particular notice of, as an Argument of the great dignity and excellency of man at his first Creation; *viz.* the *deliberation* that was used before he was made, and the *admirable pattern* after which he was formed; which was the *divine nature* it self, of which he was in some measure made partaker; God engraving the image and character of his own glorious perfections upon him.

Now if we farther enquire wherein this *Image of God*, according to which man was made, consisted. *I Ans.* it consisted *chiefly and principally* in that original Righteousness, which did perfect and adorn his Soul: not excluding that Dominion with which God entrusted him, which was indeed a Ray of Gods sovereign Authority, but was founded in great measure in that *Righteousness* now mentioned, and necessarily supposes it: as is in part acknowledged by our Adversaries, and shall hereafter be made farther to Appear.

Now this *Righteousness* which we say made up the principal part of the *Image of God* in the Soul of man, was its self composed of all those qualities, which are the ornaments and perfections of the several faculties of it: such as are wisdom

1 Ποίησamen ἄνθρωπον. κατὰ μαθεῖ σταντὸν ἐν ταῦτ' ἐν ἀρ' ἀμνος, ὅπως περὶ ἅλλοι τῶν κατὰ σκηνασμάτων αὐτῇ ἡ φωνὴ ἀνὰ ραπτος. ἐκ εἶπεν ὡς εἴπε τῶν ἄλλων, ἡμῶν τῶν ἄνθρωπος. κατὰ μαθεῖ σταντὸν τὸ πῦμον. ἐκ περὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν περὶ σταντ, ἀλλὰ βαλυντῆριον ἐν τῷ θεῷ, πῶς μέλλει τὸ πῦμον ζῶν εἰς τὸν βίον παράγειν. Greg. Nyss. Ora. 1. in verba, faciamus Hominem. Vide ejusdem Lib. de Opificio Hominis Cap. 3. Tanta itaque dignitas conditionis humane cognoscitur, ut non solo Jubeatis sermone, sicut alia sex dierum opera; sed consilio sanctæ Trinitatis & opere divinae Majestatis creatus sit Homo. Nec ob hoc solum, quod consilio Sanctæ Trinitatis sic excellenter à Conditor conditus est, sed etiam quod ad Imaginem ac similitudinem suam ipse creator omnium eum creavit, quod nulli alii ex creaturis donavit. Ambr. de Dignitate Conditionis Humanæ Libellus.

2 Creatio sive productio Hominis longe dissimilis ac diversa fuit à Creatione aliarum rerum omnium. Pro eo enim quod in aliarum rerum productione, dictum tantum fuerat à Deo, vel fiat Lux, vel fiat Expansio, &c. Cum Homo efformandus esset, dixit Deus, quasi præstantissimum omnium esset producturus, veluti consilio inito & majori molimine usurus, faciamus Hominem, ad indicandum futuri operis excellentiam. Episcop. Inst. Th. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. vid. Limb. Eadem ferè verba repetentem. Th. Christ. Lib. 2. Cap. 22.

and

and knowledge in the understanding: Holiness and obedience in the will: submission, order, and regularity in the affections: and in short, in that happy and entire harmony which was in the Soul, arising from that uniformity and subordination which there was between all the powers and faculties of it. And thus man after he dropped out of the hands of his maker, was beheld by him with delight and complacencie, and as a mark of his approbation, he pronounced him among the best of the parts of his workmanship, *very Good*, Gen. 1. Last verse. That is, *entirely and perfectly so*. Accordingly the wise man tells us, *that God made man upright*, Eccl. 7. 29.

And indeed if he had not been so, he would have bin a strange *Image of God*, as unlike, and therefore as unlikely to represent him, as beauty would be to be represented by deformity, or order by confusion. For should we suppose man at first made in such a condition, as he hath since by his own folly brought himself to: with ignorance in his understanding, stubbornness and perverseness in his will, rebellion and disorder in his affections: could any man in his right wits, think such a person made after the *likeness and similitude of God*? Can Ignorance, contention, and disorder, be a transcript of that pure and immaculate nature of God; in whom there is nothing but Light, Beauty, and Harmony? I confess a Socinian, who hath formed an Idea of his God, after the likeness and similitude of a man; who hath furnished us with the notion of a material and a finite God; of a frail and impotent Deity, *δυσωπιδής*, made up of the weakness, and liable to the passions of men; in short, he that can introduce his God as the Heathens did their Deities, looking pale with grief, as one expresses it, trembling for fear, perplexed with doubtful and uncertain expectations of future events; may for ought I know account blindness, and that disorder which arises from the contention and struggle between the faculties, no disparagement to one of his noblest Creatures. In the mean time I hope others may be allowed to think and speak more honourably of their *Creator*, and of one of the most admirable parts of his workmanship, Man: I mean in his first and original frame

frame and make. And that man was thus at first made with those perfections before mentioned, will appear from these following considerations.

1st, From the *end of his Creation*, which was for the attainment of a supernatural good. He was made for the enjoyment not only of a temporal, ¹ but likewise a spiritual, and if he persisted in his duty, of an eternal happiness. Now this doth necessarily suppose him furnished with all those abilities and powers, which were necessary for the attainment of that end. Such must be, First the *knowledge* of God, himself, and his duty towards both; or else he could never have discharged it: 2^{dly}, *Holiness*, without which he could never have procured the favour of God, in which the happiness for which he was designed, did principally consist. Surely man was never sent into the world, only that he might eat, and drink, and sleep, and gratifie his senses. All this he might do indeed: but the satisfactions resulting from thence, were to be subordinate only to those nobler pleasures, which were to arise from the contemplation of the *Wisdom, Power and Goodness* of God, displayed in the works of the Creation; which must needs far exceed all the lower gratifications of sense. And therefore as the ¹ Fathers and others, sometimes compare the visible World to a *Palace*, furnished with every thing, that might serve either for use or pleasure: and tell us that Man was the mighty guest, who was to be entertained and feasted there:

¹ *Fecerat hominem rationis capacem, imitatore[m] sui, virtutum amulatorem, celestium gaudiorum cupidum.* Ambr. Hexaem. Lib. 6. Cap. 10.

2 *Ὡςπερ τις ἀρχὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς τῆς παρασκευῆς τῶν ἐδωμένων τὸν ἐστῶμενον εἰσελάττει &c.* Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ὁ πᾶσις τε καὶ πολυτῶς τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐστὶν παρτοίσις καὶ ἀλλοτὶ χεῖρα καὶ καὶ τῆς οὐκ ἀποκρίσεως τῆς οὐκ ἀποκρίσεως, τὴν δὲ μεγάλην ταύτην καὶ παρτοίσις πανδοκίαν ἐτοιμασάμενος, ὥς εἰσὶν τὴν ἀνθρώπων, ἐργὸν αὐτῷ δὲ, ὡς τὴν κτῆσι τῶν μὴ προσόντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν παρόντων. Greg. Nyss. de Hom. Op. cap. 2. Καθὰπερ εἰς οἱ ἐστῶτες ὁ πρὸς τῆς οὐκ ἀποκρίσεως τῆς οὐκ ἀποκρίσεως, τὴν δὲ μεγάλην ταύτην καὶ παρτοίσις πανδοκίαν ἐτοιμασάμενος, ὥς εἰσὶν τὴν ἀνθρώπων, ἐργὸν αὐτῷ δὲ, ὡς τὴν κτῆσι τῶν μὴ προσόντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν παρόντων. Phil. De Mundi Opificio. p. 13.

So at other times, they tell us that this world was a *sacred Temple* into which man was brought, as the great *Priest and Antistes*, who was to celebrate the praises of the wise Artificer, to give thanks unto him for his Benefits, as it were in the name of the whole Creation, and to purchase the continuance of his favour towards them. Now this must necessarily suppose wisdom in him; for *God hath no pleasure in the sacrifice of fools*, Eccl. 5. and Righteousness likewise; forasmuch as the *prayers and praises of the wicked are an abomination to him*.

2. This may be proved from that *Dominion* with which man was entrusted over all other inferior Creatures: which is not only acknowledged by *Socinus*², but earnestly contended for, as that in which he supposes the Image of God after which *Adam* was made, principally to consist. Now this dominion could never duly be exercised without knowledge: forasmuch as without it *Adam* could never have attained the end of his Authority, which was his own good, and the common benefit and advantage of other Creatures. Nay since according to *Socinus* his hypothesis, this dominion of *Adam*, was of so vast an extent as to reach up to the Heavens³: This must suppose in him a very great measure of knowledge; he must be a very wise man sure that can govern the Stars; more than ordinary skill in Mathematicks must be necessary, not only to *describe*, but to *direct* their motions; to overrule as well as to *under-*

1 Sicut mundum propter hominem machinatus est, ita ipsum propter se, summaque divini Templi Antistitem, spectatorem Operum rerumque Caelestium, Lact. de Ira, c. 4. ὡς ἀνδραγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς κόσμοις τὸν ἀνθρώπον, τὸν ἐν τούτῳ θαυμάσιον, καὶ μὲν θεοῦ τὸν ὁμοιωσέναι, τὸν δὲ κτίσεν. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς ἀποδείξεως τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν χορηγῶντος ἔχον, διὰ δὲ τῆς χάριτος τὴν καὶ μεγάλους τῶν ὁρατῶν τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν καὶ λόγον τὴν πρὸς ἀόριστον δύναμιν ἀνιχνεύον. Greg. Nyss. de Hom. Opif. cap. 2. ἵππον μὲν καὶ ἀνθρώπον ὁ κόσμος οὕτως καὶ διακρίνειται, οἷς δὲ οὕτως ὁ ἀνθρώπος οἰκίσταται, Plut. de Animi Tranquill.

2 Dei Imago ac similitudo ad quam conditus est homo, praecipue consistit in dominatione rerum omnium, praesertim inferiorum, seu illis diebus à Deo creatarum. Socin. Prael. Th. cap. 3. Catech. Racov. de via salutis cap. 1. Sciendum est Imaginem dei non significare immortalitatem, sed potestatem hominis & dominium in omnes res à Deo Conditas, supra terram, designare.

3 Vid. Socin. ad Defens. Fran. Puccii respon. cap. 2.

stand the influences of those Coelestial bodies. This was so evident, that even *Socinus*, tho sometimes he doth so far disparage the wisdom of our first parent, as if he were not worthy to govern a flock of sheep; yet at other times, when it is for his purpose, he can subject the whole Creation without exception of any part of it, to his government. And then acknowledges that *reason and understanding* are necessarily included and supposed in it, because without reason, it could never be duly or indeed tolerably managed. Nay he doth not mean only the bare faculty (for sure, for the discharge of so great and extraordinary a trust, it was requisite he should be accomplished with extraordinary endowments) but the improvements of wisdom, prudence, and sagacity.

2. As this *Authority* of *Adam* could not be duly administered without *knowledge*, so neither without *holiness*. For it was not to be a brutish and tyrannical government: but such as was to be exercised with prudence, moderation, and righteousness. In short, he could not with any decency be presumed fit to be entrusted with the government of others, that could not govern himself; because if he had transgressed the rules of his own reason, and the law of his Creation, he would thereby have shewed other creatures the way, and have justified them in their revolt from his Authority, as it afterwards happened by his folly and prevarication.

Lastly, without this *Iustitia Originalis*, Original Righteousness, as man would have bin unable to have answered the *ends of his Creation*: so neither could he have answered the *Character* which God gave of him, in pronouncing *him very good*. Now let us take this notion of goodness from *Socinus* his definiti-

1 In imperio illo mens & ratio inclusa est; cum mens & ratio qua homo praeditus est, illius imperii causa efficiens sit.

2 Adime enim homini rationem & mentem, & illi omne propemodum imperium in res Creatas ademeris: quemadmodum prudentia, sagacitate & industria Hominis potissimum fit, ut illi res creatae omnes subjiciantur, eique ad ipsius usus & commoditates deserviant, Idem. Ibid.

on of it. That, saith he, may be stiled *very good*,¹ which is possessed of all those perfections and excellencies which belong to its nature. From hence it will appear that man was possessed of *Original Righteousness*, because it is that, which chiefly made up the dignity and excellence of his nature. It was a perfection that belonged to him in his state of *Innocence and Integrity*, which the Socinians themselves will sometimes allow man to be created in. For this *Integrity* in man consider'd as a rational Creature, and endued with freedom, and a power over his own actions, necessarily supposes both knowledge and holiness; these being *moral perfections*, of which man is capable, and which belong to him in his Original frame and constitution; and without which he could not have discharged his duty, nor have bin, *in eum usum in quem comparatus erat, aptus & idoneus*, (as Socinus expresses it) fit for the end and purpose for which he was created, which was to serve and praise his maker, and consequently the want of them in any just degree, must have bin a degree of imperfection: which would not only be a disparagement to man, but must have reflected a dishonour upon God, in forming a Creature destitute of those perfections of which he was capable, and which were every way suited to his constitution. To make this plain, let us for once make an absurd supposition, that God at first created man, with imperfect Organs of sense, speech and motion; purblind and slow of hearing, with a faltering tongue and feeble knees: stammering when he spoke, and staggering as he went; who should complain of pains, aches and infirmities, as soon as he came into the world, as others use to do when they are ready to go out of it: Can any man imagin, that as soon as such a strange Creature had dropped out of the hands of his maker, he would have bin dismissed by him, with the high commendations of health, soundness and integrity? So nei-

¹ Id est valde bonum quod omnem eam bonitatem habet, quæ propria ejus rei est de qua quæritur. Socin. De statu primi Hom. cap. 1. Ea dicuntur bona, quæ in suo genere perfecta sunt, vel ad eum usum in quem comparata fuere, apta sunt & idonea. Idem ad defens. Puccii Resp. cap. 1.

ther on the other hand, had he made a man of weak Intellectuals, of a perverse and stubborn disposition, with affections rebelling against the commands of reason, could it either with propriety or truth be said, that such a one was *very good*, who wanted those moral perfections of Knowledge and Righteousness, of which he was every way as capable as he was of sight or hearing; and the want of which were as absolutely inconsistent with the *integrity and uprightness* of his mind, as sickness and infirmities would be with the *strength and vigor* of his Body.

You will say that a little degree of knowledge might have served *Adam's* turn in Paradise; and that no other Righteousness was requisite, but a freedom from Sin, that is, from any stain or defilement of his nature, *ut omni labe ac vitio careat*, as *Socinus* speaks, To this I *Ans.* Besides all that hath been said before, man's *liberum arbitrium*, his free will, and that absolute *power and dominion* over his own actions, which our adversaries allow *Adam* to be possessed of, in his state of innocence, is a sufficient confutation of this assertion. For first, Free will supposes knowledge, the knowledge of God, himself, his duty; of all actions which he was obliged to perform, and of all the circumstances of them likewise, without which they would not be voluntary¹.

2. As his *dominion* over other Creatures, gave him authority, and supposed *Abilities* in him to govern them: so this dominion over his own actions naturally and necessarily implies a *power* in him to govern himself, and all his affairs. And this again necessarily supposes a subordination between the powers and faculties of his Soul, in which subordination we make Original Righteousness to consist. For he that cannot govern his *thoughts and desires*, will never have the entire government of his *actions*, of which the former are the springs and principles. You will say there may be some struggle between

¹ Τὸ ἐκείνου ἔστιν, ὃ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰδὼν τὰ κατ' ἑκαστα, ἐν οἷς ἡ ἀρετὴ.

Arist. Eth. Lib. 3. cap. 1.

sense and reason, and yet reason may preserve its authority, and tho with difficulty, yet may keep the affections in order. I *Ans.* Any such struggle or resistance is inconsistent with that *absolute power* over our actions, which we call free will, and which we suppose *Adam* to be invested with in the state of Innocence. Every propension to evil, every reluctance of our passions against our reason, is a real weakening of our dominion, which is not *complete*, when it is not able to keep all quiet in the Soul. No man was ever yet master of himself, that could not master his own inclinations, and therefore wherever that authority is entire, it will enable men to command the *desires*, and to govern the *affections*, so as that they may be at the beck of Reason, to move or stand still, like the *Centurion's* Servant in the Gospel, and to act according to the direction of the superior faculties: otherwise a man in great measure hath lost his authority, and from being a master, in a little time will become a slave.

In short, any inclination or proneness to Sin, is inconsistent with an *absolute freedom* over our actions; as is evident from this state of our corrupt nature, in which our liberty is so much weakened and impaired, that the bare commands of reason, neither are, nor ever were able since the fall of *Adam*, to keep the passions in order, without the assistance of some higher and supernatural principle, *viz.* the grace of God: as is evident from the experience of all the world, and is acknowledged by all Christians, except *Pelagians*, and *Socinians*, if these latter may deserve that name.

And this was the state of man in Paradise; not a state of *impeccability*, as if it were impossible for him to Sin: for he was capable of being tempted, and as the event shewed, of being foyled by the temptation. But all this was through his own default, who might if he had pleased, have rejected the temptation, before it did in the least prevail over him.

All which notwithstanding the opposition that at some times is made to it, at other times seems to be acknowledged by our Adversaries themselves. *Socinus* will tell us, first that man

at first was made *upright and innocent*, not only without any *sin* ¹ which might defile his nature ², but without any *proneness or inclination to it*. 2dly, That man was endued with freedom and power over his own actions ³. Put both together, innocence and rectitude, a power to do good, without any propensities to evil, and you will make up that *Original Righteousness* which we contend for. Nay the Remonstrants will go further; and except in one case, *viz.* that of the forbidden fruit, where man was left to his liberty, it being the tryal of his obedience: in every thing else they tell us, that he was so far from having any *inclinations*, that he had not a *power* of doing evil. That the law of nature, or right reason, was not to him, so much a *rule or direction* for the government of his actions; as a kind of *Instinct*; pushing him on and compelling him as it were, to do those things which were agreeable to it: so that he could no more act against the dictates of his reason, than a child or a beast can against the direction of sense, and the appetites which naturally arise thence. So that he seems at his first Creation to act by a necessity of nature, and not by a principle of freedom and choice.

Here it is to be observed in the first place, that as to *Moral Righteousness*, which consists in an obedience to the law of nature, *Limb.* and the Remonstrants make *Adam* to be possessed of it, in an higher manner than any *Calvinist* ever yet asserted; who tho they affirm man to be created in a state of Holiness, yet they allow it to be a state of Freedom: and

¹ *In eo naturalis perfectio Hominis est, ut omni labe ac vitio careat: hæcque fuit in primo homine, qui integer & incorruptus creatus est.* Socin. præl. Th. cap. 3.

² *Pronitas ad peccandum quæ in homine conspicitur, ab ipsa prima creatione ortum non habet; namque Salomone teste, Deus fecit hominem rectum.* Lib. Sual. quod Regni Pol. &c. cap. 5.

³ *Omnes concedunt, & Ratio ipsa manifeste docet, in primo homine ante Lapsum liberum arbitrium fuisse.* Præl. Th. cap. 5.

⁴ *Lex natura Adamo tanquam stimulus fuit, quo infantium instar impelleretur ad bonum.* Limb. Th. Christ. Lib. 3. cap. 2. *Lex naturalis in statu integritatis, non erat tam lex officium præscribens quam instinctus naturalis & stimulus, hominem excitans & impellens ad ea agendum quæ illi consentanea erant.* Sect. 2. ejusd. Cap.

therefore

therefore notwithstanding the regularity and subordination which was between his faculties, by virtue of that natural dominion which he had over his own actions, they grant that he might disobey the dictates of his reason, and transgress the Law of his Creation.

2dly, That hereby *Limb.* very notably, and, if what he saith be true, very effectually overthrows two known and avowed principles which pass current among the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants*, and which we have mentioned in the first part p. 19. First, whereas they generally say that freedom is absolutely necessary to the will in all its actions, being its essential property which cannot be separated from it: Here *Limb.* tells us that the will of *Adam* in his state of integrity, was not a 'neutral will, Indifferent to the practice of good and evil: but that he was possessed of such a natural uprightness, that he neither did, nor could desire, or do any thing that was inordinate and unlawful. You will say that notwithstanding this *Limb.* is true to his principle, and that he still asserts the freedom of mans will, tho these expressions may serve to overthrow it. *Adam* indeed could not act against his Conscience, but that, saith he, did not proceed from his want of freedom: but because the Law of nature overruled that freedom. I confess he doth say so: but by this saying he is so far from mending the matter, that he makes it much worse, and within the compass of a few lines, heaps up so many contradictions, that it is almost as difficult to number, as it is to reconcile them.

For first I would fain know of him, how that will can be

1 *Voluntas Adami non fuit neutra, in bonum ac malum aequè indifferens: sed antequam ei Lex à Deo posita erat, rectitudinem habuit naturalem, ut inordinate nec concupisceret, nec posset. Integritas ergo talis in illius voluntate erat, ut contra naturæ legem & Conscientiam peccare non posset, Limb. Lib. 2. cap. 24. Sect. 5.*

2 *Adamus contra conscientiam peccare non poterat, non quia voluntas ejus non erat libera; sed quia Lex naturæ non proprie apud Adamum Legis officium exercebat, cui Adamus obedire aut non obedire poterat: sed stimulus tantum aut instinctus naturalis fuit, ad faciendum quod licitum erat. Instar infantium, qui nullo ad Legis transgressionem appetitu ducuntur, sed rebus omnibus quantum necessitas requirit, uti contenti sunt. Idem ibid.*

free, according to the notion of freedom as it is stated by himself and all the Remonstrants, which is not *neutra*, a neutral or *Indifferent will*. Here he saith, *Adami voluntas non fuit neutra & Indifferens*: and yet in the same chapter he describes liberty by this very *indifference* which he makes to be the formal notion of it. From whence I must conclude, that if *Adams* will was not *indifferent*, it was not *libera*, a free will: and that if it were *free*, it must at the same time be *indifferent*.

2dly, I desire to be informed, how it is possible for *Adam* to preserve his freedom, and yet not be able to act against the law of nature and the direction of his conscience: since the very notion of liberty according to him, supposes an absolute power in the will over its own actions, to perform, or suspend the performance of them at its own pleasure. *Scilicet* the fifth he told us, *Adamus contra legem naturæ, & conscientiam peccare non poterat*. And yet *Section* the 20th. *Exigit libertatis Ratio, ut voluntas potestatem habeat tam agendi quam non agendi, postquam omnia ad actionem requisita adsunt*. Now he that can talk at this rate, takes too great a liberty in his writings, and presumes too much either upon the carelessness, or good nature of his Readers.

3dly, I want a further Resolution, how *Adams* will could be *free*; and yet he in the mean time act by a *natural instinct*, which is nothing else but in other words a *necessity of nature*. For whether that *instinct* proceeds from sense or reason, in this case it makes no difference, the actions which flow from it, being in both cases equally necessary and unavoidable. And therefore *Limborch* tells us, that *Adam* was governed by the law of nature, as *infants* are by the direction of sense, and sensitive appetites, who cannot be presumed before they arrive at the use of reason, to act by deliberation and choice. Now from hence one of these two things must unavoidably follow; Either first that *Adam* in the state of innocence had

¹ Vera itaque voluntatis libertas consistit in indifferentia activa, qua positus omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere; hoc enim exigit libertatis ratio. *Scilicet* 20.

the *faculty* of willing, without ' the *essential property* of it, which they say is freedom, and therefore absolutely inseparable from it. Or 2dly, that liberty and necessity may be reconciled, which at other times they tell us can no more be done, than you can tie both parts of a contradiction together.

2dly, The other known principle of the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants*, which is clearly destroyed by *Limborch* is, ' that *Religion and necessity*, are absolutely inconsistent; Forasmuch as there can be no room left for the one, where the other doth prevail. Now that which necessarily results from hence must be this; First that *Adam* before his Fall, acting by a natural instinct, was *incapable of Religion*; or 2dly, that *Moral Righteousness*, which consists in the practice of those duties which right reason, and the law of nature prescribes, is no part of it. Either of which must be a very impious as well as a very absurd assertion: for it must either suppose man, at his first Creation not to be endued with reason: or if he were, that he was not obliged to act according to the rules and directions of it: which to affirm, were plainly to confound and alter the nature of things, and to overthrow the first and original notions of Good and Evil.

Now by what we have thus laid down out of the writings of the Adversaries of this Truth, one would think that there should be no great difference between us, but that we were if not perfectly agreed, at least in a fair way to be so. And indeed if we had to deal with men whose meaning might be guessed at by their words, or who would stand to any principles and be consistent with themselves; this part of the controversy might easily be ended, or at least, might be fairly accommodated: but when they come to explain themselves, they and we, notwithstanding this seeming consent, are found to be at as great distance, as the *Arctick and Antartick Poles*.

¹ *Libertas hac à voluntate est inseparabilis. Limb. ibid. Sect. 20. Voluntatis proprietas libertas est, quæ ita voluntati intima est, ut sine ea non sit voluntas, Sect. 9.*

² *Ubiunque necessitas dominatur, ibi Religioni non est locus, Exam. Censuræ in Conf. Remonst. p. 82.*

For tho *Socinus* acknowledges that God at first made man after his own *Image*: yet he tells us that that *Image*, as we shewed before, consisted only in the *Dominion* which God gave him over the whole Creation: and that all other notions of similitude, whereby he may be thought to resemble God, are but *Commenta Humana*, the inventions of men; not any part of the Revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures. In short, that *Adam* was born a frail, mortal Creature, having only the bare faculties of understanding and will, but without the accomplishments of either; being neither endued with wisdom nor holiness: a pure *rasa Tabula*, capable indeed of any impressions, but having no characters either of wisdom or Righteousness, engraven upon his mind, by the finger of God, when he first dropped out of his hands.

Let us consider particulars, and thereby we shall be enabled to take a clearer view, and frame a better judgment of these *Socinian* opinions; and how far they are from being conformable to the Scripture account, and the notions which both Jews and Christians, have from thence formed of these matters.

And first we will begin with the π *ἡγεμονικόν*, the supreme and leading faculty of the Soul, the understanding; and whereas we told you before that God Created man as in perfect *stature of Body*, so likewise in full *ripeness of understanding*, so that he had a perfect knowledge of God, himself, his duty, and all parts of the Creation: *Socinus* will tell you that all this is a great mistake. For tho he acknowledges that God Created him in perfect strength and vigor, at the full age, and with the complete dimensions of a *Man*; yet he would have us believe, that in his understanding he was a *moer child*; which was to grow up with him, by observation, study and experience as in other men. But otherwise at his first production, that he had very little knowledge of himself, or any thing about him. So that if you were to form an Idea of man from the writings of *Socinus*, you might fancy him to be an overgrown Baby, at his first coming into the world, gaping, and staring, and casting his eyes about him; surprised and

and pleased like a Child at *Bartholomew-Fair*, with great variety of beautiful objects, but totally ignorant of their natures, and the uses for which they were designed.

For first say they, whereas God placed him in Paradise, where amidst great variety of Herbs and Plants, grew the Tree of Life, of which *Adam* had the free liberty of eating; and the eating whereof must have bin of singular use to him, either thro its natural efficacy, or Sacramental signification: yet this was of very little or perhaps of no advantage to *Adam*, who was perfectly a stranger to the virtue of it, and therefore was not likely to receive any benefit from it. So that as to what concerned *Adam* himself, it might as well have been planted in *Utopia*, as in Paradise; for whatever virtues it had, he was totally ignorant of them, and knew nothing of the use, till he was peremptorily forbid the using of it.

2dly, Tho *Adam* was naked, yet he knew not that he was so, *sed instar infantis vel pueri se nudum esse ignoravit*, Smalc. de ver. Dei fil. cap. 7. One would think at this rate that he had not arrived to the perfect use of his senses, any more than the free exercise of his Reason; for if he had had but his feeling about him, sure he must needs have discerned whether God had given him a Coat of Mail, or only his own Skin for a covering. But he innocent Creature like a perfect Child, knew not the difference between being clothed with Armour, and being armed with nakedness.

3dly, As to his *Wife and the Beasts of the Field*, when brought to him, he knew no more of either, than what was barely represented to his senses², so that his knowledge of them seemed to be little more than that of the Brute Creatures themselves.

¹ *Quamvis cibo illi subinde comesto, vim à morte in perpetuum conservandi insitam fuisse diceremus; hoc beneficio Adamus nunquam dici potest donatus fuisse, propter esum cibi illius sibi permissum; cum ejusmodi vis ei nunquam patefacta fuerit, nisi postquam illius comedendi facultate privatus fuit.* Socin. ad Defen. Puccii Resp. p. 299.

² *Quis tibi patefecit Adamum cognovisse naturam omnium Bestiarum, & sua conjugis? Annon vides, Bestiarum nomina non ad alia respexisse quam ad ea quæ sensibus sese prodebant, & unicuique manifesta esse potuissent.* Socin. de statu primi & lom. Cap. 4. p. 296.

You will say *Adam's* giving names to all the Beasts of the field, and Fowles of the air is an argument of the quite contrary, *viz.* of very great knowledge, because to enable him to assign proper and pertinent names to creatures, he must have had the knowledge of more than their external shape and appearance: otherwise a Pebble might be mistaken for a Diamond, and every thing would have bin called Gold that glistered. He must therefore have had a perfect knowledge of the natures¹, properties, powers and faculties both of Plants and Animals: because *names* lead us into the true understanding of the *natures*, and *distinction of things*. And therefore *Plato* in a Dialogue which he wrote upon this very subject *ἡ ἐν οὐνοῦ τῶν ὀρθότητος*, which he Entitles his *Cratylus* from one of the persons speaking in it; openly declares² that it was no ordinary matter, nor the work of any mean vulgar persons to impose names upon things: nay since he who at first assigned names, must know the nature of those things, he was of opinion, that he must be master of more than ordinary³, nay indeed than of *humane wisdom*, to enable him to do so. But let *Plato* say what he will, and let other wise, either Heathens or Christians think what they please: ⁴*Socinus* will tell us

¹ Neque enim Hebraei Animalium nomina temere imposuerunt, ut Latini, Graeci & Barbari, sed sapienti consilio. Nempe ipse ille Adamus Animalibus ad se adductis, nomina imposuit illorum naturae congrua, partim ab iis sumpta quae in sensus incurrerant, voca pata, colore & externa corporis specie; Partim ab iis quae intus latebant. & soli animo se offerebant, ab indole nimirum & moribus: quae non usa didicerat, &c. Sed sapientia quadam infusa & congenita perolvebat, Deo singulorum Animalium arcanas proprietates in illius oculos ingerebant, Boet. de Animal. Sacr. Praef. p. 2. Nec sine numinis Adamum illa imposuisse ex eo liquet, quod horum nominum vix ullum est, quod non certa ratione constet, nec est quod suspicentur Hebraei Linguae ignari, haec à nobis temere asseri, cum rem à multis sepe iactatam, longa inductione demonstrare conati simus, ibid. p. 18.

² Οὐ φαῖλον εἶναι τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἵεσθαι, ὡς φαῖλον ἀνθρώπων, εἶναι τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων.

³ Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν τὸν ἀνθρώπου λόγον εἶναι τῶν εἶναι ὁ Σωκράτης, μέλλω πρὸς δύναμιν εἶναι ἢ ἀνθρωπείαν, τὴν δὲ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, Ibid.

⁴ Num tibi videtur ex his Colligi posse, Adamum cognovisse naturam omnium Bestiarum & suae conjugis? Nam ex nominibus conjugis impositis clare liquet, quatenus ea cognitio, quam nominum impositio arguit, progrediretur; nimirum ad ea, quae quilibet quantumvis stupidus cognoscere potuisset.

another story, that this was so far from being an Argument of more than ordinary wisdom, that it might be consistent with the greatest ignorance: and therefore that neither Adam himself, nor any body else, should put a more than ordinary value upon his knowledge upon this account. It is true he gave names to creatures, but herein he did no more than what, *quilibet quantavis stupidus*, the meanest and most ignorant Blockhead might have done.

Lastly, whereas God at first made *Adam mortal*, being lyable to death by the very constitution of his nature, as *Socin.* again and again tells us *de statu pri. Hom.* yet he knew nothing of his 'mortality: 'he was formed out of the earth indeed, but that was more than he knew, and into dust according to the course of nature, and the Law of his Creation, tho he had not sinned, he was to have returned. But for all this he might dream of an immortality, as other 'vain men have done since, *who think that their Houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all Generations. Ps. 49. 11.* And thus by making our first Parent to feed himself with those vain and imaginary hopes, he turns the Garden of *Eden* into a *Fools Paradise*.

Now if this be true, I must profess my self to be of the same mind with *Smal.* 'that all this wisdom of our first Parent which hath bin so much talked of, and magnified by Christians, is but a meere Chimæra, owing to the inventions and whimsies of some fanciful men. And with him *Epif-*

1 *Primus homo se mortalem esse, nemine indicante, non agnovit. cap. 4. p. 259.*

2 *Verisimillimum est Adamum ne scivisse quidem, quando ex terra sumptus esset; quis enim hoc illi indicaverat? Nemo autem indicante, quomodo id scire potuerat: cum simul atque creatus erat, terra non amplius esset, sed aliud quid, quantum sensibus percipi poterat, à terra longe diversissimum? p. 296. Ante lapsum Adamus fuit terrenus, & sic ante lapsum corpus suæ natura omnino abolendum habuit, p. 263.*

3 *Quis hac de re dubitare potest, cum vix ipsi nos, rationibus licet efficacissimis perpetuæque ac certissima experientia edocti (præsertim cum florente adhuc ætate sumus, & recte valemus) moriendum esse nobis plane credamus, immo nos nunquam morituros esse, sperare videamur? p. 296.*

4 *Sapientiam primo homini tributam, Idæam esse in cerebro hominum natam, Smal. contra Franz. p. 44.*

copius, seems very well to agree, who tells us that in *Adam* before the fall we might find the innocence of Children joyned with the simplicity and ignorance of them. In short, *Adam* in his state of nature was a very natural, a meere *Infant*, that did not know the difference between Good and Evil, and could scarce distinguish between his Right hand and his Left. And was such a one fit to be *Gods Vicegerent*, and under him to be entrusted with the care and government of the world? Read but the Fathers and they will tell you another story, who can scarce speak things great enough of the *Dignity and Excellence* of mans nature, as may in part appear from those few passages (among many others, which might be collected) which we before cited out of their writings. And when they have hereby enabled you to form an Idea of a creature adorned with exquisite perfections, with all the accomplishments humane nature was capable of: in short, when they have raised your expectations to the greatest height, so that you might well have thought, that you were to behold a kind of *Cæstial man*, or rather a *Terrestrial God*: all this, to your great amazement, when you come to peruse the writings of *Socinus* and his friends, dwindles into the description of a weak, frail, simple ignorant Baby; a meere *Puifne*; in stature perhaps a man, but in understanding a very child. And indeed *Socinus* himself when it is for his purpose, *viz.* to establish the belief of that *mighty Sovereignty* which sometimes out of his great bounty he will be pleased to confer upon *Adam*; (and which could not be well or wisely entrusted but with a person of extraordinary endowments) can graciously allow him to be endued with *prudence wisdom*, and *sagacity*, as was said before. In effect no man ever raised the Dominion of *Adam* to so high a pitch as he hath done: for he makes it reach above the Clouds, placing the *Heavens* as well as the *Earth* under his feet, making the glorious Luminaries of them, not only subservient to his use, (as *Marc. Anton. Flaminius* in

¹ *Reſtitudo itaque hæc, in ſimplicitate & innocentia conſiſtit, quæ ætati iſti primæ Adami, tanquam infantili, conveniens fuit.* Episcop. Inſt. Th. Lib. 4. cap. 4.

his Paraphrase on the 8th Ps. well expresses it, and which is quoted with great commendation by Socin. but doth not serve his purpose) but likewise subject to his Empire: bringing in the Sun and Moon and Stars, as in Joseph's Dream, doing as it were their Homage, and making Obedience to him. Lastly the very ² Angels of God, those glorious Spirits, and every thing but God himself, he makes the subjects of this vast and mighty Dominion.

And thus when he hath prepared you to entertain your thoughts with the contemplation of one of the most glorious in some respects of all Creatures, you find your self strangely disappointed: for when you come narrowly to survey him, *this Giant* all on a sudden shrinks into a Dwarf; and he whom God placed but a little lower than the Angels, and whom Socinus when in a good humor can be graciously pleased, to place above them: at another time he shall put upon the same level with the Beasts, and make him like the Horse and the Mule which have no understanding. A perfect stranger to himself and every thing about him: being naked, he good man might think that he was arrayed in a Robe of State, when (alas!) he was wrapt up only in his own Innocence. Tho mortal, and subject to Death, he thought of nothing but living forever. How scandalous is this account, how injurious to the first great Parent of mankind! But they who think and speak so dishonourably of the second Adam, as to degrade him from his Divinity, and place him in the number of *meere men*; may with as good reason, Dethrone the first Adam from his dignity, and rank him in the number of the Beasts that perish.

1 Hinc Mar. Ant. Flaminius præstantissimi ingenii vir, in Paraphrasi sua in eum Psal. conscripta, veritatis vi & efficacia verborum Regii Vatis permotus, sic eum loquentem facit. Tu denique Hominem huic medio mundi Globo, tanquam Mortalem aliquem Deum, præpositum esse voluisti, neque solum ea quæ gignuntur in terris, sed etiam cælum ipsum, & admirabiles illos siderum fulgores, ad usus & commoditates illius creavisti, De primo Hom. Stat. p. 286.

2 Quibus verbis addi potest, Angelos ipsos, quamvis ad hominis usum non itaque creatos, Homini tamen Dei jussu inservire: ita ut nihil plane esse videatur, præter ipsum Deum, quod Homini aliqua ratione subjectum esse dici non possit. Ibid.

Let us now proceed, to the account which they give of the *Holyness* of *Adam*, which is the other principal part of that *Image of God*, after which he was made. And here *Socinus* endeavors to rectifie the mistakes, which have passed for currant among Christians in this matter; for whereas we have hitherto bin taught to believe, that man was at first made with *Holyness* in his will; order, submission, and regularity in his affections: This great Reformer will tell us, that this is a groundless imagination, *vetus ac fœtida fabula*,¹ as *Smalcus* styles it, a stale and senseless fable.

We may if we will, fancy never so great things of *Adam* in the state of innocence; that there was nothing but order and uniformity between his faculties; all calm and serene in his mind; no clouds or mists of passion to disorder his reason; no Rebellion of the *Inferior* against the *superior faculties*. But the plain truth of it is, *Adam* was cast in the same mold, and made up of the same ingredients with our selves. He found the same² struggle in his breast as we do; his reason directing him to one thing, and his senses to another; and in this combate, reason was sometimes foyled, and, what nobody ever told us before, his passions had often disobeyed his understanding and got the mastery over it, even before he disobeyed the commands of God in that famous instance of eating the forbidden fruit: which in other words amounts to this, that his *Actions* had oftentimes tripped up his *Reason*, before he received his *great Fall* as it is usually styled by us.

And with him agree the Remonstrants, who tell us that *Concupiscence*, or the first motions and inclinations to Sin are natural, and were found in our first Parents, in their first and

¹ *Primum Hominem sanctitate, & Donis supernaturalibus ornatum fuisse ab ipsa creatione, vetus est ac fœtida Fabula*, Smal. Refut. Lib. Nov. Aria. cap. 24.

² *Sunt qui dicunt, Originalem Hominis justitiam in eo fuisse, quod Rationem Appetitui ac sensibus dominantem haberet, eosque Regentem, nec ullam inter ipsam & illos dissidium esse. Verum nulla ratione adducti hoc dicunt: cum potius ex eo quod Adamus deliquit, appareat appetitum ac sensus rationi dominatos fuisse, nec bene inter Hanc & illos antea convenisse.* Socin. Præl. Th. Cap. 3.

original State; that the will of *Adam* after his fall, ¹ was more depraved indeed, and that his inclinations to sin were stronger and more violent than before; but however a proneness and tendency to evil there was in him from the first instant of his Creation: desires of, and a complacence in such unlawful objects which gratifie the senses, being things purely natural, which arise from the constitution and frame of human nature. And particularly *Limborch* saith that concupiscence, *quatenus fertur in rem illicitam*, as it comprehends those first desires, those *Original commotions* and tendency of the affections towards that which is evil, is no Sin. And among others he assigns these two reasons for his assertion- ² First because these *motions* are, as we said before, natural, and not within the power of the will, to be curbed or restrained by it, and consequently not subject to the commands of reason: which is very true, if men are considered in this state of corrupt nature; but he means it of nature antecedent to any Depravation. And therefore *adly*, ³ tells us they were to be found in *Adam* in his state of innocence: without which he would not only have bin *innocent* but *impeccable*; incapable of sinning, because he could not otherwise have bin in a capacity so much as to be tempted and solicited to Sin.

If this be so, then I must confess that what we have asserted of the subjection of the passions to reason, and the subordination between the powers and faculties of the Soul, in the state of innocence, may be well accounted, what *Smal-*

¹ Fateor *Adami Appetitum post peccatum magis inclinasse in malum, quam in statu integritatis*. Limb. Th. Christ. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 27. *Adami Appetitus, postquam semel peccavit, prior redditus est ad concupiscendum illicita*, Ibid. Sect. 24.
² *Quamvis hæc concupiscentia est à natura peccatum non est, sed naturalis solummodo Appetitus habendi quod carni gratum. Fuit in primis Parentibus ante primum peccatum; absque eo primi parentes in peccatum induci non potuissent, si autem concupiscentia ista fuit in primis parentibus ante Lapsum, fieri nequit ut sit effectum Lapsus*, Idem. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. *Concupiscentia erga rem illicitam, quatenus complectitur motus primo primæ, non est peccatum. Primi affectuum impetus & commotiones ex proposito objecto grato vel ingrato, non est peccatum, sed sunt naturales commotiones in nobis excitatæ. Non enim sunt in nostra potestate, &c. Tantum abest ut sint vitia, ut sint materia emergende virtutis, &c.* ³ *Per*
ero etiam hi motus in nostris parentibus, Idem. Lib. 5. Cap. 4. Sect. 8, 9.

cuius calls it, *Commentum Humanum, vetus ac fetida fabula*. But upon a fair examination, I doubt not but it will be made to appear, that what *Socinus* and his friends deliver to the Contrary, will be found to be no less *dishonourable* to God, than *injurious* to our first Parent.

For 1st, The account they give us of this matter, is unbecoming the *wisdom* of God. For to suppose man at his first Creation, made with his affections *struggling* against his reason, and sometimes getting the *upper hand* of it; is to have the same imperfect view of *Adam*, as that poor blind man in the Gospel had of other persons, who when his eyes were first opened, *saw men as trees walking*, Mark 8. 24. A man as Naturalists tell us is a Tree inverted. Now since Reason is the supreme faculty of the Soul, and the affections may be properly stiled the Feet of it, upon which it moves; the description which the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants* give us of *Adam*, is just as if you should represent a man walking upon his head, with his heeles capering in the Air: which is a very proper posture for a man newly stolen out of Bedlam, or for one fit to be sent thither: but a very unbecoming one for him, who just came out of the hands of his maker, with the approbation of *goodness and uprightness*. Can we think it agreeable to the wisdom of God, to proceed with so *great care and deliberation* to the making a piece of workmanship so irregular and deformed: we may as well think God made man with a *distorted Countenance*, as with a *depraved mind*. It is true indeed, by the Devils cunning, and mans folly, things at present are brought to this pass: the order of nature being quite inverted. But it will become us to think more decently of the Alwise former of things, than to imagin, that he who made every thing else with that admirable symmetry and proportion of parts; all things *in number weight and measure*, so as that they might best answer the ends of their Creation; should now *in extremo actu deficere*, in the conclusion of all, produce such a rude inartificial piece, who would have been so far from being the *Crown and Ornament*, that he would really have bin the *disparagement and disgrace* of the Creation.

2^{dly}, As

2dly, As this is unbecoming the wisdom, so it is opposite to the Holiness of God, because hereby God is made the Author of Sin: for if the contention between the superior and inferior faculties of the Soul, and a proneness and inclination to Sin be natural, and at the same time be a moral evil: for as much as God is undoubtedly the *Author of nature*, he must by this Hypothesis, at the same time be the *Author of Sin*. Now that *Concupiscence* or a propensity to evil is Sin, I think may easily be made to appear from this consideration, that it is a violation of that *great fundamental Law* of placing the whole soul and affection entirely upon God. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy mind, this is the first and great Commandment;* Mat. 22. 37, 38.

I hope I need not be put to the trouble of proving, either 1st, that *Adam* in his state of innocence was under the direction of this Law. Or 2dly, That he had compleat abilities and full power to obey it. Or 3dly, That this Law, tho it takes in the outward actions, yet that it chiefly and principally respects the Soul; the motions and inclinations of which come under its first and immediate obligation. All this I shall take for granted: and from hence I argue, that *Adam* being by virtue of this Law obliged to place the whole bent and inclination of his mind upon God (which is the meaning of *Loving him with all thy Soul, and with all thy might*) every propensity to evil must be a direct breach and violation of it, and consequently a Sin. There is nothing that I can think of, which can possibly be replied to this by our Adversaries, but one of these two things. Either 1st, that there may be this concupiscence and *inclination* to sin without the *affection* to it: Or 2dly, that an *affection* to sin may be consistent with the perfect and *entire Love* of God, neither of which can be affirmed without great absurdity.

For 1st, All desire is naturally founded in Love, which is usually and properly distinguished into *amor complacentiae*, and *amor desiderii*. Now desire is nothing else but the tendency of the Soul towards its beloved object. As it is therefore in a pair

of Scales, the inclination or leaning of them towards either side, must proceed from the greater degrees of weight, that are in one more than in the other : so it is in all desires, which are the *moral inclinations* of the soul. When a man desires any thing, it must proceed from his affection to, or complacencie in that thing. And if sin be the object of those desires, it can be for no other reason, but because it is the object of his affection; for no man ever yet could desire that which he had an *aversion* to.

2. Where there is a perfect love of God, there the whole soul is *entirely bent* upon him : and this is absolutely inconsistent with any inclination to sin : As much as it is for a man to stand bolt upright, and stoop towards the ground : to be in perfect health, and yet have a tendency to a Fever or a Consumption. Do you think it was possible for *Lot's Wife*, to have gon with her face directly towards *Zoar*, and yet at the same time to have cast a glance towards *Sodom*? I confess it is no new thing for a man to have his face look one way, and his affections go quite another. But that a man should place his affections *entirely upon God*, and yet *lean* towards sin, is absolutely impossible : as much as it is for him at the same time to go backward and forward, to wink with his eyes, and yet stare another man directly in the face. In short, I would ask this plain question, whether to love God with all the Soul, were a duty incumbent upon *Adam*, or not? If they say no, I would fain know, who hath told the *Socinians*, that God gave *Adam* leave to place any part of his affection upon that, to which he himself hath declared an *eternal and irreconcilable hatred* : that the same thing may lawfully be the object of mans desires, and Gods *aversion* : if they say it was his duty, then I desire to be informed, how it is possible for a man to love God with the *whole Soul*, and yet reserve any part of it for his sins : which is as plain and as dangerous a contradiction as it was for *Ananias* to bring the *whole price of his estate to the Apostles* and yet to *keep back part* for his own use, *Act. 5.*

But against all this that hath been said, of the *perfection*
and

and integrity of mans nature, there is one objection that is commonly made with great plausibility; and that is, if *Adam* had bin sent into the world, with all those moral accomplishments, which we have assigned him, one would think it were impossible for him to have sinned; and that he must not only have bin innocent, but impeccable. For first, if there were that *submission* of his affections to his reason, as is pretended: how comes it to pass that they ever *rebelled* against it? Why did not his reason subdue the first and earliest motions of his sensitive appetite, and strangle them in the birth? If reason had so great an authority, as we talk of, the least beck or nod would have calmed any present uproar of the passions, and have kept all quiet in the Soul.

Or if we suppose the temptation to begin at the understanding, sin entering that way into the Soul: it may be ask'd, how it was possible, that a person endued with so much *wisdom and sagacity*, as *Adam* is supposed to be master of, could ever be wrought upon to do a thing so contrary to all reason, viz. to hearken to the *suggestion* of an evil spirit, in opposition to the plain declaration, and *peremptory threatening* of his Maker. He must be strangely surprized one would think, and tho he had great knowledge, sure he had not his reason, or at least his consideration at that time about him. To which I *Ans.* that *Adam* tho created with all the before mentioned excellencies, yet was made in a state of *probation and tryal*: and tho perfectly good, yet not so confirmed in goodness, but that he was left in the *hands of his own counsel*, so that his happiness or misery was purely in his own power. His state of *innocence*, was a state of *liberty*: being endued indeed with *Righteousness*, but at the same time with *Freedom* likewise, having a compleat power over his own actions, so that he might either do an action, or suspend the doing of it; hearken to his reason, or disobey the dictates of it, as he thought fit. He was made up of such faculties, whereby he was capable of being *tempted*, and upon the account of the before mentioned liberty, of *complying with the temptation*: in which there was something offered by the Devil to gratifie his

his *sense*, and something to work upon his *understanding*. *The Tree was good for Food, and pleasant to the Eye*, Gen. 3. 6. Here was a plain temptation offered to the senses. You will say reason might easily have restrained the sensitive Appetite, and then the temptation would have been insignificant. But we know that reason it self may be perverted, and here was something offered to bribe that. *In the day you eat thereof your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil*, ver. 5. so that now it was a Tree, which was not only pleasant to the eyes, but *a Tree to be desired to make one wise*, ver. 6. Place therefore the *temptation* and let it begin where you will: by virtue of that Dominion which *Adam* had over his own actions, he might if he so thought fit, gratifie the dictates of sense, against the directions of reason, and suffer the *suggestions* of *Sathan*, to prevail against the *commands* of God. But however tho the senses might be wrought upon, and the affections consequently excited; yet the *will* one would think should not be moved but by the direction of reason, and it is scarce to be imagined how so *pure*, so *refined* a reason could be imposed upon. *Ans.* yes, the understanding it self is capable of being wrought upon, either *immediately* by Argument, or *mediately* by perswasion, and the allurements of the senses; which are apt to make wise men *inconsiderate*, and *inconsideration* is one great step to error; and not only so, but the senses oftentimes transfer their own prejudices upon the understanding; nothing being more usual, than for men to believe that to be true, which they earnestly desire should prove so. But when all is done, tho we should grant that the affections were moved, and the understanding so far perverted as to act so *foolishly*, it is not easily understood, how the will, which was so holy and righteous, should ever consent to so *wicked an action*; and without that consent, the action would never have bin committed. *I Ans.* This might be done, by virtue of that *power* which the will had over its own Actions: for tho it were a *righteous*, it was a *free will*: and consequently capable of acting according to its duty, or contrary to it. But to put this matter beyond all doubt,
or

or at least beyond the cavils of our adversaries; I shall offer two instances, which are allowed by them, for proof and illustration of this matter: *viz.* That *Adam*, tho in a state of the greatest perfection, yet might be capable of consenting to a temptation, and consequently, (as it happened) of being overcome by it.

And the first instance shall be that of a *Regenerate man* whose condition is thus represented by *Limb.* 'his understanding is illuminated with the knowledge of the divine pleasure, so that he cannot mistake for want of a certain rule to govern his judgment by. His will follows the direction of the understanding, and is so far swayed by it, that in its choice and averfation, it is guided by the determination of that supreme faculty. Lastly the affections are obedient to the will, and move according as they are moved or incited by it. Nay this blessed Harmony between the faculties is not disturbed by any remains of concupiscence, or natural corruption which are left in the Soul, whereby he is solicited, and excited to the practice of that which is evil. Here one might think that a man having all his faculties thus fortified and guarded by the grace of God, should almost be out of the reach of any temptation: and yet such an one, of so pure, so refined, so consummate an holiness (you would think it, the description of the *state of Innocence*, and not of *Regeneration*, by which the Image of God is but imperfectly renewed in this life,) is not only lyable to be tempted, but likewise (according to him) to be foyled by it, to the loss of his spiritual life. So that he may fall from one Sin to another, until at length by a total Apostacy, he may extinguish all dispositions to virtue, and become of a *Child of God, a Son of perdition.*

1 Vid. *Limb.* 5. cap. 15. *Intellectus divine voluntatis cognitione illustratus certam vite normam ac regulam habet. Voluntas judicium intellectus sequitur, aliaque non appetit, quam quæ intellectus Appetenda dicat; & odio habet, quæ odio digna judicat. Hanc consequuntur affectus, &c.*

2 *Esse autem & remanere in homine Regenito naturalem corruptionem, & concupiscentiæ immatæ reliquias, quas Deus in hac vita tollere nolit, quibusque homo regeneritus subinde ad peccandum impellatur, à ratione alienum est, & scripturæ adversatur, Ibid.*

If you enquire how such an one can be prevailed upon, to act so contrary to his knowledge, nay to his inclinations, having no *inward concupiscence* to assist and help forward the temptation: He will tell us, it is by virtue of that *essential* power of the will, which is not destroyed by grace: the most Holy man being left in a state of freedom, and therefore may be enticed by the *deceitfulness of Sin*. The same answer may serve for *Adam*, whose case seemes to be in a manner parallel: only it may be said that the *Remonst.* and *Socin.* do allow *motus primo primi concupiscentiæ*, or the first and original inclinations to Sin to be in *Adam*: which, as they were matter for the exercise of virtue, so likewise were they the subject for the temptation to work upon, and his sin consequently might enter in at that door, which by our account is shut, so that we leave no passage for its admittance.

Tho this objection if we had time to consider it, would make no great difference, yet I shall produce another instance, which is beyond all exception, and that is the case of the fallen Angels: who at the first instant of their Creation, were possessed of all the advantages both of knowledge and righteousness, in a much greater and more sublime degree than man in the state of innocence was capable of, whose spiritual nature gave them many advantages above man: who tho he had no *vicious inclinations* originally put into his nature; yet he was made up of *sense* as well as *reason*, and had other *appetites* to be gratified besides that of *knowledge*, and consequently had more wayes than one for the temptation to enter, and might therefore the more easily be seduced. Perhaps it may be said, that Angels are not so *immaterial* as many may fondly imagin, being made up of other ingredients, besides reason and knowledge, and consequently may have other appetites to gratifie. *Ex alia materia constant, quam homines*, saith Socin. *De statu primi Hom. contra Pucc. p. 307.*

But be that as it will, they are as *immaterial* as the Soul of man at least, neither are they clogged with such *dull, heavy substances* as our bodies are, which are joyned to the Soul, and with it make up the essence of man. In short they were
not

not composed of *senses*, nor consequently had any *sensual appetites* to gratifie in opposition to their reason : neither had they any *external enemy* to entice, solícite and push them forwards which was the case of *Adam*, who was seduced by his wife, as his wife was by the Serpent, and beguiled by his subtilty. And yet these *holy, knowing, refined, subtle spirits* were wrought upon, and either through pride, envy, curiosity, or whatever else it was, did rebell against their maker.

But how could envy find a passage into the minds of these pure and immaculate spirits, any more than *wisdom enter into a Soul defiled with Sin*? What could they possibly desire, which they were not already possessed of? What accession could be made to their happiness, what addition to their subtil and refined knowledge? Did they hope to mend their condition by revolting from their maker? How could so wild an imagination enter into the minds of such wise and intelligent beings? Had they no knowledge of God and themselves, and the *infinite distance* between both? If they had not, let us no longer *magnifie their wisdom* nor *aggravate their crime*, which their ignorance must extenuate, if not totally excuse. If they had, how could they think of fighting against God, and not know that in the conclusion they should be mastered by him? They could not but be sensible, that they had to do with him who was neither an impotent nor a careless being; consequently, one who would be *provoked by an affront*, and could revenge it. *Ero similis altissimo*, might be a wish, fit for a *proud*, but not for a *wise and intelligent* spirit; who could not but know the attempt to be impossible, and therefore ridiculous; and consequently inconsistent with an ordinary degree of wisdom, and much more with the deep and piercing judgments of those once glorious Angels.

This and a great deal more might be urged to shew the improbability of their *Apostacy and Fall*. But it is in vain to argue against plain matter of Fact. They did enter into a conspiracy against their Maker, are turned Rebels and Apostates, at the instigation, as it is like, of one *Chieftain and Ringleader*, who is stiled *Sathan*, and the *Devil* by way of Emphasis;

phasis; and have left their first habitation, being tumbled down into those lower regions, where they are reserved in chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great Day, Jud. 6. All which the Scriptures have assured us the truth of: and how unlikely or improbable soever it may seem, yet is acknowledged by those persons with whom we are now disputing.

Having thus given an account of man in his state of *innocence*, now we come to consider him in his *Fallen state*, and what the Scriptures have informed us of it, is this. That *Adam* having disobeyed his maker, in eating of the *Forbidden Fruite*, became obnoxious to the sentence and penalty of the Law, which was *Death*. *In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely dye*, Gen. 2. 17. But besides the punishment of *Death*, he was further lyable to a *twofold misery*, which was the unavoidable consequence of his disobedience. First, hereby he lost his integrity, and a great measure of that Original Righteousness which we before described. 2dly, He forfeited the favor of God, which made up the principal and noblest part of that happiness which he was possessed of in the state of innocence. And of this, the curse which he brought upon the earth; the toyl, and labor, and sorrows which he pulled upon his own head; and much more his expulsion out of Paradise, and separation from the Tree of Life, were an evident argument; as being the plain indications of Gods high displeasure against him. All sin doth more or less defile mans nature, and therefore must put him out of Gods favor, who cannot behold the least impurity without Aversion: no unclean thing can enter into his presence, but must for ever be excluded and banished, from the *habitation of his Holiness, and the place where his honour dwelleth*.

And here we have the acknowledgment of some of them, who in other things are our adversaries in this truth, viz.

1 Communis pena fuit mors, seu moriendi necessitas; cui conjuncta fuit felicitatis primæ privatio; amissio nimirum integritatis in qua conditi fuerant, ejectio ex paradiso, & separatio ab Arbore vitæ. Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 23.

Adamus amisit quidem justitiam originalem, seu potius excidit ex statu innocentie & integritatis, in statum peccati, Idem Sect. 24.

That *Adam* by his disobedience, forfeited his happiness, lost his Original Righteousness in which he was at first created, and fell from a state of uprightness into a state of sin; ¹ being hereby deprived both of Grace and Glory: which is all that we mean when we speak of the corruption of mans nature, which doth not only consist in a *bare negation of Holiness*, and consequently a disability by his own natural strength to perform any saving good: but likewise in necessary *propensions to evil*, as is acknowledged by *Limb. Adami appetitus post lapsum, magis inclinavit in peccatum, & prior redditus est ad concupiscendum illicita*, as we cited him before, *Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect.*

24. I know it is said both by the Socinians, and Remonstrants, notwithstanding their former confession, that it cannot be conceived, how one sin should be of that force as to corrupt all the powers and faculties of *Adam's Soul*. To which I Answer, this might very well happen from the nature of the thing, as well as by the appointment and judgment of Almighty God. And this I shall make out by two instances which cannot well be denied by our Adversaries.

The first shall be that of a *Regenerate man*, who by their unanimous confession may fall from a state of Grace, and that not only by repeated and multiplied acts, but by the commission of *one great sin*, such as is *Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, Perjury, denial of the Faith*, and the like, which do not only put a man out of Gods favor; but destroy the state of Regeneration; which they say is inconsistent, with the single commission of any such enormous sins. And this they prove from the examples of *David*, and *Solomon*, who by the commission of those two great sins of *Adultery, and Idolatry*, did totally fall from Grace, as well as from the just hopes and title to Salvation. It is true indeed, they say, the *habit of Faith* in *David* was not by this sin totally extinguished; neither do we say the like of the Righteousness of *Adam* after his fall; but however, *Facto isto habitum sanctitatis infregit, actum fidei consequentem, obedientiam seu sanctitatem peremit, assensu licet ali-*

¹ Episcop. Disp. 5. Thef. 3 *Natura Adami privata fuit bono gratiæ & gloriæ.*

quali adhuc permanente, as ¹ *Limb.* speaks, he did thereby weaken the *habit of Righteousness*, and destroyed his Faith as it was a *principle of Holiness*, or a *saving Grace*: which is all that we need to affirm of the effect of *Adam's sin*, which was by the confession of *Episcop. peccatum enorme*. For tho as to the external Fact, of eating the forbidden Fruit, it was but *One*, yet if we consider the ingredients, causes, and preparations to it, it was a *Complication of Sins*.

I suppose our adversaries will acknowledge, that *Adam* before he sinned was tempted; that he hearkened to the voice of the Tempter; that he broke thro the strongest restraints, *viz.* the threatning of *Death* annexed to the prohibition, which must necessarily suppose in him *infidelity*, a contempt of Gods Authority, and a kind of *Apostacy* and *revolt* from his Maker: man being now no longer to be *subject* to God, but to be *equal* with him. So that his Sin had some Affinity, with the Pride and Rebellion of the Apostate Angels, (which was the second instance to be given for the illustration of this matter) which sin of theirs hath so totally infected and poysoned their natures, that they are in a manner made up of Pride, Malice, Envy, and Wickedness. In short, it hath so entirely corrupted them, that there are no *reliques*, no *foot-steps* remaining of their *first and original purity*: not the least spark of goodness left, but all inclinations to, and endeavours after it are absolutely and eternally extinguished.

But we need not so far aggravate *Adam's Sin*, and the misery consequent upon it. Let it suffice to say, that it might be of as great efficacy, as either the Adultery of *David*, or Idolatry of *Solomon* was, to *weaken* if not to destroy his *Original Righteousness*: to put him out of the favor of God, and consequently, to deprive him of his happiness and integrity together.

This was the effect of *Adam's Sin* upon himself, but it did not rest here, but *reached all his posterity*: for *Adam* must be considered as the *root* of mankind: and so in a *natural way*,

¹ Lib. 5. Cap. 82.

his happiness or misery might be conveyed to his posterity; and much more when we consider him as a *Federal Head*: God having made a covenant with him, as the representative of all mankind, so that according to his obedience or disobedience respectively, his posterity was either to enjoy or be deprived of that happiness, and those advantages he was possessed of; the promises and threatnings comprehending them all. And this the Apostle plainly makes out, in the comparison instituted by him between *Adam and Christ*; who were both, tho' in different respects, the Heads and Representatives of all mankind. And so they are put in opposition to one another by *St. Paul*, both in the *1 Cor. 15. ch.* And especially in the *5th* of the *Rom. v. 12.* For as by one man Sin entered into the World and death by Sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned; that is, as the punishment was transmitted from *Adam* to all his posterity; 'so, or rather, much more than so, the gift of grace and mercy thro' *Christ*, hath abounded to many, vers. 15. or to all, to whom it belongs, and for whom it was purchased, and to whom upon performance of the conditions required in the new covenant, it shall certainly be applied. For so the word *πᾶσι* is to be understood, it being as much as *πάντις*; as is evident by comparing the *12, 13, 15, 18, and 19th, ver.* together: for whereas in the *15th vers.* The free gift is said to have abounded unto many, *εἰς πολλοῖς*; in the *18th, It is said the free Gift came εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*; and whereas in the *12th v. Sin is said to be, and enter into the World εἰς τὸ κόσμον*, and death by Sin: The word *κόσμος* must signify as much as *πάντις ἀνθρώποις*; the Apostle himself so explaining it in the same verse, telling us that *Death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.*

Once more *v. 19.* we are told that *as by the disobedience of*

¹ Dr. Hammond very well observes, That the *13th and 14th verses* are to be read as in a Parenthesis, the second part of the Comparison, which respects *Christ*, rising higher than the former which related to *Adam*, and so is necessarily changed from the form of a Comparison or equality, to that of an Argument à minori ad majus, from the less to the greater.

one, many were made or constituted Sinners; so by the Obedience of one, shall many be made or constituted Righteous. Now these *many*, in the verse immediately foregoing 18. are said to be *all men*; for as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men unto *Condemnation*; so by the *Righteousness of one, the free Gift came upon all men to Justification of Life.* By all which it is evident, that as the *Righteousness of Christ* was not *personal*; the sufferings indeed were in the person of Christ, but were not terminated there (I mean as to their virtue and efficacy) but reached and extended to all mankind, so far, as to put all men into a capacity of Salvation, who before were under the displeasure of God, and obnoxious to the sentence of the Law: So the Sin of *Adam* was not meerly *personal*, but such as involved all his posterity in the same guilt, and made them liable to *death*, which was the punishment threatned by the Law.

And this is so plainly delivered, and so often repeated by the Apostle in this chapter, that one would think there should be no room left, not only for any probable, but any the remotest doubt. Read but the 12th verse and there you will find, that *by one man sin entred into the World, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.* Where we have first, an account both of the cause and original of sin, and of its overtaking all mankind: and that is the disobedience of *Adam*, he was that *one man*: as also of the effect and consequence of that sin, which was *Death*. 2dly, We have the proof of that Assertion, *viz.* that sin entred into the *World*, or *upon all men* (for those two words, as we shewed before, are equivalent, and signify one and the same thing) by a demonstration *à posteriori*, because *Death* which is the *punishment* of sin, hath overtaken all men. It is as plain then, as words can make it, that *Death* is the punishment of sin: *Sin entred into the World, and Death by Sin.* 2dly, It is equally evident, that since the *punishment* hath overtaken all men, that all are involved in the *guilt*: because death could not otherwise seize on all men, but because all have *sinned*: the crime and the punishment being of equal extent. For death,
or

or mortality being come into the World, seized not only on *Adam*, to whom it was peremptorily and expressly threatned (*in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*) but upon all meer men also that were afterwards born, because all were finners. And that we may not think death now to be the only condition of our nature, we being mortal men, born of a mortal parent, but properly a punishment: the Apostle makes it plain beyond all contradiction v. 16. *It was one man that sinned, but the judgment (or sentence,) by reason of one offence (of that one man) was unto condemnation*¹.

From hence it is evident, that they on whom the sentence passed, and were condemned by it, were punished for that one offence, and consequently were guilty of it: for where there is no crime, there is no punishment. And that we may not think, that the condemnation overtook *Adam* only: we are told the sentence was passed, and executed on all his posterity. So by the offence of this one, that judgment mentioned in the 16. v. came upon all men unto Condemnation, v. 18. without exception. For those universal forms of speech, as Dr. Ham. well observes, are to be taken in the greatest and most comprehensive latitude, without exclusion of any: and there was great reason that the punishment should reach those who were involved in the guilt: for in the 19. v. by the disobedience of this one man, many, or all were made finners, and then it is no wonder they were all liable to the same condemnation.

And thus all the Children of *Adam*, viz. all meer men, by virtue of his sin are become finners, that is, Guilty of his disobedience which is imputed to them; whereby they are deprived of original Righteousness, born with propensions to evil, and a disability by their own natural strength to perform any saving good; being likewise obnoxious both to a temporal death, and also to an eternal separation from the presence of God, in whose favor is life: of which *Adam's* expulsion out of Paradise, and his separation from the Tree of Life, was a Type and Figure.

1 Idem ibid. 2 Το μὴ γὰρ κρίμα ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς πάντας κρίμα.

And this is the plain Doctrine of the Scriptures, taught by the Catholick Church, and more particularly explained by the Fathers and Councils, after the publishing of *Pelagius* his Heresy. It being not the Invention of St. *Austin*, as the *Pelagians* formerly, and their successors of later years, have vainly (not to say maliciously) suggested. For herein he had the consent of the Ancient Church, as he himself hath proved at large in his first book against *Julian* the *Pelagian*.

Let us now consider what the opinion of *Socinus* and his followers is in this matter, and see whether it be agreeable to the Scripture account, both as to the sin, and the punishment.

First as to the Sin, they tell us (as the *Pelagians* did before them) that *Adam* by his disobedience only hurt himself, but that his posterity were not in the least concerned in the guilt.

2dly, As to original sin, as it bespeaks the depravation of our natures, which is it self both a *Sin* and part of the *Punishment* of *Adam's Sin*, they would perswade the world to believe, that it is, *Commentum humanum*, a meer fable; *Adam's* sin being so far from corrupting his posterity, that it had not the efficacy to corrupt the powers of his own Soul¹; the Image of God being not defaced in *Adam*, and remaining still in all men. So that in short, it is such another *Fable* as the Divinity of Christ, which tho' it be as plainly delivered by the Inspired writers as can be expressed in words, yet the *Socinians* have the confidence to tell the world, that it is, *commentum otiosorum hominum*, the contrivance of some idle persons, who had nothing else to do, but to invent and obtrude such extravagant notions upon the world.

¹ *Adami debitum nobis non imputatur*: Socin. Lib. quod Regn. Pol. Cap. 5. Quicquid Evangelici una cum Pontificiis malorum effectuum in humano genere primo illi primi parentis peccato tribuunt, vana hominum commenta ac somnia ut sint necesse est. Quicquid Theologi de peccato originali disputant, id omne humani ingenii figmentum prorsus censendum est. Ibid.

² Socin. præf. Cap. 4. Etenim unum illud peccatum per se, non modo universos posteros, sed ne ipsum quidem Adamum corrumpendi vim habere potuit. Concludimus igitur, nullum, improprie etiam loquendo, Originale peccatum esse, id est, ex peccato illo primi parentis, nullam labem aut pravitatem universo humano generi necessario ingentam fuisse, &c. Ibid.

Nay *Socinus* ¹ will go one step higher, and let us know, that this Idle story concerning Original Sin, is a *Jewish fable*, picked up from them by *Antichrist*, and introduced into the Christian Church, in order to establish those two pernicious errors concerning the *Incarnation of Christ*, and the *Baptism of Infants*. From hence we may observe, what is very well worth our notice, what the opinion of the Church, generally received among all good Christians (before *Socinus* his time) was, concerning the true reason of Christ's coming into the World, (which some have since placed upon another bottom, tho' with what service to Christianity may be hereafter examined) *viz.* to *reconcile mankind*, and restore them to the favor of God, who were universally involved in the guilt and obnoxious to the punishment of *Adam's* disobedience: and consequently *2dly*, How near and close a connexion there is between these two Doctrines, and therefore what great reason *Socinus* had to oppose the former concerning Original Sin with all his might: as being of so pernicious consequence, as to draw along with it, the acknowledgment and proof of *Christ's Incarnation*, and the dangerous Doctrine of the *Redemption of the World* by that means. I wonder when *Socinus* his hand was in, that he went no higher than *Antichrist*, and that he did not ascribe the invention of this Doctrine, as *Volkel*. doth that concerning the Trinity, not only to the Son of perdition, but also *veteratori Satanae*, to that old Serpent the Devil, the Father of all Lies and Errors. Tho' by the by, upon examination I am afraid it will be found, that that *veterator* and these *novatores* hold but too good a correspondence together.

2dly, As to that other part of the punishment of *Adam's* Sin, *Death*; they say ² that *Adam* was at first made, as we are
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¹ Commentum illud de peccato originis fabula Judaica est, & ab Antichristo in Ecclesiam introductum, ad stabiliendum pernicioſa dogmata: nempe Dei incarnationem, & Infantum Baptismum. Idem Dial. de Justif. Tom. I. Oper. p. 604.

² Per Adamum omnes moriuntur, quia ille mortalis erat, & ob eam causam omnes qui ex eo nascuntur, mortales esse necesse est. Ipse primus homo qui nos progeniit, de terra sumptus ac formatus, ac proinde terrenus fuit. Verum hoc ante lapsum

now born, a mortal creature, and that Death was that which was the consequence of his constitution, and the condition of his nature. That if he had *not sinned*, he might have dyed *before*, as well as *after his fall*: nay, you might have pronounced it as safely and peremptorily of him, as you can of any of his posterity; nay of the very Beasts, the Ox and the Ass, that he was *mortal* and *liable to Death*. It is true indeed God might have exempted him from the lot and condition of his nature as he did *Enoch* and *Elias*: But of this he had no promise, and therefore could have no reasonable expectation. In short, *Adam* if he had preserved his innocence, yet *might*, and in all likelihood would have dyed; his death, now by being made necessary, is, say they, become more certain than before the fall; but however if he had not sinned, according to the *course of nature* he must have dyed, and nothing but a *miracle* could have preserved him. Now I say that this whole account of *Socinus's*, concerning the consequence of *Adam's* sin, is not only repugnant to the plain declarations of Scripture; but likewise inconsistent with their own assertions, they being herein not more opposite to the truth, than they are to themselves. Which when it is made out, I hope we may be allowed to account this Hypothesis of theirs both *impious and absurd*.

For 1st, if we consider the *sin*, it is evident that it reached all *Adam's* posterity, because, as the Scriptures formerly assured us, the *punishment* did so. *Sin first entering into the World, and Death by sin*, Rom. 5. 12. To avoid the force of this Argu-

lapsus in ipso creationis initio extitit; igitur ante lapsum Adamus terrenus fuit, & sic ante lapsum corpus sui natura omnino abolendum habuit. Antequam peccaret Homo corpus animale habuit: & ita, antequam peccaret, habuit corpus corruptibile, vile & infirmum Socin. ad Arg. Pucc. Resp. Cap. 9. Per peccatum ipsam mortem in mundum intrasse, non eam significationem habet, ut si homo non peccasset, mors in mundo non extitura fuisset; sed tantummodo, ut peccati occasione quadam Adami lapsu præcedente, humanum genus mortem contraxerit, quamvis alioquin eam nihilominus subitum fuisset. Idem Cap. 8. Poterat Adamus si non peccasset, quamvis natura mortalis, à morte Dei beneficio conservari, vel si mortuus fuisset, in vitam aliquando revocari, atque immortalis fieri: hæc & sibi & posteris peccato suo quodammodo invidit, itaque nisi novus Dei favor nobis adsit, necesse est omnino, ut omnes moriamur, & in morte maneamus. Idem Præl. Th. Cap. 1.

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ment, *Socinus* tho he durst not plainly deny the Scriptures, yet he dares pervert them, and thereby takes as effectual a course to elude their Authority, as if he had absolutely disowned it. And here, there being so close a connexion between the sin and the punishment, I must acquaint the Reader, that whilst I speak of the one, I must be forced to include the other; the sin necessarily inferring the punishment, and the punishment being the clear evidence and proof of the Sin. Now then when it is urged that *Death is the wages of Sin*, the forenamed Author will tell us, that bare Death is not thereby intended, but necessary and eternal Death; 'that the curse threatned to *Adam*, relating to death, brought no other inconvenience along with it, but that what before was *natural*, now by this sin became *necessary*, which properly made it a punishment. Now this is not to interpret Scripture, but to abuse it; and at the same time to dally with the threatnings of God, which ought to be treated with more respect. For this account, besides that it contradicts the formal notion of punishment, by overthrowing the true ends and reason of inflicting it, which plainly evince that it cannot be *natural*; makes the curse of God *inanis lusus*, a meer trifle. Instead of trembling at, men would deride the judgments of God, and laugh at the messengers who brought the tidings of them.

Suppose a man should tell us that if we sinned, we should inevitably be exposed to *Hunger and Thirst*, to *sleep and weariness*; and then upon an enquiry, (which must naturally arise hence,) how this could be a proper method to deter men from sinning, since by the condition of their nature they were lyable to these infirmities, from which the greatest virtue could not protect them; he should gravely be told, that the above-named threatning, tho it doth not denounce any new thing to which before they were not lyable, yet that it alters the re-

1 Socin. ad Pucc. Defens. Resp. Cap. 8. *Præcipua mortis causa fuerat ante peccatum, sed per peccatum tantummodo invec̃ta est moriendi necessitas. Non potest peccatum mortis naturalis, quatenus naturalis est, ullo modo esse causa, necessitatis quidem moriendi fuit causa, Vid. Episcop. Inst. Th. Lib. 4. Cap. 1.*

spects of things. Those infirmities before were *natural*, but now they are become *necessary*, and therefore the *punishment of their sins*. Would any man be deterred from the practice of any the greatest wickedness by this means? for what is natural, is *eo ipso*, upon that score necessary. All natural agents act by a necessity of nature, and cannot but act, except they are hindered in their operations, *Adam* was, according to *Socinus*, born a mortal creature, and by the condition of his nature, without a Miracle he must have dyed: it is true, God might have altered the course of nature, and have exempted *Adam* from the Laws of Mortality; and so, if he had thought fit, if we believe the same *Socinus*, he might have *reversed his threatnings and overruled his own decrees*; so that, as far as I can see, Death was equally necessary to *Adam*, before as well as after his Fall: a *miracle of Mercy* could have saved him in one case, and nothing less than a *miracle of Power* could have preserved him in the other.

To make the absurdity of this *Socinian* assertion the more apparent, let us suppose, that by the settled order and laws of nature, and by the powerful influences of the Stars, the old world had bin lyable to be overflown by a Deluge, and *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* to be burnt with Lightning; and then that *Noah* and *Lot* should have endeavoured to deter the men of those times, from their evil courses, by denouncing those Calamities against them: would they not (think you,) have laughed at those *preachers of Righteousness*, who would have bin unto them, what *Lot* really was to the *Sodomites*, *like men that mocked*? Or should any man now pretend to reform the manners of the Age he lives in, and in order to it, should acquaint people if they did not amend their lives, that God at a certain time (by an Eclipse, which of it self would certainly happen) would darken the luminaries of Heaven, so that the *Moon should look black, and the Sun should not give his light*: Would any man of any tolerable knowledge in the motions of the Heavenly bodies, be otherwise affected, than to deride the folly of any such pretender, to know and foretel the judgments of God? He could not but look upon such an
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one to be an *Impostor*, and account this *diviner mad*. Forasmuch as this were only a fit method, (by such Bugbears) to fright Fools and Children into their duty.

Perhaps it will be said that *Adam* was but an *Infant in knowledge*, who knew very little of himself, or any thing about him; and therefore this might be a proper method to work upon his weakness and ignorance, who tho he was made mortal, knew nothing of his mortality: tho he was by the constitution of his nature lyable to Death, yet he might dream of living for ever, as was said before. Now this is to abuse Scripture as well as *Adam*, and if this be not trifling with the Threatnings and Judgments of Almighty God, I know not what is.

Indeed this whole matter as it is delivered by the *Socinians*, is so odd, so contrary to the plain declarations of Scripture, that to preserve a seeming reverence for, and yet to avoid the conviction of it, it engages them in an account, so awkward and perplexed, that it was plain, they were so far from giving any reasonable satisfaction to others, thai they could not satisfie themselves.

For first whereas the Scripture saith (as we cited it before) *That by the disobedience of one, many (or all) were made Sinners*, Rom. 5. 19. By Sinners, they say is not meant, that men are truly and really become such, but *tractantur à Deo tanquam peccatores*, they are dealt with by God as if they were Sinners. Now to be treated as Sinners, and in the mean time to be innocent, seemes scarce reconcileable to the Justice of God, which at other times they seem so much concerned for; *where there is no fault, there can be no punishment*, being a maxim allowed on all hands. Now when *Socinus*² tells us, first, that *necessary and eternal death* is the punishment and wages of Sin; 2dly, that³ by

1 Crell. in Loc. Socin. Libell. Suaf. cap. 5. *Herein followed by Ep'scop. Lib. supra cit. cap. 2. Limb. Lib. 3. cap. 2. whose writings are full of Socinus's Divinity*

2 *Peccatum igitur non mortalitatis naturalis, sed necessariae mortis causa fuit*, Praelect. Th. cap. 1. & alibi passim.

3 *Ob inoedentiam illam primi Hominis factum est, ut multi, id est, omnes homines constituti sint peccatores, id est, quod proprium est eorum qui peccant, necessaria ac perpetua morti sunt obnoxii*, Libell. Suaf. cap. 5.

the disobedience of *Adam*, all men were liable to that certain and perpetual death: from these *premisses* this must be the *conclusion*, since all men are obnoxious to the *punishment*, they must one way or other be partakers in the *guilt*.

I know it is said by ¹ our adversaries, that all men were liable to, and punished with death, by *occasion* of *Adam's Sin* indeed, but it must not be esteemed the *impulsive or meritorious cause* of That Death. *Ans.* The contrary seems plainly to be implied in the Antithesis that is made by the Apostle in the forementioned Chapter, between the Origine of our Righteousness and Life, and that of our Condemnation and death. *By one mans offence the judgment came upon all to Condemnation, so by the Righteousness of one, viz. Christ, the free gift came upon all to justification of life, v. 18. By one mans disobedience, many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, many were made righteous, v. 19.* Now the righteousness of Christ is not only the *Antecedent and occasion*, but the *true and proper cause* of our righteousness: so *Adam's offence* must be (to make out the agreement between the *Protasis* and the *Apodosis* (the *cause* of our Condemnation and death. You will say the *Socinians* deny Christ to be the meritorious cause of our justification and life. I know they do so, but I hope all other good Christians will detest their opinion as impious, and tending to subvert the whole Christian Religion, and with it all our hopes of happiness, which have no true bottom to rest upon, when that is once undermined.

2dly, The Apostle tells us that *Death reigned from Adam to Moses, over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, v. 14.* This in the opinion of many interpreters both ² Ancient and Modern, includes infants as well as men of riper years; who tho they committed no actual Sin, yet by virtue of their Original guilt, were subject to the dominion of death, and consequently must be reckoned in the number of *sinners*: *Death having therefore passed upon all men,*

¹ Vid. Soc. Libell. Suas. Cap. 5. Episcop. Inst. Th. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.

² Hieron. August. &c. vid. Estium in Loc.

because all have sinned, v. 12. But suppose infants are not comprehended in this Antithesis, yet death reigned over all Adult persons, who, if we believe our adversaries, did not sin, nor were liable to the guilt of any sin against any positive Law, which contained an express denunciation of eternal death against those transgressions.

Well, but if the Law did not threaten it, how come they to be punished with it? this doth not seem to be dealing with men *secundum veritatem*: if they had known what would certainly have come of it, perhaps this might have prevented their sin, and consequently their punishment. But it may be said, what they did, *deserved Death*; and therefore God might *inflict*, tho' he did not *threaten it*. This he might do indeed without the impeachment of his Justice; but this is to act with men *ex rigore justitiæ*, in extream rigor, and doth not seem to be agreeable to that gracious and equal way of dealing with sinners (which the persons we are now disputing with, are wont upon all occasions so much to magnify) who usually gives them *warning* of their danger, that by their repentance, and amendment, they may avoid it.

You will say he did, not by any *positive Law* indeed, but by that of *nature* written in their hearts, whereby they were convinced that *they who do such things are worthy of death*. If so, then at the same time that he gave them the Law, he threatned the punishment, the sanction being annexed, and coming along with it; and then their sin bears such a resemblance to that of *Adam*, that they might be said to *sin after the similitude of his transgression* which is contrary to the Apostle's supposition. *Ans.* They knew what they did was wor-

1 *Qui in Adamo ante Legem nati erant, legem nullam mortis pœna sancitam habuerant.* Episcop. Cap. supra citat.

2 *Æstimatio ista, nec est secundum veritatem, nec est non secundum veritatem: fateor esse æstimationem non gratiosam, sed dico æstimationem esse nullo modo injustam.* Idem ibid.

3 *Certum est in iis fuisse Legem naturæ, sive dictamen naturalis rationis & conscientiæ, ex qua sciebant, non modo quid decorum, quid turpe, sed & dignum sive jus Dei, viz. eos, qui scelera contra conscientiam suam faciunt, dignos morte esse.* Ibid.

thy of death, tho' God did not *absolutely and peremptorily* denounce it. Why then was it inflicted? upon the account of their own sins? no, not *necessarily*, for God might have pardoned and spared them; but it was upon the account of *Adam's sin*, 'his *peccatum enorme*, his great and crying sin in the Language of *Episcopi*, which made their punishment certain and necessary. So then, that we may bring this matter to some issue, they were worthy of death upon the account of their own sins, but they were actually punished upon the account, or with respect, or upon the occasion (call it what you will) of *Adam's sin*: And if so, *Adam's sin* making death *certain or necessary*, makes it at the same time a *punishment*, in the opinion of *Socinus* and the *Remonstrants*, who, as we shewed before, make *natural death* the condition of our nature, but *necessary death* the punishment of sin.

And this *Limborch* after many shiftings and turnings to avoid the force and evidence of this truth, is at length whether he will or no forced to acknowledge, *viz.* 'that *those over whom death reigned between Adam and Moses, may truly be said to be punished more for Adam's sin, than their own*. Which he had much better have done at first, in my judgment, and without any subterfuge. The one would have argued a dutiful submission to the truth, whilst this latter confession, looks like an involuntary conquest, and kind of compulsion.

But it may further be asked, since God might have spared as well as punished these men, all this being purely voluntary; how comes *Adam's sin* to be of that efficacy, as to de-

1 *Peccata eorum quanquam morte digna. Deus iis non imputavit, habita scil. ratione meriti peccatorum eorum, quia legem nullam mortis pena sancitam habuerant: sed quia Deus Peccatum istud primum Adami tam enorme esse judicavit, ut qui ex Adamo peccatore nati peccaturi erant, eos licet non tam enormes peccatores, uti Adamus parens eorum fuerat, solius istius enormis peccati respectu, morti eidem subiacere, & punire voluerit, Ibid.*

2 *Licet non sine respectu ad propria peccata mortui sint; tamen quia ex Adamo, qui ob transgressionem precepti divini moriendi necessitate punitus fuit, geniti sunt; ad ipsos quoque mors pervenit, ita ut jure dici possit, ipsos magis ob Adami peccatum, & quia ex Adamo geniti sunt, quam ob propria peccata mortuos fuisse, Limb. Th. Christi. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Sect. 15.*

termin God's will to the punishing side? Why should *Adam's* sin overtake those unhappy men, who lived 2500 years after the commission of it, (for so long time at least, passed between the sin of *Adam*, and giving of the Law) if they had no ways bin concerned in the guilt, as our adversaries say they were not? We may as well imagin that God permitted the *Spaniards* to Butcher the inhabitants of *Mexico* and *Peru*, chiefly for the ambition and tyranny of *Nimrod*, or the Luxury and effeminacy of *Sardanapalus*: that, tho' their own sins deserved it, yet that God was principally moved to bring all that calamity upon those miserable creatures, to shew his high displeasure against the wickedness of those Eastern Monarchs.

In short, where there is no sin, there can be no room for punishment: and yet they who lived between *Adam* and *Moses*, were punished more for *Adam's* sin than their own. How could this be if they were not guilty of it? Is there more injustice in imputing *Adam's* sin, than in punishing men for it? Nay I thought it was therefore seemingly unjust, because of the punishment which was consequent to the imputation; for without the former, the latter would have carried no great inconvenience along with it.

You will say it seems hard, that men should be punished for anothers offence. *Ans.* It was so anothers, as at the same time to be their own. *Obj.* But all this must be by imputation, and that's the difficulty. *Ans.* The Scriptures affirm it and that's enough: it being plainly repugnant to reason, as well as true piety, either to disown the Authority, or contradict the meaning of those inspired writings, in such matters which are plainly delivered there, because we cannot comprehend the reasons, or solve all the difficulties relating to them: it would much better become us to suspect our own shallow

1 Per peccatum itaque eorum, non intelligitur peccatum originale, sed propria ac personalia eorum peccata, per se digna morte quidem, sed idcirco tamen non nisi per solam divinam æstimationem morte eadem, quæ Adamo ex legis vi debebatur, punita, quia peccatum non imputatur, non existente Lege, id est, quia non videtur mortis pœna insigi posse iis, quibus Lex pœna mortis sancita lata nunquam est. Ibid.

reasonings, than, in a matter of fact affirmed in the Scriptures, to question the truth and justice of God's dealings with men. And for illustration of this matter, I shall produce two instances, in which the *Remonstrants* (who in conjunction with the *Socinians*, are the great adversaries of this truth) are puzzled to give an account of some of God's dealings with men: and yet for all that, they neither can deny the matter of fact, nor dare impeach either the *wisdom or righteousness* of those dispensations.

The first thing that I shall instance in, shall be the *prescience of God*, his foreknowledge of future and contingent events, such as depend upon the *spontaneous and arbitrary determinations* of mens free will: This is plainly revealed in the Scriptures, and yet how we shall be able to reconcile it to the methods, which God makes use of for the reclaiming of *obstinate and incorrigible sinners*, who he foresees will not be reclaimed; is a work of great, and perhaps of insuperable difficulty, at least in the opinion, and according to the hypothesis of the *Remonstrants*, of whom we are at present speaking. What now is to be done in this case? If you please we will refer this matter to *Episcopus*, and abide by his determination. Is it fit to deny God's foreknowledge, because we cannot solve all the doubts and objections that may be made against it? 'no, by no means: *partly out of Reverence to Almighty God, and out of a due regard to the truth and certainty of the predictions contained in the Scriptures*; we ought firmly and undoubtedly to believe his prescience.

But how is this consistent with his dealings with wicked men; by his *Monitions, Entreaties, Exhortations, Reproofs, &c.* which yet he foresees will be ineffectual: and therefore as to the event, that they will no more prevail, than if you made a

1 Ad me quod attinet, ego hæcenus sive religione quadam animi, sive divina majestatis reverentia, non potui in animum meum inducere, rationem istam allegatam tanti esse, ut propter eam Deo futurorum contingentium præscientia detrahenda sit: maxime cum vix videam, quomodo alioquin divinorum prædictionum veritas salvari possit, sine aliqua aut incertitudinis Macula, aut falsi possibilis suspitione. Episcop. Resp. ad secundam Epist. Joh. Beverov.

long and elegant Oration to a person who hath lost his hearing, or should lay your commands upon a man wrapt up in his winding-sheet, and require him to stand upon his Legs: why should God resolve to use any such methods, when he foresees the issue, and how can we reconcile them either to his wisdom or goodness? To which the answer is ready, *'It doth not become us to assign the reasons of Gods decrees, nor is it fit for others to require it of us. That infinite and unerring wisdom, which governs and directs his resolutions, is placed out of the reach of our little and impertinent enquiries, and by all our searching can never be found out: in short, God knows the reasons of his own councils, which we should stand in an humble admiration of, and adore what we cannot comprehend.* A wise and a sober answer, which if he had in other cases governed himself by, he might have escaped many of those dangerous mistakes, which he first, and many others lead by his authority, have since fallen into.

The second instance shall be that of the redemption of the world by the death of Christ; there is nothing that is delivered in the New Testament more plainly, or more frequently, than that *Christ dyed for all men*; that the end of his coming into the world, was to reconcile his Father by his sufferings, and to make an expiation for the *Sins of the whole world*: yet if we consider the seeming inequality of Gods dispensations towards the inhabitants of it, in the several parts and quarters of the earth; we shall meet with many difficulties, in this affair, and those I think more hard to be solved, than any thing that can be offered against the imputation of *Adam's* disobedience. What then is to be done in this case, must we deny the redemption of mankind? no that cannot be done without offering plain violence to the Scripture: must we impeach

1 *Decreti rationem dare nostrum non est, nedum aliorum eam à nobis exigere; ea pertinet ad sapientiam divinam, cujus reconditas rationes sæpenumero nec nos persequi debemus nec adsequi possumus: sufficere nobis debet, quod Deo decreti sui rationes consent: nostrum est eas adorare & admirari: præscientia futurorum Contingentium, ad divinæ majestatis gloriam augendam maxime facit. Nec ulla aut Iniquitatis aut Idæcentiæ suspicio eam minuire potest. Id. Inst. Th. Lib. 4. Sect. 2. Cap. 17.*

the wisdom and righteousness of God, because we cannot assign the reason of his actions? no by no means: it were great impiety to think that the *Judge of the whole earth, should not do righteously*. What then is left for us to do? Why the same *Episcopus*¹ and his brethren will inform us, *that it will become us to take sanctuary in the Apost. & Bāp̄s Rom. 11. 33. Ob the depth of the Riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!*

Tho' this might serve as a sufficient answer in general, to silence those Cavils which are usually raised against the imputation of *Adam's sin*, yet there is something that may be offered particularly, as containing a more direct vindication of the justice of God, which is called in question in this affair. And that is from the Laws, which are the measure of right and wrong, and the practice consequent thereunto, of all, or most governments that have ever bin in the world. I am sensible that I am now entring into a large common place: and therefore must only hint at some things, which might very easily, and would very well deserve to be further enlarged upon.

Now I say, there hath not bin (for ought I know) any Nation or Kingdom in the world, that hath not in some cases, and for some weighty reasons, thought, and adjudged it lawful to *punish one man for the Sins of another*. So that overhastily and peremptorily (as the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants* do) to pronounce the imputation of *Adam's Sin*, and the punishing of his posterity for it unlawfully, barely for this reason,² that no

¹ *Nec nobis ea mens est, ut exactam proponamus rationem qua Deus in Evangelica prædicationis dispensatione utatur. Ea quidem utitur quam ipse justitiæ & sapientiæ novit esse convenientissimam. Nos vero, quæ judicii nostri est tenuitas, eam exacte comprehendere non possumus. Quare judicia Dei inscrutabilia, & impervestigabilia esse libenter agnoscimus. Def. Sent. Rem. de Morte Christi p. 331.*

² *Nunquam Deus aliena peccata in quoquam vere punit, qui culpæ affinis non sit. Socin. de Christo Serv. par. secunda cap. 7. Pœna sine antecedente culpa esse non potest: ad culpam constituendam propria voluntas ejus, qui in culpa futurus est, omnino requiritur. Idem Præl Th. cap. 4. Pœna quæ fit sine propria culpa ejus qui punitur, siue peccantem egreditur, injusta est, Episcop. Th. Inst Lib. 4. Sect. 4. cap. 8. Pœna sine omni prævia culpa est injusta: & culpa unius non potest esse culpa alterius, qui in eam non consentit propria sua voluntate. Ibid.*

man can be justly punished who was not a party, and actually engaged in the practice of the Sin, is to contradict the reason, and condemn the usage of all mankind: and not only so, but as this position is roundly and without exception laid down by them, it tends plainly to overthrow the whole design of the Gospel, by denying the sufferings of Christ, to have the true notion of a *punishment*, whereby he *satisfied the Justice* of God for the sins of mankind.

In short, The present matter in debate between us and our Adversaries, turns upon this point, whether in any case, a person may lawfully, and justly be punished for a crime which he did not personally commit. They deny it, and condemn the practice as absolutely unlawful: we, on the other hand say this may be justly done, and for a proof of the legality of it, we can produce the consent, ¹ of all the most civilized States and Governments that have bin in the World, who have accounted it in some cases lawful, and those especially two. *1st*, Where there hath bin the voluntary offer and consent of the party, as in the case of Sureties, Hostages, &c. Or *2dly*, Without that consent, where there is either a natural, or civil and political union between the persons offending, and the persons punished: such as is that between a King and his Subjects, Parents and Children. And here we have, which is a consideration of much greater weight, the particular direction and example of God himself, to justify and warrant this practice. *Saul slew the Gibeonites*, and his Sons and Grandchildren are executed for it, *Sam. 2. 21. David Sins in numbring the people*, and God sent a Pestilence among his subjects which *destroyed seventy thousand of them*, *Sam. 2. 24. Achan stole the wedge of Gold, and a Babylonish Garment*, and his Children pay dear for it, *for all Israel stoned both him and them with stones, and Burned them with fire*, *Josh. 7. 25.* But

¹ Ubi consensus aliquis antecederet, ferre ausim dicere omnium eorum, quos Paganos diximus, neminem fuisse, qui alium ob alterius delictum puniri injustum duceret. Grot. De Satisf. Christ. cap. 4. Quod, Testimoniis satis luculentis, in aliis etiam pœnis ostendit, quæ non consensum aliquem, sed solam personarum conjunctionem respiciunt.

not to multiply instances, of which the Scriptures afford great store; we shall mention but one more, but it is one, if I may so say, of ten Thousand; and that is, that remarkable vengeance which overtook the whole Nation of the Jews, and which still pursues their posterity to this day, for the Sin of their Forefathers in *Crucifying our blessed Lord and Saviour*. Which is so plain and irrefragable a proof of this matter, that the *Socinians* themselves cannot deny it. And particularly *Wolzogen*. in his Commentary upon these words *Mat. 27. 25. His blood be upon us and our Children*: doth ingenuously acknowledge, that it was the opinion in a manner of all Nations, that great Crimes are often punished in the posterity, as well as the persons of the Criminals.

I know it will be replied, that the posterity of those Murderers are punished for their own *Obstinacy and Incurribleness*, and not for this sin of their *Forefathers*, which may be the *occasion* indeed (which is the word that ² *Episcopus* at every turn makes use of in these and the like cases) but it is their own impenitence that is the *true cause* of their Calamities. To which I Answer, First, that it is so the *occasion*, as likewise to be the *principal motive*, that inclines God to continue those heavy judgments upon that unhappy people. Secondly, They are at this day so punished for their own obstinacy, as likewise to be punished for the sins, and particularly that great sin of their Forefathers, by the confession of the same *Wolzogen*. That innocent blood, the Guilt of which

¹ Sanguis ejus super nos & super liberos nostros id est, si sanguis istius innocenter & immerito effundetur, nos & posterii nostri id luemus. Erat autem mos antiquus, non se solum, sed & liberos suos diris devovere. Quod gravia scelera etiam in liberis vindicantur, communis est opinio ferme cunctarum gentium, quæ id experientia magistra didicerunt, Wolzog. in Loc.

² Aliud est infontem puniri, aliud aliquem puniri occasione peccati alieni, cujus ipse reus non est. Episcop. Inst. Th. Lib. 4 Sect. 4. cap. 8.

³ Si liberi parentum vestigiis insistant, tam patrum ipsorum, quam propria illorum flagitia simul in iis jure vindicantur. Judæis enim mandatum erat, non solum propria, sed Patrum quoque peccata agnoscere, & Deum pro illis deprecari. Idem. Ibid.

Cum legimus punitos aliquos non ob sua tantum peccata (quorum ratione nocentes erant) sed insuper ob aliena. sequitur punitos etiam qua non erant nocentes, si autem ex parte aliquis potest puniri qua non est nocens, quo minus & in totum possit, natura non obstat. Grot. Lib. 3. cap. citat.

they have brought upon their own heads, making up the bitterest part of that potion, which they are at this day forced to drink; which hath so far intoxicated them, that they seem like men smitten with blindness and giddiness, so that they can neither see the mind of God in his word, nor discern the meaning of his Judgments which they lye under.

Which furnishes us with a Third Answer to the above named Objection, viz. that, That very *Obduration and Impenitence* which is supposed to be the only real cause of their miseries, is it self the consequence, and punishment of their Fathers Sin, *God having given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear unto this very day*, Rom. 11. v. 8. *Their eyes being darkened, and they themselves concluded, and shut up in unbelief*, v. 10. 32. And what the meaning of these expressions is, if the Reader hath a mind to be informed, he may if he please consult ¹ *Crellius* upon the place; who will tell us, that 'when God hath a mind to punish men, he is wont to rob 'them of their eyes and understanding, to send a spiritual 'Lethargy and drowsiness into their Souls, so that they shall 'be still nodding, not able to hold up their eyes, and keep 'them open, to behold and consider the doctrines of the 'Gospel: sometimes suffering them to go on in their evil wayes, 'so far, that he will neither allow them the opportunity of 'repentance, nor the means of acknowledging the truth. If this be not enough, you may further peruse ² *Smalcus* upon this subject, viz. of the causes of the incredulity of the Jews,

¹ *Spiritus soporis est animi quidam veternus ac torpor, quo oppressus ac gravatus, Evangelicam doctrinam non considerat nec intelligit; solet enim Deus iis quos punire vult, oculos & mentem eripere. Hos ergo concludit Deus iis acriorem, tum per-mittendo, eosque suis viis ire sinendo, nec illos revocando ut respiciendi occasionem habeant: tum etiam indurando, quod fit cum occasio agnoscendæ divinæ veritatis alicui subtrahitur, cum multa sunt quæ animum ejus prævum offendere, ac incredulitatem ejus confirmare, & obstinatum reddere possunt: hæc est ratio qua Deus homines continere solet in hoc carcere, quæ fustissima est, & Deo dignissima. Sic nunc detinentur & adhuc detinebuntur Judæi. Crell. Comment. in Verſ. 8. 10. 32. Cap. 11. Epist. ad Rom.*

² *In qua stupiditate tam pertinaciter hæere, & eam pro vera defendere nulla ratione possent; nisi divina eos ultio hactenus persequeretur, & in Cæcitate invitos detineret. Smal. de Divin. Christi Cap. 10.*

who tells us, that it were scarce possible for them to continue in that obstinate stupidity, which is so remarkable in them, were it not for that divine vengeance which still pursues, and keeps them in blindness, *etiam invitos*, even against their own wills and inclinations. So that they are as *Crellius* intimated before, *kept close prisoners in infidelity*, like men shut up in a Dungeon, who shall not be permitted to see the light, tho' they had never so great a mind to it. Here you see he speaks home to the point, and comes up more fully to it, than any the most rigid Calvinist I ever yet read.

Having thus finished what is to be said concerning Death, which our adversaries acknowledge to be the *consequence*, and which we say, and have I hope in some measure proved, to be the *punishment* of *Adam's* Sin. I come now to consider, the *corruption and depravation* of humane nature, which as was said before, is both it self a sin, and likewise the other part of the punishment of *Adam's* sin. For the clearing of which matter, I am to make out these three things. *First*, That the nature of man is universally corrupted and depraved. *2dly*, That this corruption and depravation of humane nature is truly and properly a moral evil, or sin. *3dly*, That it is the effect and consequence of *Adam's* disobedience: and this when it is made out, will serve for a sufficient Answer to three contrary positions, which are advanced by *Socinus* in opposition to this great truth.

And first that humane nature, I mean as it is to be found in all *meer men*, (for our blessed Saviour was more than such, and therefore must be excepted out of the number) is polluted and depraved, is evident by the plain declarations of Scripture; such as are those which tell us *that every imagina-*

1 *Opinio hæc triplici ratione vera esse non potest; primum quia concupiscentiam istam, sive ad peccandum proclivitatem, in omnibus prorsus hominibus naturaliter esse non constat: deinde, quia etiamsi de eo constaret, non propterea illud esset, quia Adamus à quo omnes prognati sumus, divinum illud præceptum transgressus fuerit: postremo, quia cupiditas ista & ad peccandum pronitas, cum conjunctam secum hominis ipsius in quo est culpam non habeat, ejus peccatum proprie dici non potest. Socin. Præf. Th. cap. 4.*

tion of the thoughts of mens Hearts. were evil continually, Gen. 6. 5. Even from their youth, Gen. 8. 21. That not one can bring a clean thing out of an unclean, Job. 14. 4. or as the Septuagint read it, ¹ who is clean from any pollution? not one, tho' he be but an Infant of a day old. That we are conceived in sin and brought forth in Iniquity: as David complains of himself, Psal. 51. 7. That whatever is born of the flesh is flesh, Jo. 3. 56. That is, that we are carnal men born of carnal parents, standing in need of a *Regeneration* or *new Birth*, before we can be admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven. All which places (and a great many more which might be instanced in) are not only cited by modern Reformed Writers, but produced likewise by the Ancients, ² for proof of this pollution of mens nature which we are speaking of.

But indeed if the Scriptures were silent; the *experience* of all men, in all Ages of the World, would be an uncontrollable evidence of it, and might justly be thought of that weight, as to bear down all opposition to a matter of fact, so universally and irrefragably attested. But what can be expected from men who have hardned their Foreheads against all conviction, arising either from Scripture or the unanimous confession of all mankind! But to this bold assertion of *Socinus*, I shall only at present oppose the Ingenuous confession of another Socinian; *Ostorod.* ³ who acknowledges that there are to be found in all men, *propensions and inclinations to sin*, which make up a great part of this corruption we are speaking of: tho' he met with a rebuke from *Smalc.* for his pains, who in his answer to *Franz.* tells him that sure *Ostorod.* *memoria lapsus est*, forgot himself when he made that acknowledgment.

2dly, This depravation of our nature is a moral evil or sin. The *Socin.* and *Remonst.* (which are but two names in a man-

¹ Τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ἑλέπτου; ἀλλ' ἅπασιν, ἅν καὶ μία ἡμέρα ὁ Βίος αὐτῶ ἐστὶν τῆς γῆς.

² Origenes. Ambros. Basil. Chrysost. Hieron. Theod. &c.

³ Citat. à Franz. in vind. Disp. Th. pro Ang. Conf. adversus Smalc.

ner for one and the same Adversary in this controversy,) tell us that these propensions to evil where they are found, are things meerly *natural*, and consequently innocent, as being out of the reach of mans power; which render him therefore neither worthy of blame, nor liable to punishment; that *concupiscence* is indeed an infirmity, or weakness, a languor and defect of our nature, but no Sin. Now this opinion falls under very many, and those great inconveniencies, and tends to lead men into sundry dangerous errors, which are not more opposite to Scripture, than they are repugnant to reason and piety.

For first, right reason will tell us, that all faculties and dispositions, whether natural or acquired, together with the actions which flow from them, are *distinguished, and specified* by their objects. And this is very apparent in moral actions; where tho' a good object *alone* will not be sufficient to render an action virtuous, yet it is absolutely requisite to make it such; and an unlawful object, doth absolutely and unavoidably render an action which is conversant about it unlawful, and consequently sinful. From hence it must necessarily follow, that, That proness and inclination to sin which is to be found in all men, as it comprehends *the first desires*, and *Original tendency* of the affections towards that which is evil, must it self likewise be evil. And therefore to say as *Limb.* doth (as we quoted him before *p. 23.*) that concupiscence, *quatenus fertur in rem illicitam*, as it is conversant about an unlawful or sinful object, is no sin, can amount to no less than a plain contradiction.

You will say the *consent of the will* is necessary to make those Original desires sinful. *Ans.* no, not to make those motions

1 Socin. supra. & Libell. Suaf. Cap. 5. *Simplicem & plane naturalem concupiscentiam in homine esse ait. Peccatum originale non habent pro peccato proprie dicto, sed pro malo, infirmitate, vitio aut quocunque alio nomine appellatur.* Remonstr. Apol. ad Cenf. *Concupiscentia neutiquam est malum ethicum, sed physicum; non malum culpæ, sed neutrum: quales sunt multæ miseriæ naturales, quæ nec peccata sunt, nec peccatorum pænæ, talis fuit cecitas juvenis illius.* Jo. 12. 1. *Talis est hæc concupiscentia.* Limb. Th. Chr. Lib. 5. Cap. 15. Sect. 15.

sinful in themselves; for they must be so antecedently to any consent of the will, otherwise that consent will never make an innocent action evil. It is true indeed, by the tenor of the new Covenant, they shall not be imputed to them who are regenerate and believe in Christ, but that doth not hinder, but that they may be, and are in themselves evil and sinful.

2. Right reason will tell us, that whatever is prohibited by the Law of God, is *eo nomine*, upon that very score unlawful, the Law being the measure of Right and Wrong; ἀνομία and ἀμαρτία, being two words that signifie one and the same thing. Now the same reason informs us, or if that should be silent in this case, the Scriptures will assure us, that the Law of God prohibits those original inclinations and lustings after prohibited objects. This appears, partly from that great and fundamental Law, of *Loving God withal the soul, and all the might*, which was mentioned before p. 25. Which perfect Love of God is inconsistent with any degree of affection or inclination to sin; (as was shewed there and need not be again repeated.) And more plainly from the Apostles downright affirmation Rom. 7. 7. *I had not known sin but by the Law: for I had not known lust, except the Law had said thou shalt not covet.* From which words these two things are evident. 1st. That the sin which the Apostle knew was Lust. 2dly, That the Law which forbade it, was the 10th Commandment, *Thou shalt not covet.* If therefore sin be a transgression of the Law, which is the rule by which we judge of the Rectitude and Obliquity, not only of actions, but likewise of Intentions, Thoughts and the inclinations of the Soul; then this concupiscence and proneness to Sin, must it self likewise be a Sin.

I know against this it is said by the Socin. and Remonst. and particularly by *Limb.* That the first propensions and in-

1 In præcepto decimo Decalogi, non vetantur motus concupiscentiæ primo primi. Lib. 5. cap. 15. Sect. 14. Concupiscentia est triplex. Primo sunt motus primo primi, &c. 2 Est delectatio, quæ vocatur morosa, quando mens cogitationi de re aliqua illicita & inhonesta cum mora inheret. 3 Deliberatum propositum quavis data occasione peragendi quod carni gratum est. Hæ duæ Cogitationes quin male sint, non dubitandum est. Idem cap. 4. Sect. 10. Ejusd. Lib.

clinations of the Soul towards sin, do not come within the intention of the Law, and consequently are not prohibited by it, except in these two cases. *1st*, When they are of long continuance, the mind dwelling upon such desires, and persevering in them. Or *2dly*, When they are joyned with the full consent of the will, and a deliberate purpose to put them in execution.

Now let us a little consider, what must be the natural and unavoidable consequences of this Exposition. First, from hence it must follow, that these original commotions and propensions to Sin, being things purely natural, and therefore not prohibited by the Law, ought not to be resisted, so as to be destroyed, or rooted out of the Soul. Hitherto we have bin taught to believe, and it hath been given us as a rule to be observed in the exposition of the Commandments, that whenever God forbids the *Fact*, he likewise forbids the *Causes and Principles*, which have a direct and necessary tendency towards the production of that effect. And such are those inclinations before mentioned, every man when he Sins, *being drawn away by his own Lust and enticed by it*, James 1. 14. And therefore, whereas formerly we were told, that we should *principiis obviare*, hinder the beginnings of Sin, the first motions towards it, and if it were possible to strangle them in the Birth: this new Casuist will tell us that we neither need, nor indeed ought to pray or struggle against them, 'for two reasons; First, because being natural they are absolutely out of our power, and therefore all resistance is but labor lost and in vain, it is like striving against the stream, which when it is dammed up it swells the higher, grows more furious by opposition, and at length bears down all before it.

I acknowledge indeed, that these inclinations are not absolutely in our power, but however we may and must oppose them, and by opposing, we shall thro the assistance of the

1 Primo hi motus non sunt in nostra potestate, imo nonnunquam quo acrius illis obfistimus, eo vehementius illis infestamur. Secundo tantum abest ut vitia sint, ut sine materia exercenda virtutis. &c.

grace

grace of Christ, restrain and moderate them; in short we must fight against them, tho we cannot hope for an absolute and entire conquest in this life: we must pray, and strive and labor, and *our Labor shall not be in vain in the Lord.* No, faith *Limb.* have a care what you do, all attempts of this nature are not only unprofitable but dangerous; for 2dly, You must know there is a closer connexion between virtue, and those inclinations to Sin, than most people are aware of. These latter being as it were the seed from whence virtuous habits arise, or at least the matter necessary for the exercise of them. In short, Virtue without them either could not subsist, or at least were a very useless and insignificant thing. *Therefore these inclinations to sin are such, as neither can, nor ought to be extinguished.*

2dly, From hence it must follow that concupiscence being natural, as it ought not to be destroyed, so need we not be troubled about it; for what is not sinful, need not be the subject of our humiliations, nor even of a general repentance. Some pious persons indeed, have bin accustomed in their confession of sins, to rise up to ² the spring and fountain of them,

¹ *Hæc facultas, cum sit naturalis, extinguere nec potest, nec debet, cum sit materia exercendæ virtutis. Id. Lib. 5. Cap. 15. Sect. 3. And that we may not think that he accounted concupiscence only the accidental occasion of the exercise of Virtue, (in which sense bad manners are said to be the cause of good Laws) he tells us that they are the proper direct subject of it; Materia per se virtutis exercendæ, quatenus requiritur subjectum quod illis motibus corripi potest, ut sit Idoneum ad obedientiam præstandam. Ejusd. Cap. Sect. 15. Without which it could not exert its operations, and consequently would be an idle and useless thing: so that as far as I can perceive, at this rate, virtuous actions, and vitious inclinations, like Hippocrates his twins, must live and dye together.*

² *So did David in that excellent penitential Ps. 51. v. 5. Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. But so this the Socinians will tell us, that this confession of David was not literally true; it was rather an hyperbolical expression, the Holy Psalmist acting the part of an Orator, (tho one would think this was a very improper time, when he was humbling himself before God, to shew his abilities that way) and by this Figure endeavouring to move God to mercy and compassion. Verisimile est. Davidem potius ad excusandum peccatum suum ita locutum fuisse, & in humana fragilitate commemoranda, hyperbole ista usum fuisse, quasi peccatum homini res plane naturalis sit, non autem quod res ita sit revera, Socin. Pr. Th. Cap. 4. David ut Deum ad misericordiam flectat, dicit se in iniquitate genitum, hyperbolica loquendi ratione innuere volens temperamentum suum sanguineum, &c. Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 4. Sect. 16.*

which is the corruption and depravation of our nature. But these were weak, tho well meaning people: *Limb.* will teach them another Lesson: they may go to bed and sleep securely, and never trouble themselves with any such superstitious and melancholy reflections. For first as to ¹ the *lustings of the flesh, and the motions of it* consequent to them, these if you do not dwell upon and cherish them, are things purely natural, and consequently harmless and innocent.

It is true Christ hath told us, *that whosoever looketh on a woman to Lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her, in his Heart. Math. 5. 28.* But this declaration of our Savior's must not be too severely interpreted, but with a just allowance and condescension to flesh and blood. ² Then only are such desires unlawful, when we *long meditate and ruminate upon them, and revolve in our thoughts all that scene of Impurity, in which the actual commission of Adultery consists.* So that, as far as I can find, the impurity of our thoughts and desires, are not much, or rather, are not at all to be blamed; the *mora*, the persisting in them is the only fault. If you do not fix your Eyes upon a Woman, tho you cast a lascivious glance, there is no harm in all that.

And the like may be as truly, and for the same reasons, affirmed of other irregular (as they are generally esteemed) Appetites. An hankering after a wedge of Gold, and a desire to filch it, tho it creeps down insensibly to your fingers

¹ Non hic intellige primam illam concupiscentiam ac carnis titillationem, ex oblato objecto carni grato in nobis excitatam: illa enim naturalis est, nec in potestate nostra, ut eam plane declinemus; imo virtutis exercende materia est, quæ sine hac nulla foret. Sed quam cogitationibus nostris objecto illi immorantes, voluptatemque inde orituram sæpius meditantes in nobis excitamus. *Limb. Th. Ch. Lib. 5. Cap. 52. Sect. 25.*

² Illis cogitationibus adulterium corde nostro committimus, quoniam cogitationibus omnes actus quibus adulterium constat peragimus, similemque voluptatem quam adulterium adfert, in nobis excitamus *Ibid. vid. Cap. 4. Ejusdem Lib. Sect. 8.* Quando cogitatio de voluptate carnali in animo fovetur, homoque ea delectatur; imo omnia cogitationibus suis peragit, quæ, si peccatum hoc facturum sit, opere ipso peracturus esset, indeque voluptatem carnalem percipit similem vi, quam ex ipso opere percepturus esset: hæc voluptas est illicita. Dominus Jesus desinit hanc delectationem esse adulterium in corde commissum.

ends; (as a lye doth sometimes to the tip of some mens tongues who are accustomed to that blessed and fashionable vice,) provided that this be by surprise, and that you keep your hands back; must be reckoned only ¹ in the number of those *motus primo primi*, and is to be accounted only *complacentia rei quæ nobis grata est, & proinde amore nostro digna videtur*. So that at this rate, a thievish inclination, if it be not cherished, and long entertained, may overtake, and consequently when it is natural, arising from the temper and constitution of the body, can be no disparagement to an honest man. Now whether these and the like doctrines which are the unavoidable consequences of this Opinion, that concupiscence is no sin, do not tend to undermine all piety, tho' the Abettors of it do not only pretend, but may really design to promote it, let the Reader judge.

But this is not all; for 3dly, From hence it farther follows, that these evil inclinations, (so I make bold to call all inclinations towards evil) being natural, must challenge God to be their Author, who is undoubtedly the Author of nature. And if so, then a man may be said to be *tempted of God*, when he is drawn away by his own Lust, and enticed; according to that known maxim, *causa causæ est causa causati*, which holds good in all necessary causes, and such is concupiscence, in this case, which necessarily and unavoidably tempts and seduces men to sin. The consent indeed is a mans own voluntary Act, and therefore even in unregenerate men, not so absolutely necessary. But the first motions are purely natural, if we believe *Limb.* and the temptations arising thence to commit actual sins are unavoidable. Therefore since the temptation proceeds from the faculty, as the faculty proceeds from God; according to the order and connexion of necessary causes, the temptation, upon this supposition, must likewise come from God. Indeed ² *Limb.*

¹ Idem Lib. 5. Cap. 4. Sect. 8.

² Hinc nec inordinatos esse dicimus (de motibus concupiscentiæ loquitur) sed inordinati forent si eis indulgeremus; non tamen sequitur eos esse à Deo, sed sunt à facultate à Deo nobis indita, quatenus objectis quibusdam commoveretur. Id. Lib. 5. Cap. 15. Sect. 19. Motus eos antea ostendimus non esse peccata, sed à Deo vim motus illos excitandi carni nostræ inditam esse, ut materia sint evincenda virtutis. Id. Lib. 5. Cap. 79. Sect. 13.

faith otherwise, but he gives us no reason for his assertion. But tho' he wanted a reason to prove, we need none to disprove his position, because it carries its own confutation along with it.

Lastly, I shall use but one argument more to shew the absurdity of this Opinion, and that is, if Concupiscence be natural, it must be found in *Christ himself*, who took upon him our whole nature, with all the infirmities of it, sin only excepted. Now to say that there was in Christ a proneness and inclination to sin, *Motus concupiscentiae, & carnis titillatio, ex oblato objecto carni grato excitata*, as *Limb.* before defined concupiscence, which he made to be natural; is not only a false, but an impious, and indeed a *Blasphemous affirmation*.¹ And yet this must be the consequence of this Opinion.

It is true indeed, there were in Christ himself, (who was as other men are, made up of sense as well as reason) *Sensitive Appetites*, which were purely natural and consequently blameless. For whatever is grateful to sense, is not *eo nomine*, and for that reason displeasing to God. In short, when our desires, I mean those which arise from sense, are placed upon a *due object*, and do not otherwise exceed their *just limits*, then are they innocent and harmless; and such were they in our blessed Savior, who could not (except it were very falsely and maliciously) either be accused of any actual sin, or of any inclination to the commission of it.

I know against all this that hath bin said upon this head, it will be replied, that some Fathers, and Learned Schoolmen, were of Opinion, that those first motions of concupiscence, and the inclinations towards unlawful objects, could not properly be accounted sins. I *Ans.* That tho' they might shew some doubt about the name, yet they made none about the thing. For they do readily acknowledge, that this part

¹ *In Christo fuit talis natura, in qua fuit affectus repugnans voluntati, nec tamen is fuit peccatum, quia assensus seu voluntas non subsecuta est.* Jo. Geister apud Pelt. *Concupiscentia non est peccatum, nec reliquia peccati originis; cum uti antea vidimus, in primis nostris parentibus fuerit ante lapsum, & in ipso Domino Jesu.* *Limb. Lib. 5. Cap. 15. Sect. 13.*

of Original Sin, is a moral deflection from the Law of our Creation. That it contains in it, an aversion from God, and a conversion to the Creature; that it is opposite not only to the perfection of God's Law, but to the purity of his blessed Spirit; that it pollutes our nature, and consequently is the object of God's Aversion, and should be so of ours. Which is all that is intended by us, when we call it Sin, and all that is worth the contending for. The rest is but a *λεγομαχία*, purely a contention about words: As may appear from that extremely nice and curious distinction made use of by the Schoolmen, and particularly by *Estius* in this case, viz. that Concupiscence is *quid Iniquum, non quia est peccatum, sed quia malum, inordinatum, vitiosum, deoque displicens*. He that hath a mind to see more of this matter, may, if he pleases, consult the same *Estius*, in *Lib. 2. Sent. Distinct. 32.* and *Voss. Hist. Pelag. Lib. 2. Par. 3. Thes. 2.*

The last thing that remains to be done, is to prove that this depravation of our nature is the effect and consequence of *Adam's Sin*. And this the Scriptures plainly declare to us, as was shewed before; when they let us know, *That by one man, viz. Adam, Sin entered into the World, Rom. 5. 12. And by his disobedience many, or all, became Sinners. v. 18.* But if this Scripture-account of the Origine of Evil, doth not please our Adversaries, what course will they direct us to, to find it out? Must we have recourse to the Ancient but justly exploded Opinions of Heathens and Hereticks? is this corruption owing to an evil Dæmon; to the malignant influences of the Stars; to the perversity of matter; or lastly to that pernicious, restless, quarrellsome principle, discord, and antipathy out of which, together with Friendship and Harmony, the world (as many of the ancient Philosophers imagined) was made? Not to these to be sure. To what else then must we ascribe it? why our

1 Lib. 2. Distinct. 32. Sect. 6.

2. Heraclitus, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato apud Plut. de Iside & Osir.

Adversaries ¹ will inform us; the true cause of it is that *αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν*, that freedom of will which every man is endued with, which gives him an absolute power over his own actions.

But I would fain know how this freedom in men (which as these persons constantly state it) is a principle of absolute indifference, should be so *universally*, and in a manner so *fatally* determined to one, and that the worst side. It is a known and an undoubted maxim, *that one constant and universal effect, must be ascribed to one certain, necessary and uniform cause*; and such cannot be every man's particular free will, except we confound freedom and necessity: for it makes no difference in this case, whether the will doth determine it self, or whether it be determined by some other cause; as long as the effect is certain, and universal; as it is in this case. The Scripture assuring us, *That there is none that doth good, no not one.* Ps. 14. 3. *That there is not a just man upon Earth, that doth good and sinneth not.* Eccl. 7. 20. And the experience of all Ages confirms it, *quæ omni teste major est*; which in part is acknowledged by our Adversaries. But ² they tell us that this

¹ In ipsius hominis arbitrio positum est, utri parere malis, appetitui, aut rationi; utrum malis recte facere, & à malis abstinere, an vero ea facere. Socin. in Fragm. de Justif. *Quæ in Adamo causa fuit, cur peccaret, etiam si nullo peccato Originis infectus erat, ea etiam in aliis etiam hominibus causa esse poterat, cur peccarent, etiam si nullo peccato Originali infecti essent.* Smalc. Disp. 2. Contra Fran. Hanc voluntatem comitatur proprietas quædam inseparabilis, quam libertatem vocamus, à qua voluntas dicitur esse potentia, quæ positis omnibus prærequisitis ad agendum necessariis, potest velle aut nolle, aut velle aut non velle, pro diversitate finium aut mediorum, circa quæ voluntas actibus suis occupari potest. Decl. Sent. Rem. circa Art. 3. & 4. p. 6. *Fons seu Origo hujus duplicis miseriæ (peccati scilicet & mortis) est propria unius cujusque hominis culpa, seu liberrima ejus voluntas, quæ sese sponte ac volens in miseriam hanc præcipitavit.* Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 1.

² *Pronitas ad peccandum quæ in homine conspicitur, non à primo illo peccato statim exorta est: sed continuatis post peccatum illud aliis peccandi actibus, peccandi habitum paulatim homines contraxerunt, seque ipsi corruperunt, & sic corruptionis istius semina, per propagationem ad posteros transmiserunt.* Socin. Libell. Suas. Cap. 5. *Estemur infantes nasci minus puros quam Adamus fuit Creatus, & cum quadam propensione ad peccandum; illam autem habent non tam ab Adamo, quam à proximis parentibus.* Limb. Th. Christ. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Sect. 4. *Inclinatio illa ad peccandum proprie dictum peccatum non est, sed naturalis inclinatio, &c. Quæ proprie oritur à temperamento corporis, quod à proximis parentibus propagari scimus.* Id. Cap. 4. Sect. 1.

Corruption of our natures, which now and for a long time hath prevailed in the World, is not owing to Adam's disobedience, but to the vicious habits, which by long custome in sinning, men have voluntarily contracted, whereby they first corrupted themselves, and then transmitted the seeds of corruption, and a great proneness to Sin, to their Posterity. So that the persons at present living, received these evil inclinations by way of propagation from their next and immediate Parents, as they did from their Forefathers, and so forwards: but where shall we fix? as we must somewhere, there being no progress in *infinitum*: we must find out the first mover of all this sin and mischief that hath overtaken, and overspread the whole world: And since our Adversaries either will not, or cannot direct us, I think, to save our selves any further and endless enquiries, we must be content to take up, and rest satisfied with the account the Scriptures give of this matter, viz. That by the *Offence of Adam*, Sin entered into the World, as we said before; that he by his disobedience first corrupted himself, and then transmitted that corruption by way of Propagation to all his posterity, which is much heightened and improved indeed by mens actual Sins: but that first evil disposition which is born with us, is the effect and punishment of our first parents sin.

And thus, I have at length finished what I had to say upon this great and important Article of our Faith, concerning original sin, which I take to be not only a *certain*, but a *necessary* and *Fundamental Truth*, and without the acknowledgment of which we can have no right Notion, nor, I am afraid, any firm belief of the Christian Religion; This being at the bottom of the whole dispensation of the Gospel: upon which account it is necessary that this Foundation be well layd, that so the superstructure may with the greater ease and safety be raised.

When the doctrine concerning Original Sin is rightly stated, and apprehended, then every thing appears plain, and easy,

¹ *Quid quod hoc de peccato Originali dogma inter rudimenta erat Christianæ Religionis, nec tanquam ad structuram ejus pertinens, sed quasi fundamenti pars censebatur.* Voss. Hist. Pel. Lib. 2. p. 1. Thes. 6.

and intelligible in the doctrine of our Salvation by Christ, I mean, as far as this is revealed to us in the Scripture; but when the former is either denyed or perverted, then men are forc'd upon harsh and unnatural interpretations of Scripture, dangerous and novel Opinions are advanced, and introduced into our Religion; and in short, there have bin no *Alterations* made in this Article, but what have proportionably, in all Ages of the Church, affected the Doctrine of our Salvation by Christ.

And I have bin the longer upon it, in endeavouring to make it as plain and as easy as I could, and the nature of the thing would bear; hoping thereby, to remove that *rock of offence*, at which many both in former, and later Ages have stumbled, and fallen into error and mischief: some having hereby bin hindred from *embracing the Faith*, and others having afterwards made *Shipwrack of it*.

Here it was that the old Enemies of the Christian Religion, *Celsus*, *Simplicius*, and *Julian* began their attempts against it; deriding and exposing the whole account concerning the Sin and fall of our first Parents, as an *absurd and ridiculous story*. The first calling it an *old wives tale*, the second a *fabulous Tradition* received from the *Egyptians*, and the third accounting it not only a *false but impious Fable*, filled with *Blasphemies against God*, and such as equals all the *fictions of the Greek Poets*.

Here it was that others who owned the Christian name, began their attacks against that great doctrine of Christianity, concerning the Redemption of Mankind. Such were *Pelagius* of old, and *Socinus* of later years, followed herein by *Episcopus* and his Disciples; and particularly *Limb*. And I choose to mention him the rather, because I find his Institutions,

1 Vid. Celsum apud Orig. Lib. 4. p. 186. *Judeis atque Christianis inscitiam atque ignorantiam obijcientem, ac si antiquiorum regi dixeretur, incredibilem & ineruditam fabulam esse in quibus dicitur, de Homine terrigena finxissent, quam, μῦθον τινά ὡς γενοῖσι διηγουμένην onilem etiam fabulam appellat.*

2 Simpl. de Phyl. Aud. Lib. 8. *Narrationem Mosaicam, tanquam μῦθον τινά ὡς γενοῖσι διηγουμένην, ab Ægyptiis desumptam, sugillat.*

3 Apud. Cyrill. Lib. 3. *Contra Jul.*

(which

(which is one of the corruptest Systems of Divinity, that hath bin published of late years,) put into the hands of many young Students in Divinity, by whom it is perused with Approbation and Applause; to whom yet I shall make bold to give the same caution that *Socinus* doth in another case, viz. *That great care, and great judgment ought to be used in reading his works, lest they swallow poison, at the same time that they think they feed on wholesome dyet.*

To conclude this point, tho I am sensible that many things here delivered, might deserve, and perhaps want an enlargement; especially when it shall be considered, that the account which the Scriptures give us of the Creation and Fall of Man, is but very *briefly and summarily* set down there; which hath bin the occasion of some difficulties, and hath furnished Atheistical persons with sundry plausible pretences, who have desired, and greedily laid hold on any such pretences to cavil at our holy Religion: yet as to the main of this doctrine, I doubt not but the pious and unprejudiced Reader, will upon examination, find it plainly and clearly delivered by the Inspired Writers; in which opinion he will receive greater confirmation, when he shall have duly weighed the nature, and just reasons and consequences of things; together with the Analogy and Harmony that there is between the parts of our Holy Faith.

In short, he that shall seriously and with due care, compare the Old Testament with the New, the second *Adam* with the first, the redemption and recovery of man, with his fallen and degenerate state, which is supposed in, as being antecedent to the former, will easily be induced to believe this Doctrine concerning Original Sin, not only to be true, but as we said before a certain and necessary Truth; and for such it hath bin reputed and owned, by *Fathers and Councils*, and in one word, by the *Catholick Church*.

¹ *In ejusmodi scriptis legendis, (de Sommeri cujusdam scriptis loquitur) necesse est summum judicium, summamque diligentiam adhibere, ne una cum cibo venenum etiam sumamus, Socin. Ep. 3. ad Matt. Rad.*

And I doubt not to averr, that there is no one Article of the Christian Faith, not excepting those concerning the *Blessed Trinity*, the *Incarnation of our Saviour*, and the *Redemption of the World by his Death and Sufferings*; which hath bin more plainly and constantly, and uniformly delivered down to us from the Apostles days, through all Ages of the Church, to the very times we live in, than this concerning Original Sin. So that we need not fear the dissent of any, from this important truth, who preserve a due regard for the Inspiration and divine Authority of the Scriptures, a just reverence for the determinations of the Ancient and Catholick Church, and lastly, an esteeme for the unanimous Confessions of all the Reformed Churches, without exception of any one of them; and particularly for that of this ¹ Excellent and Orthodox Church of which we are members.

But as for others who have shaken off all Reverence for these, who slight every thing in comparison of their own *novel and singular Conceits*, which they put in opposition, to the constant and uniform declarations of all Churches both Ancient and Modern; That is, for them who are neither *good Christians*, nor *true Protestants*, nor *sound Members* of that excellent Church of which yet some of them would be reputed Sons, or at least, not long since have desired to be owned for such; we cannot much wonder at their disagreement from us; however in the mean time we shall not cease to pray to God, to forgive them their *pride and vanity*, and to give them better minds, that is, more humble and teachable tempers, which may dispose them to submit their understandings to all divine Revelations, and to *Captivate their proud reasons to the obedience of Faith*.

Having thus finished what I had to say concerning man in his *lapsed and degenerate state*: I come now to speak of his *Redemption and Recovery* by Christ. And here according to

¹ Antiquorum Testimonia vide apud Voss. Hist. Pelag. ac speciatim Lib. 2. Par. 1. Thes. 6 superius citat.

² See the 9th Article of Orig. Sin. The Hom. or Serm. concerning the misery of Mankind, And that of the Nativity; Office for Bapt. Church Catechism.

the method before laid down, I shall first give an account of what the Scriptures inform us in this matter; and then secondly, of what alterations *Socinus* and his followers have made, in this great and *Fundamental Doctrine* of the Christian Religion.

In speaking to the former, I must enquire into the *great end* and reason of Christ's coming into the world: and secondly, by *what way and means* he did procure and accomplish that end of his coming. First if we enquire into the *next and immediate end* of our blessed Saviour's coming into the World, and without a respect to which he would not have bin sent into it; the Scriptures will inform us, that it was for the *redemption and reconciliation* of all Mankind, the whole Mals as descending from *Adam*, who were universally without exception of any, under the displeasure of God; obnoxious to his justice, lyable to the penalty of the Law which they had transgressed; which was both a *temporal death*, and likewise an *eternal separation* from the presence of God, in whose favour is life; as was said before.

Here are two things to be made out, First that all men, I mean all meer men, the whole posterity of *Adam* are Sinners, and consequently under the displeasure of God, and obnoxious to his justice. Now this the Scripture is so exprefs and punctual in, that one would think there should be no room left for doubt or cavil. St. Paul Rom. 3. 9. tells us, *That he had proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they were all under Sin. That every mouth must be stopped, when charged by God, having nothing to say in vindication of themselves, the whole World being guilty before him, v. 19.* And in one word, *That all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, v. 23.* Not to repeat those other places in the 5. Rom. which we formerly cited; viz. *That by the disobedience of one, many, or all men became sinners, v. 19.* And that *death passed upon all men, because all have sinned, v. 12.* These universal forms of speech being of that Latitude, as to comprehend all the Children of *Adam*, without exception of any: Jew and Gentile, Bond and Free, Male and Female, Young and Old, one with another.

Thus the Scripture hath *concluded all under Sin*, Gal. 3. 22. I hope I need not farther prove, that all men being thus sinners, were under the displeasure of God, and obnoxious to his justice: for the immediate and necessary effect of Sin is guilt, and Guilt is nothing else, but an obligation to punishment. From whence it follows, that all men being born sinners, bringing along with them corrupt and *depraved natures*, must likewise be *by nature Children of wrath*, as the Apostle speaks, Eph. 2. 3.

2dly, That Christ came into the World, to redeem men from that deplorable and miserable condition, into which sin had brought them; which he did by making an atonement for their sins, and thereby reconciling God and man together. And of this we have so full, as well as so plain an account in the New Testament, that the Gospel is from thence stiled the *Word and Ministry of reconciliation*, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. viz. *That God was in Christ reconciling the World unto himself, not imputing their Trespases unto them.* This being the reason of his taking upon him our nature, that he *might make reconciliation for the sins of the people*, Heb. 2. 17. This was the great instance of God's love to the World, *That he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life*, Jo. 3. 16. You see in what condition all the World were left, if God had not in great compassion sent his Son to their rescue, they must inevitably and irrecoverably have perished, and have bin lost for ever.

And what God the Father thus did, is likewise ascribed to the Son himself: for whatsoever was thus done for the recovery of lost man, was by his own voluntary consent and undertaking; *Who gave himself for our Sins*, Gal. 1. 4. That is, to deliver us from the Guilt, as well as the Dominion of them; or as the same Apostle expresses it, Tit. 2. 14. *Who gave himself, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar People, zealous of good Works.* Where we have an account of two things, First of the reason of Christ's giving himself for us, or the next and immediate end
of

of his coming into the World, viz. to redeem us from our iniquities, from the guilt and demerit of them. And then of the end of that redemption, that being thus purified, we might be a people zealous of good works: Or as we have it in the Prophecy or Song of Zacharias, *That we being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies*, to wit, from the Curse of the Law, and the dominion of the Devil, *might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life*, 1 Luke 74, 75. But of this latter redemption from the power of Sin, we are not now speaking, the former being the only Subject of our present discourse, viz. Our freedom from that punishment which we had deserved by our Sins.

Hence Christ is said to have redeemed us from the Curse of the Law, by being made a Curse for us, Gal. 3. 13. That is, by undergoing the punishment threatned by the Law, and which we must have suffered, had not he placed himself in our room and stead: which Redemption is defined by the Apostle, and said to consist in the *Forgiveness of our Sins*, Eph. 1. 7. Repeated again by the same Apostle, Col. 1. 14. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of Sins*. Who-soever then are redeemed by Christ have their Sins forgiven them; and they who are no Sinners have no need of, and consequently receive no advantage by the redemption wrought, and purchased by our Blessed Saviour; I confess the Pelagians and Remonstrants are of another opinion, who have furnished us with new notions of Redemption, without any regard had to the pardon of Sin, which St. Paul knew nothing of. But of this we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

If this matter wanted a farther explication, we might instance in those other places of Scripture, which mention our

1 Hanc ἀπολύτρωσιν sic explicat Greg. Nazian. Orat. 36. p. 591. *Christus dicitur ἀπολύτρωσις, ὡς ἐλευθέρων ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατεχόμενης, καὶ λύτρον ἑαυτὸν ἀντιδίδως ἡμῶν τῇ οἰκονομῇ καθαίσειν.*

2 Χεῖρος κατεδέχαστο κατάραν, ἣν ἔκ ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῷ χρημαδίνειν ὅτι ζῆλον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῶν λύσῃ κατάραν. αἵματις εἰς πᾶσι τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀποβαίνειν λεβάνην αὐτῆς, αἰρέμενον καὶ ὅτις αὐτῶν θάνατον, Oecum. in Loc.

being *redeemed from our vain, or sinful conversation*, 1 Pet. 1. 18. *Redeemed from iniquity*, Tit. 2. 14. cited before. In which places *Sin* is put for the *punishment of Sin*; the word καθάρω (as ¹ Grotius well observes) which denotes expiation, which is added in *Titus*, and the mention of a Sacrifice by *St. Peter* (couched under that phrase of a *Lamb without spot, and without blemish*,) making it evident, that it ought so to be interpreted. In which sense Christ is said to *become Sin for us, who knew no Sin*, 2 Cor. 5. 21. That is, ¹ bore the punishment of our sins, by being made a Sacrifice for them. Once more, Christ is said to *undergo death for the redemption of transgressions*, Heb. 9. 15. Where the Phrase διανυτρεῖν τὰς ὀφθαλμοῦς, must be taken in the before mentioned sense; it being taken in no other by any either Sacred, or Prophane Writers (as ³ Grot. assures us) being always made use of by them to denote the freedom or deliverance from the *punishment of Sin*.

Of what hath bin thus said, this is the summ. That all those for whose sake Christ came into the World, and took upon him the seed of *Abraham*, i. e. an humane nature, which he received by propagation from *Abraham*, from whom as to the flesh he was descended: or, that those for whom he gave himself, viz. to Death and the bitter passions of the Cross, were Sinners, Enemies to God, obnoxious to his Justice, and therefore stood in need of a reconciliation. But Christ gave himself, and came down from Heaven, for the sake

¹ De Satisf. Christ. Cap. 8. Immunditia nomine significari passim reatum, fateatur Socinus. Hinc καθάρω & ἀπαλλάσσειν, est eum reatum tollere, sive efficere remissionem, ut ipse Scriptor ad Hebræos exponit verbum καθάρω, cap. 9. v. 22. Christus per seipsum fecit hunc καθάρω. Heb. 1. 3. Christus καθάρω conscientiam ab operibus Mortuis, Heb. 9. 14. Hoc est, ipso Socino Interprete, à reatu & pœna, pœnaeque timore conscientiam liberat, Id. Cap. 10.

² Ἀμαρτία λέγεται, τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν θυμὸς, ὅς ἐστι ὁ πονηρὸς, ἀμαρτίας καὶ μὴ ὁράωνται, τῶντι τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν θυμὰτα, Oecum. in Loc.

³ Hoc autem loquendi genere διανυτρεῖν τὰς πνευματικὰς, aut Latine, culpas, delicta, crimina redimere, non tantum significari causam moventem ad liberandum, sed talem etiam, quæ compensationem aut satisfactionem includat, manifestum est. Nulum adfert locum Socinus aut sacri aut profani Scriptoris, ubi redimere peccata, offensas, aliud quidpiam ab eo quod diximus, designet, Grot. De Satisf. Christ. cap. 8. p. 158.

of the whole world, Jo. 3. 16. by which phrase is meant *Genus Humanum*, all mankind; under which are comprehended all meer men of whatsoever Age, Sex, or Condition; *wise or foolish, Infants as well as persons of riper years, men and women*: all these making up, and being parts of the World: God by giving his Son, and clothing him in our nature, having given an instance of his superlative Love, not only to this or that particular man, this or that sort of men, (tho some particular persons have a more eminent and peculiar share in it than others; to whom the benefits of Christs coming, in the conclusion is only applyed; but that is for other reasons not needful here to be mentioned) but to all mankind, who stood in need of him, and without whom they must universally, and inevitably have perished.

Hence he is said to have suffered for us, indefinitely, 1 Pet. 2. 21. To have born our Sins in his body on the Tree, (i. e. He bore the punishment of them on the Cross,) That we being dead unto Sin, should Live unto Righteousness, v. 24. To have died for Sinners, Rom. 5. 8, who by being Sinners, were likewise Enemies, and therefore wanted a reconciliation, which was purchased by his death, v. 10. He gave his life a Ransom for many, Mat. 20. 28. Mark. 10. 45. *πᾶσι* being here to be interpreted in the same sense, as it is used by the Apost. Rom. 5. 19. where it is put for *πᾶσι*, as was formerly observed. But if these Phrases do not seem full enough, the Scripture furnishes us with others more punctual and express, assuring us that Christ dyed for all collectively, 2 Cor. 5. 14. Gave himself a Ransom for all, 1 Tim. 2. 6. That he tasted death for every man, Heb. 2. 9. And in one word, That he is the propitiation for the Sins of the whole World, 1 Jo. 2. 2.

From these two premisses thus laid down, this conclusion must necessarily and unavoidably be inferred, viz. That all the World, all Mankind, and every individual person, were Sinners, under the displeasure of God, and the condemnation of the Law, and as such were looked upon, and esteemed by God, Antecedently to his Decree of sending his Son into the World; who for that reason came into it, to make a reconciliation of

them all; to restore them to the favour of God, which by their Sins they had forfeited. Indeed this reconciliation is not available to all; but this arises from their non-performance of the Conditions, required to entitle them to the actual participation of it: and tho we must acknowledge that the *application of pardon*, as well as the *purchase of it*, is performed by Christ; yet it is not done in the same way, and by the same means, the latter, *viz.* the purchase of reconciliation requiring something to be done on Christs part; the former, *viz.* the Application of it, requiring certain conditions on ours: the one being the effect of *Christs Priestly*, as the other is of his *Regal Office*; which are perpetually confounded by the *Socinians*.

Now against all this, which hath bin plainly deduced out of the Scriptures, the *Socinians* on the other side with great vehemence contend, that Christ was not sent into the World, to reconcile it; That is, as we have stated it, to purchase the favour of God, and remission of Sins for Mankind. And that for these two Reasons, *1st*, Because, *all Mankind* were not Sinners, and consequently stood in no need of pardon and reconciliation. *Adam* hurt none but himself by his disobedience; *the Mass* as descending from him, was not *tainted and leaven'd* with any infection: Men being now born into the world, as *Adam* was at first Created, in a *State of Innocence*. So that there was no need to redeem such from the punishment of the Law, who were not liable to it upon the account of their own actual Sins, and therefore not liable at all. And this is the case of all Infants, and was, or at least might be the case of several adult persons if we believe these men.

2dly, Tho all men had bin *Sinners* (as they who committed actual Sins certainly were) yet there was ' no need of
Christs

¹ *Causam impulsivam in salute nostra nullam excogitare poteris, præter puram Dei liberalitatem & clementiam*, Socin. de Chr. Serv. par. 2. cap. 15. Hinc patet, non Deum fuisse hominibus inimicum, cum Christum filium suum ad eos mitteret: proinde nec Deum fuisse hominibus per Christum placatum, sed Deum potius homines sibi placasse per Christum, adeo ut in hunc finem etiam eum voluerit esse propitiationem,

Christs coming to reconcile them to God; who was not angry with men for their iniquities, nor provoked thereby to shew any marks of his displeasure towards them. There being no such Attribute in God as *vindictive justice*, (which is a quality fit only for passionate and revengeful men) which either inclined him to punish, or hindred him to pardon them without a *compensation* made for the wrongs and injuries done to his Authority, by the violation of his Laws. In short, the only obstacle of reconciliation was on mens side, if they would but forsake their Sins for the future, what was past should make no breach of kindness between them. He was so far from denying them *his favour*, that he courted *their friendship*; and tho he were the person injured, yet he desired no other *compensation* but that they would lay aside their enmity; and, in one word, he would be abundantly *satisfied*, if they would vouchsafe to be reconciled to him.

If you enquire what reasons then there were that moved God to send Christ into the World, they will tell you there were several. And among others they instance principally in these three following. First, this was done in a *gracious condescension* to the follies and weakness of mankind, and particularly with relation to one impious and superstitious custome, which had long, and in a manner universally prevailed in the world before Christs coming into it. For so it was, that those persons who had in their life time bin renowned for their valour, or had otherways bin useful and serviceable to mankind; after their Death were usually con-

propitiationem. quo penitus esse certi possent de gratia sua, & peccatorum remissione, Slichting. in Epist. ad Coloss. Cap. I. v. 20. Videmus hic non Deum mundo, sed mundum Deo fuisse infensum & inimicum cum Christo moreretur; proinde per mortem Christi non id esse actum, ut Deus mundo, sed ut mundus Deo reconciliaretur. Neque enim utrinque fit reconciliatio, ubi una pars alterius partis amicitiam omnibus modis, & maximis etiam impendiis ambit. Quod Deus fecit, qui mundum sic illo tempore diligebat, ut filium suum unigenitum pro eo daret, Idem in cap. 5. Epist. ad Rom. v. 10. Docet hic locus quam sit alienum à vero, Deum humano generi iratum à Christo fuisse placatum, & hominibus reconciliatum. Contra se res habet; nempe Deum homines sibi iratos placasse, & reconciliare per Christum & Apostolos omnibus modis conatum fuisse. Id in 2. Ep. ad Cor. cap. 5. v. 20.

secrated, and placed in Heaven, and there advanced to the dignity of a kind of *inferior Gods*: to whom their surviving friends or subjects betook themselves for patronage, and implored likewise their *Mediation, and intercession* with the superior deities.

Now in compliance with these *extravagant desires and apprehensions*: God thought fit to send an excellent man into the world, eminent for his virtues, and renowned for the admirable and divine works, which he wrought for the good and benefit of men: him being delivered up to Death, God raised from the Dead, exalted him to Heaven, placed him at his right hand, and there appointed him to be a perpetual Advocate and Intercessor for us.

2dly, Forasmuch as it had bin a general usage amongst most nations, to *confirm all Covenants*, and publick Leagues especially, by the death of some Beast, the shedding of whose blood was looked upon to be a *ratification* of what the parties had mutually consented and agreed to: In compliance therefore ² with this ancient and venerable practice, God having thought fit to establish a new Covenant of Grace and Mercy with mankind, and therein to give them the promise of pardon of Sin, and eternal life; (*which as these men tell us he had*

¹ Nullam in rem magis prona & proclivis sunt, semperque fuerunt hominum ingenia, quam ut homines vita functos, quorum eximia aliqua virtus dum viverent enituit, aut enituisse credita est, in cælis collocent; & ex his patronos ac opitulatores cælestes sibi faciant, quorum opem implorent, & ad quos magna cum religione confugiant. Hoc Deus ipse fecit in Christo, hominum tanto desiderio ac saluti gratificaturus. Quis Christo fuit virtute ac sanctitate & divinis operibus conspectior? Hunc morte affectum in vitam revocavit, dominum & servatorem nostrum constituit, hunc à nobis adiri, coli, & invocari voluit. Slichting. Com. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. 1. v. 25.

² Tertia ratio qua Christus ipse novum fœdus confirmavit, est ejus acerbissima mors, sanguinique fusio. Quodvis fœdus olim sanguine, id est, mactatione alicujus pecudis sanciebatur, ad indicandum ac contestandum, quod quisquis fœdus illud violaverit, perinde sit morte afficiendus, atque illud pecus. Christus novum fœdus non sanguine hircorum, sed suo pretiosissimo sanguine obsignavit. Woltzog. Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. 1. Cetera fœdera cæd. Animalis aliquo, sanciri & sanguine ejus confirmari solebant: & ipsum fœdus antiquum sanguine fuerat initiatum ac stabilitum: Quare cum sanguis Christi Novi fœderis doctrinam confirmet, potuit morti Christi adscribi fœderis sanctio. Crel. Resp. ad Lib. Hu. Grotii de Satisf. cap. 1.

never done before) in order to afford them all the assurance imaginable, that he designed to make it good; and withall to lay an obligation ¹ upon himself, that he might not (*whatsoever unforeseen accidents should happen,*) start and recede from his promise; he was pleased to ratify this Covenant likewise with blood: but not with that of Calves and Goats, but with the blood of Christ himself who was the first publisher of it: by a new and unheard way, *the Herald* himself was content to be the *Sacrifice*, to lay down his own life, and thereby confirm the pardon which he had proclaimed.

Lastly, God having thought fit (for *divers weighty reasons*, as might justly be imagined) or rather for *no reason* ² at all, if you believe the *Socinians*, but only for his own pleasure, to institute certain Sacrifices among the Jews, for the expiation of Sin, (for of this practice among other nations, tho' it had in a manner universally prevailed from the first Ages of the World, the *Socinians* take no notice) he at length grew weary of his own Institution, chiefly because he found it extremely deficient, and unable to accomplish several noble ends and purposes, which were highly requisite, and indeed necessary to be obtained. And these were especially three, in which the *weakness and imbecillity* of the Jewish Sacrifices, as they tell us, was very remarkable.

For first, ³ they could only procure or rather *declare* pardon,

¹ *Vis atque efficacia Mortis Christi tanta erat, ut etiam Deum, si forte eum promissionis suæ pæniteret, movere atque impellere posset, ne promissum suum rescinderet, sed quod pollicitus esset, reipsa præstaret.* Crell. de causis Mortis Christi. p. 613. *Hæc revera finis ac scopus fuit. Cur Deus Morte Christi se nobis obligare voluerit, &c.* Ibid.

² *Rectum enim & æquum est ut si nostra scelera à Deo nobis condonari volumus aliquam obedientiam præstemus: Cum igitur Deus Sacrificiorum istam obedientiam à populo, si is à peccatis illis liberari vellet, omnino requireret, & cuicunque eam obedientiam præstanti eorum peccatorum veniam largiretur: sacrificia ipsa, ita Deo pro benignitate sua statuente, peccata expiassè dici non injuria possunt.* Socin. de Ch. Serv. p. 2. cap. 11. & cap. 20. Idem. Præ Th. cap. 22, 23. *Sanguinis fusio sub veteri testamento non movebat Deum ad peccata remittenda, sed fuit causa media, seu causa sine qua non remissionis.* Crell.

³ *Quod ad ipsum Sacrificium attinet, quod in eo solenni festo fiebat, dico illud graviora peccata quæ ex animi malitia perpetrata essent, non expiassè, neque pro illis oblatum*

don, for Sins of *ignorance and infirmity*, but could make no expiation for greater Sins of *presumption and against knowledge*. 2dly, They could only expiate the legal pollution, but could not purge the Conscience, or take away the inward Guilt, which did stain and defile the Soul. And therefore were only available to save the Criminal from a *temporal punishment*, but could not preserve him from *eternal death*, which was the punishment due to greater Crimes. 3dly, Tho' they were ² effectual to make an atonement for past Sins, yet they had no force or efficacy to free men *from the Guilt*, and much less to deliver them from the *dominion of Sin for the future*, being utterly unable to withdraw them from their evil courses, and to prevent their sinning for the time to come. Therefore to supply all these defects, and once for all to have one general expiation for the sins of all mankind; he thought fit to abrogate the Jewish Sacrifices, and to substitute that of Christ in their room, *who by one oblation of himself, might purchase eternal redemption for us*.

Now in reference to these several *Socinian hypotheses*, we must acknowledge that they are very artificially contrived by them, in order to impose upon weak and unwary Readers, who may be apt at the same time to swallow down truth and falsehood, which are here (*in order to amuse men and divert*

oblatum fuisse, sed pro iis tantum quæ ignorantie appellari possunt. Manifestum est, pontificem non pro omnibus peccatis, sed pro ignorantibus & erroribus ex infirmitate, admissis sacrificasse. Socin. Lib. citat. cap. 12.

1 *Ab æternæ mortis pœna victima illa sub lege adeo neminem liberarunt, ut ne temporariæ quidem mortis, seu capitis supplicio quenquam eximere potuerint; alias quasdam leniores hujus vitæ pœnas aut incommoda tollebant. Crell. Comment. in Heb. cap. 9. v. 14.*

2 *Petrus fœdus non vacavit culpa, utpote quod vim non haberet populi in officio continendi, ut posterius habuit, ex quo factum est, ut merito abolicum sit, & in ejus locum susceptum aliud, quod mentibus humanis divinas leges indat, & cordibus eas scribat, Socin. de Ch. Serv. p. 2. cap. 16.*

Hostiæ illæ quæ offerebantur non ut quis peccare desineret, sed ut à peccatorum pœna liberaretur. Quas sublatas fuisse Apostolus dicit, & in eorum locum Christi sacrificium substitutum. Ibid. vid. Crell, Comment. in Heb. cap. 8. v. 9.

Ab earum victimarum imperfectione colligit Autor eas Deo non placuisse, & aliquando abrogari debuisse, adeoque per Sacrificium Christi abrogatas esse, Id. in cap. 9. v. 25.

them

them from the consideration of the true ends of our Saviour's coming into the World) very speciously and with great cunning, twisted and joyned together. And tho' they all deserve and must have a particular consideration, yet at present I shall only make my remarks upon the first of them, and wave the consideration of the other two, till I come to discourse of the *Death and Sufferings of Christ*, at which time they will more conveniently be considered.

As to the first therefore of these Hypotheses, tho' we must with infinite satisfaction and thankfulness acknowledge the Mediation of our blessed Saviour now in Heaven, who is sat down at the right hand of his Father, *where he ever lives to make intercession for us*, yet we can by no means admit of this Socinian Account of it, and that chiefly for these three Reasons.

1. Because it seems to be a great disparagement to the *Christian institution*, to derive the admirable contrivance for the Salvation of Mankind, from the *foolish and absurd* apprehensions of men, and the wicked and superstitious customs consequent upon them. We cannot but with all due reverence reflect upon the infinite *condescension of God* in his dealings with men; whereby he is pleased to pass by their weaknesses, to excuse their follies, to accommodate himself to their weak and shallow conceptions, in the discoveries which he is pleased to make of himself. But I doubt whether it may be warrantably affirmed, that in any of his Religious *Institutions* he hath accommodated himself to their foolish and wicked Imaginations.

Perhaps against this it may be objected, that many of the Ceremonies and Rites prescribed to the Jews by God's own appointment, were such, as for some Ages before had bin *practiced in the Heathen World*; several of which in compliance with the *weakness and passions* of that perverse people, he thought fit to adopt into his own service and worship. To which I *Ans.* That admitting this to be true, (which yet most Learned men will not allow to be so,) it will not come up to the point; unless it can be farther proved, that those ancient rites practised by the Heathens were in themselves unlawful and impious, and that God in compliance with the Apprehensions of

of the Jews about such profane practices, prescribed something of the like nature to be performed by them; This being the case of the mediation of *Hero's* and *Demi-Gods* among the Heathens; which was a profane and Idolatrous practice, highly dishonourable to God, repugnant to Piety, and such as had almost banished all just notions of God, and all the right way of worshipping him out of the World. No doubt God might have made choice of any innocent, and much more any ancient and laudable rites and usages, (tho' they had bin abused to superstitious purposes) and have incorporated them into his own Religion and Worship. But to say that he instituted any thing as a part of his own service, in compliance with any custome in its own nature Impious, I think cannot be affirmed, without a great and dangerous reflection upon the *holiness and righteousness of God*¹. Add to this, that it seems to be no ordinary disparagement to his wisdom; which, as the Scriptures assure us, hath bin so admirably displayed in the methods found out for our Salvation, that Men and Angels are *justly astonished, and stand amazed in the Contemplation of it*.

But according to this *Socinian Hypothesis*, it amounts to no more than this, that God having resolved to put an end to a foolish and superstitious custome which had too long bin practised, instead of those *Demi-Gods* which the *fancy and fears of superstitious men* had consecrated, he did substitute another eminently good and virtuous person in their room, to whom they might lawfully make their addressees, and whom for the future they might look upon to be their great *Patron and Advocate*. What is there in all this which may be thought to exceed the invention of a finite, or even an humane un-

¹ And this is acknowledged by Dr. *Spencer*, who is the great promoter of this Opinion, viz. That many of the *Mosaic Laws and Rites*, were derived from the like institutions and practices of the Heathens. *Cum Deus gentem sanctam condere & collapsum numinis sui cultum ad nitorem & puritatem pristinam restituere statuisset, ritus omnes aut sua natura corruptos; aut impuris Dæmonis Orgiis ita conjunctos ut lustrari non poterant, penitus abolevit; quicquid erat in cultu olim recepto & antiquè usque, Deus e medio sustulit; ritus autem innocuos, nullo vitio notatos, & gentium (forsan & patrum antiquorum) usu corroboratos, ipse toleravit & legis suæ sanctione corroboravit.* Spen. De Leg. Hebr. Lib. 1. Cap. 10.

derstanding?

derstanding? We know what things of this nature have bin invented, and practised in the Church of *Rome*; and yet there is none of us, I think, that stands in any great admiration either of the *wisdome, or piety of the contrivance*.

2dly, Let it be granted, that God in condescension to the weakness of men, should think fit to gratifie them in some of their absurd and impious apprehensions, (which yet I think can hardly be allowed, without derogating from the *purity and perfection* of the Christian Institution, which is admirably calculated for the *extirpation* of all foolish, and superstitious notions, and desires out of the minds of men, but by no means designed to *cherish and comply* with them) yet we cannot without great impiety affirm, that God would encourage them in any *sinful practices*: but rather would divert their inclinations upon fit and proper objects. Since they must have a *mediator*, he would substitute a *lawful one*, to whom they might *safely and warrantably* make their addressees and supplications; and so by his mighty power overrule the desires of men, and *bring good out of their evil Intentions*.

But so he hath not done in this case, according to the *Socinians*; but by placing *one man* in the room of others, hath only *exchanged* the Idolatry, but hath not *prevented* the practice of it: for to give divine worship to a *creature*, according to the Scriptures is downright Idolatry. To say that Christ was an extraordinary, or if you please a *divine man*, will not alter the case. This may make it a more refined and excusable Idolatry; but Idolatry it is still. For tho Christ hath, as the *Socinians* tell us, *Infinitely* the advantage of other men; yet being but a man, he must come *infinitely* short of the divine perfections: and therefore divine worship and adoration cannot be payd to him, without a bold and *Sacrilegious Invasion* of that right, which God claims as his sole prerogative; and which he hath said, *nay which he hath sworn, he will not give to another*.

Lastly, admit these desires in men were *innocent*, and the practice consequent to it, not only *blameless but commendable*; yet this account of *Selichtingius* were not to be admitted; be-

cause it flints and limits the efficacy of Christs death and intercession, to certain times and persons; which yet the Scripture assures us was of that extent, as to reach *all Ages*, and *all Men* that have bin in the World.

If therefore Christ was sent into the world in condescension to the weakness, and in compliance with the apprehensions and practices of men, in the worship and mediation of *Heroes and Demi-Gods*: it must from hence follow, that these apprehensions, and these practices, were *Antecedent* to the purpose and decree of God, to send his son into the world; it being an undoubted truth, that whatever is the *cause*, or the *occasion* of any purpose or institution, must in order of nature be *Antecedent* to that institution. And if so, then all those who lived before these *Idoltrous practices* grew common and universal, forasmuch as they lived before the coming of Christ was decreed, or perhaps so much as thought of, neither were, nor indeed could be regarded by God in that Decree; and consequently had no share in the benefits of Christs coming, nor did partake in any of those ends which were accomplished by it.

Now how many *Years*, or perhaps *Ages past*, and consequently how many thousands, or myriads of men lived and dyed, before this Idoltrous practice *began*, and much more before it *prevailed* in the world, is impossible to determine. But be the number of the men what it will, this is certain; that none of them were, or could be regarded by God the Father, when he took the resolution of sending his son into the world, if this were the occasion or cause of it. Now this plainly contradicts the Scriptures, which assure us (as was said before) that God gave his son, for the *sake of the whole World*, and every individual member of the same. I know that this inference which I have made, with relation to those persons who lived and dyed before this practice of Idolatry prevail'd, is esteemed a matter of no ill consequence in the opinion of a *Socinian*, and therefore that they will not be afraid to own it: but on the other hand they earnestly contend for it, as for an undoubted, and important truth; that
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the virtue of Christs sacrifice had no ¹ *retrospect*; that it did affect no sinners who lived before him, because it neither could, nor was design'd to expiate any sins, but those that were committed after his appearance among men. But I hope others will have more honourable apprehensions of the virtue and dignity of *Christs sacrifice*, in which their own *particular safety* and that of the *whole world* is wrapt up.

Perhaps it will be said, that the *Socinians* were indeed mistaken, in making the end of Christs coming to be in compliance with *one or two* foolish apprehensions of men, and to prevent the ill practices that were occasioned thereby: But that the ² *Remonst.* have hit the mark, when they tell us, that the true reason of Christs taking our nature upon him, and in it dying for us, was to make a reconciliation for all the *actual sins* of men; to purchase pardon both for the personal sin and disobedience of *Adam*, and likewise for all the sins that should afterwards be committed by his posterity to the end of the world; To which I Anf. That the *Rem.* by excluding *Original Guilt*, highly derogate from the *perfection and dignity* of that redemption wrought by our blessed Saviour; and fall in with that dangerous error of the *Socinians* now mentioned, *viz.* of *stinting the efficacy* of Christs death, not indeed to *certain times*; (for to give them their due, they do not with the *Socinians*, make the doctrine of our Salvation by Christ a novel institution, but acknowledge it to be as old as the world, and that the promise of a Saviour was made to our first Parents immediately after the fall) but however they limit the efficacy of it to *certain persons*; and thereby overthrow the *universality of that redemption*, which at other times they would be thought earnestly to contend for.

For first, all *Adult persons* who in any Age of the world

¹ Socin. de Christo Serv. cap. 26.

² *Causa vel occasio hujus redemptionis fuit miseria, in quam humanum genus totum, liberrima & ultronea Legum divinarum transgressione, semetipsum precipitaverat.* Episcop. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. cap. 1. de Redemptione. Limb. Th. Christ. Lib. 3. cap. 1.

lived without the commission of *actual Sin*, had no need of this redemption. You will say there were none such, all *having sinned and come short of the Glory of God*. I know the Scriptures say so, and give us the reason of that assertion. The *Socinians* are of another Opinion, and so were the *Pelagians* of old; and some of them have instanced in *Abel* and *Enoch* in the old world, who were perfect men, having never contracted any Guilt, by the commission of any one actual sin. It will be said the *Rem.* forsake them in this Opinion: They do so indeed, but in this they seem not to act so agreeably to their own principles. For overthrowing the *reason* of the Scripture affirmation, which *concludes all under sin*; they make it a *contingent truth*; such as depends upon the spontaneous, and therefore uncertain motions of mens Free will: and consequently when they say all men are Sinners, it amounts to no more than this; *it hath bin so, and may be so; but it might, and may be otherwise.*

For what is it according to them that should be the certain and necessary cause of sin in Adult persons; whereby being *inevitably* involved in Guilt, they stand in any *absolute need* of the redemption of Christ? First, is the decree of God the cause of sin, which thereby becomes necessary? *μη γινωσκω*, God forbid: they and we abhor the thoughts of any such thing. 2dly, Is it the *corruption of their natures*, transmitted from *Adam*, whereby men are born into the world with such necessary propensions to evil, and such a disability to perform any saving good, that they cannot by their own natural strength avoid falling into many, and those grievous sins? No such matter: *Adam* by his first disobedience did not contract a *disability* to perform his own duty, neither did he transmit any such *impotence and depravation* of nature to his posterity. 3dly Then,

¹ *Quilibet homo, ubi ad eam aetatem pervenerit ut rationis usum habeat, si nulla mala institutione aut usu corruptus fuerit, posset si plane vellet, nullum ex iis peccatis committere, quia cum ipsa ratione pugnant, eique per se omnino adversantur,* Socin. ad Object. Cuteni Resp.

² Apud Aug. Lib. de Natura Cap. 37. Et apud Hieron. Lib. 1. Dialog. contra Pelag.

The cause of this misery and guilt which hath overtaken the whole world, is mens own *Free will*.¹ If so, then men had even as good be without this freedome, as make all this stir and bustle in vindication of it: for it seems it doth as effectually and inevitably involve men in guilt and misery, as if their natures had really bin *depraved*. Perhaps it will be said, that all men, even since the *Fall*, are still left possessed of a *natural power and dominion* over their own actions; which is so necessary to the will in all its operations, as being an essential property of it, that it cannot be separated from it: and therefore, that tho all men do actually sin, yet they are not *necessarily and unavoidably* lyable to it; it is purely a *contingent matter*, as being the result and consequence of their own freedome and choice.

I Ans. if so, then the redemption purchased by Christ, was not *absolutely necessary* for mankind; but only *Hypothetically*, upon supposition that men would sin; which must not necessarily be supposed, it being as was said before but an arbitrary and contingent matter. It is true Christ *de facto* is the *Saviour* of all men; but there was *no necessity* that it should be so. They might have *saved* themselves the trouble of making application to Christ, and have gone to Heaven without him. I confess this was the case of *Adam*, if he had preserved his Innocence, he would have stood in no need of a *Redeemer*. But to say the like of any of his *posterity* since the *Fall*, is boldly to contradict the *plain declarations* of the Gospel, and to alter the whole *Oeconomy* of mans Salvation as it is laid down there; whereby we are assured, that there is no way now of coming to Heaven, but by the *Merits and Mediation* of Christ; all the passages to happiness being now shut up, except that, by and thro our blessed Saviour, *who is the way, the Truth, and the Life*.

¹ Ex his patet fontem sive causam unde miseria hæc in universum Genus humanum profuit, esse suam propriam cujusque hominis culpam, sive potius liberrimam hominis voluntatem, quia impossibile est ut homo aut peccati reus fiat absque propria voluntate sua libera, aut pænæ sive miseriæ propriæ dictæ absque culpa sua, eaque vincibili aut evitabili. Episcop. Lib. supra cit. Cap. 2.

If it shall be farther said, that tho' men are possessed of such a natural power as we have hitherto bin discoursing of, yet that in this *state of things*, all circumstances considered, it is *Impossible* for men to avoid sinning; Then I Reply, that this can amount to no less than a plain contradiction; *viz.* that no man *could* avoid doing of that, which yet he had a *natural power* to forbear doing. On the other hand, to say that tho' every man *could*, yet that no man ever *did*, or *ever will* avoid sinning; besides, that it leaves the Salvation of men by the mediation of Christ, an arbitrary matter, as was said before; It leads us into that great absurdity (as some men would account it) of asserting a *power* planted in the nature of man by God himself *to no purpose*; a power to do that which every man is *obliged* to do, and which no man *ever did*, or *ever will* do to the end of the World.

But let the case of Adult persons be what it will, This is certain, that as this matter is stated by *Episcop.* and his followers, all Infants, 'who dye before they arrive at the use of Reason, and therefore, before they are capable of committing Actual sin, are thereby excluded from having any share in the *Redemption* purchased by Christ, because they stood in no need of it. And hereby they effectually destroy that *universal Redemption*, (of which at other times they would be esteemed the great Patrons and Champions) in excluding by a modest computation, at least a tenth part of mankind from partaking in the benefits of it: besides all Fools, who never had the use of Reason, which must increase the number. It may therefore be asked, what becomes of all those Infants who dye before the commission of actual Sin? Are they all *damned*? That were an Impious and uncharitable imagination; it being not only inconsistent with the *Mercy* of God, but repugnant to his

¹ Hanc miseriam universalem facit scriptura, sic ut totum Genus humanum involvat, id est, omnes omnino ac singulos homines. supple, in quibus miseria ista tanquam justa pœna locum habere potest. Infantes ergo, quia tales, ubi & fatuos, amentes, insanos, aut rationis & voluntatis libera usu destitutos, sub iis comprehensos nolumus, Id. Ibid.

Justice, so severely, and without any reason, to punish those, who were *absolutely* pure and innocent. On the other hand, may we be so charitable as to say they are all saved? If so, then here we have a *new Gospel*, a new method of Salvation found out, without respect to Christ, which the Scriptures have given us no account of; but have declared the quite contrary, *viz.* That there is *no Salvation in any other*, or by any other way and means: *that there is no other name under Heaven given among men whereby they may be saved*, Act. 4. 12. but only his, *who is the resurrection and the life*, Jo. 11. 25. *The door by whom we must enter in, if we expect to be saved*, Jo. 10. 9. and in short, *That none can come to the Father but by him*, Jo. 14. 6.

But it may be said, men may be partakers of the benefits of Christ's death, and be saved by him, tho' they are not Sinners. For Christ by dying for us purchased not only *pardon of Sin*, but likewise *eternal Life*. The former benefit Infants stand in no need of, and therefore are not partakers of it, forasmuch as they are neither born with *Original Guilt*, nor have committed any *Actual Sin*. But the *Latter* they obtain by Christ, who therefore in that sense may be said to be their Saviour and Redeemer. For tho' their own *innocence* exempts them from punishment, and therefore places them beyond the need of *pardon and reconciliation*; yet it gives them no title to the Kingdom of Heaven, which is the sole fruit and purchase of Christ's death. So ¹ *Pelagius* and his Disciples stated this matter of old, followed herein ² by *Episcopus* and *Limburg*; only

¹ Scripsit dudum vir sanctus & eloquens, Episcopus Augustinus, ad Marcellinum duos libros de Infantibus baptizandis, contra heresim vestram, per quam vultis asserere, baptizari Infantes, non in remissionem peccatorum, sed in regnum celorum; juxta illud quod Scriptum est in Evangelio, nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & spiritu sancto, non potest intrare in regnum celorum, Hieron. Lib. 3. Advers. Pelag. prope finem. Secundum Pelagium Hereticum ista dicitis, parvulis baptismum necessarium, non propter remissionem peccatorum, sed tantummodo propter regnum celorum. Datis enim eis extra regnum Dei locum salutis & vite eterna, etiamsi non fuerint baptizati, Aug. Lib. 1. contra duas Pelagii Epist. Cap. 22.

² Infantium qui in etate Infantili moriuntur alia est ratio: nullius enim peccati proprie dicti rei sunt. Morte tamen quam à primo parente Adamo hereditariam

only with this difference, that whereas the *Pelagians* thought that there was a kind of middle state between Heaven and Hell, in which Infants who dyed without Baptism were lodged, and that others to whom the benefit of Christ's Death by that Sacrament was applyed, were thereby made capable, and after Death actually translated into the Kingdom of Heaven: The *Rem.* are of opinion, that Infants dying before the use of Reason, must have continued for ever under the dominion of Death, had not Christ delivered them from it, and thereby made them capable of eternal life.

So that in short, tho' it should be acknowledged that all *Adult persons* are actually sinners, and therefore want *pardon and reconciliation*; yet according to them, Infants stand in no need of a *Saviour* upon that account, there being in this sense, no *Minors, no Babes in Christ*. Now this Opinion of the *Pelagians* and *Rem.* is plainly repugnant to the express words, and to the whole Tenor, and design of the Gospel; which informs us that Christ is the Saviour of none but sinners: this being the reason of his name, why he was called *Jesus* a Saviour, as we have it assigned by the Angel that appeared to *Joseph* 1 Matth. 21. *For he shall save his people from their Sins. They who were whole had no need of this divine Physician, who came for the sake of the Sick and Infirm; and was sent not to call the Righteous but sinners to Repentance, Matth. 9. 13. for this reason he was made flesh, Jo. 1. 14. Or, was made partaker of flesh and blood, as other men are, that in it he might dye for us, and thro' death destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Devil, Heb. 2. 14. And that we may not think that any were partakers of this benefit, that is, rescued from the dominion of Death and the Empire of the Devil, who were not first redeemed from the Guilt of Sin; In the 16 and 17 ver. the Apostle tells us, that he took upon him an humane nature, (styled*

viam trahunt, detinentur; à qua non nisi per Christum redemptorem liberari possunt, sine cujus interventu æternum in morte ut maneat necessum foret, ut ita constet omnes homines, nemine excepto, indigere Redemptore, Limb. Lib. 3 Cap. 1. Sect. 14. Episcop. Lib. 4 de Redemp. Cap. 1.

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there *the seed of Abraham*, because he had it by propagation from *Abraham*, from whom as to the flesh he was descended,) that in it he might be capable of executing the Office of a Priest, and thereby *make reconciliation for the sins of the People*. And what he saith here, he repeats again (tho in other words, yet to the same purpose) Heb. 9. 26. *That Christ now in the end of the world hath appeared*, and the end of this appearance was, that he might *put away sin by the Sacrifice of himself*.

For the same reason, when God designed to supply the defects of the Jewish Sacrifices, and to put an end to them, by a more noble one which was typified and represented by them; he sent his son into the world, cloathing him in our nature, having *prepared and fitted a Body for him*, to this very purpose, that in it he might be capable of being a Sacrifice; and by this oblation of himself once for all, make one general atonement and expiation for the sins of the whole world, Heb. 10. 5. 10. For having made one complete sufficient Sacrifice for sins, *he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*, Heb. 10. 14. *Having obtained eternal Redemption for us*, Heb. 9. 12. Thus if you enquire why this *Lamb of God* came into the world; *Jo. Baptist* will tell us that it was *to take away the sins of it*, Jo. 1. 29. If you put the question, why he *shed his blood*; he himself will return the Answer, *that it was for the remission of sins*, Mat. 27. 28.

It is true indeed, he has by his death purchased for us more than pardon, *viz.* eternal life. But then I say none shall be finally *saved* by Christ, in the next world, who were not first *pardoned* by him in this, this being the first step to that great Salvation, and the first degree of it.

In short, I suppose it will be granted by all, that none can be admitted into Heaven, but those who are in favor with God; but according to the tenor of the Gospel, none can be admitted to his favor but those for whom *Christ dyed*; Christ dyed for none *but sinners*, who was manifested *to take away our sins*, 1 Jo. 3. 5. *He came into the world to save sinners*, 1 Tim. 1. 15. None else wanted his coming, or were regarded by him when he undertook this errand, any more than the Angels;

for as he himself assures us (and he sure best knew the reason of his own undertakings) *He came to seek and save only that which was lost*, Luke 19. 10. Therefore to bring both parts of the Argument together, those who are no sinners, either must not be admitted into Heaven, or, they must come thither some other way than by the assistance and mediation of Christ; which is plainly to give us a *New Gospel*, a New method of Salvation, different from that which the old Gospel of Christ hath revealed to us. And so I come to consider the second thing proposed to be enquired into, *viz.* the way and means, whereby Christ procured that Reconciliation which was the end of his coming into the world; and this we are informed was by his *death and sufferings*.

That we may understand this matter aright, we must know that the Scripture every where sets forth the anger and displeasure of God against sin and sinners, as in very plain, so likewise in very Emphatical terms: representing him as their *Enemy*, as one highly *provoked* and incensed by their iniquities, and therefore resolved to punish them, and thereby to vindicate his authority, and to rescue it from the contempt cast upon it by the violation of his Laws. Thus we are told, that sin occasions a *separation and division between God and us*; and that not only on mans part, as the *Socinians* state this matter, as if the aversion were only on that side; but that it creates an aversion on Gods part against the sinner. For before man offended he was in favor with God, but now sin makes the breach. *Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you*, Esay. 59. 2. This is an Argument of his high displeasure, he will not look upon the sinner, but turn his face from him, as men use to do from an object that creates loathing and detestation.

And another Prophet assigns the reason of this aversion on Gods part, because *He is a God of purer eyes than to behold iniquity*, Heb. 1. 13. Hence he is said not only to hate the evil ways and doings of wicked men, but to abhor their persons, and with high disdain to reject even their *services*, for the sake of their *Sins*, Esay. 1. 10. &c. And that we may not think, that

that this denotes only the opposition that is between the righteousness of God, and the impieties of men, which as the *Socin.* acknowledge are contrary indeed to his Holiness, and therefore do create a displeasure in him, but yet without any intention to punish men for them; the Scriptures frequently put us in mind of another Attribute in God, viz. *his Justice*, whose proper business and office is to revenge the wrongs and injuries done to his Holiness, by them who live in opposition to it; which as we have elsewhere shewed (*part 1. p. 28.*) puts him into a state of hostility against sinners, and naturally inclines and moves him to punish them; tho the Egress of this justice in the actual infliction of punishment, may be subject to the determinations of his own will and pleasure.

But to preclude all hopes of impunity from sinners, God hath in his word, made a publick and solemn declaration of his pleasure in this case; by annexing threatnings to the violation of his Laws, so that the Justice of God bespeaks his *Inclination*, and his Law his *Intention* to punish sinners. Indeed the Law of nature did so far inform men of the judgment of God, that they were convinced in their minds, that they who did things contrary to it *were worthy of Death*, Rom. 1. 31. But the revealed Law hath expressly and positively denounced death to the transgressors of it. *In the day thou eatest thou shalt surely dye*, Gen. 2. 17. And that we may not think that this threatening concerned only the transgression of the first Law given to *Adam* in Paradise, we find the same penalty annexed to the violation of all other Laws, *Cursed is he that confirmeth not all the words of the Law to do them*, Deut. 27. 26. or as the Apost. expresses it, *that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law to do them* Gal. 3. 10. Hence it is that all wicked men are said to be obnoxious to the wrath of God, as soon as they are born, for by being born sinners, and bringing *defiled natures* along with them into the world, they *become by nature Children of wrath*, Eph. 2. 3. And are much more so by their actual sins; for while they go on in their *hardness and impenitence*, they treasure up

to themselves wrath against the day of wrath, Rom. 2. 5. and what is thus revealed from Heaven against all unrighteousness, Rom. 1. 18. is particularly denounced as the doome of Infidelity: He that believeth not on the Son hath not Life, but the wrath of God abideth in him, Jo. 3. 36.

Against which the sinner can have no reason to complain, because he hath but the just fruits of his own doings, *The wages of sin being Death, Rom. 6. 23. it being a most equal and righteous thing with God to render tribulation to sinners, 2 Thes. 1. 6.* Or as the the same Apost. expresses this more fully in another place; *Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every Soul of man that doth Evil, (without any exception, or hopes of escape) of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile, Rom. 2. 8, 9.*

From all which it is evident, that if we consider God with relation to sinners (and are willing to govern our apprehensions of him by the plain declarations of the Scripture, and the discovery which he hath made of himself there, and not by our own foolish and absurd imaginations) we must look upon him as one highly angry and displeased with wicked men, provoked to that degree as to be resolved upon punishment; and every thing standing in the way of the sinner, to obstruct the passages to favor and pardon, *viz. The Holiness of God, his Justice, his Laws, his Authority, his Honor, his Vercacity:* so that let him look which way he will, there remains nothing for him, but *a fearfull looking for of judgment and fiery indignation to devour him as an adversary to his maker, Heb. 10. 27.* And they that are Gods adversaries, he will be sure to be theirs with a witness, (the enmity being reciprocal) who claims vengeance as his prerogative; *it belongeth to me, I will recompense saith the Lord, Heb. 10. 30.* It must therefore undoubtedly be a *fearful thing to fall into his hands:* but how can the sinner possibly avoid it? the Law hath peremptorily threatned death to the transgressors of it, *thou shalt surely dye;* and *we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God; there being none righteous, no not one, Rom. 3. 10.* What method now can be thought of to secure the sinner from that

that condemnation, which the Law hath threatned, and his sins have deserved. We are *all become guilty before God*, and guilt is an obligation to punishment, and punished we must be, except we can think of some way to cancel that obligation. In short God is Angry, his Justice is provoked, and we shall certainly feel the terrible effects of his displeasure, except we can find out some expedient, to pacify his wrath, to satisfy his justice, and thereby to purchase his favor, and reconcile God and us together. But neither men nor Angels could have contrived any such method, as the wisdom of God hath found out, and which the Scriptures have revealed to us; which inform us that God's anger is appeased, reconciliation and pardon purchased, but purchased at a dear rate, *viz.* by the death and sufferings of the Son of God. So saith the Apostle, *we are reconciled to God by the death of his son*, Rom. 5. 10. And because Christ by dying shed his blood for us, we find the Scriptures ascribing a peculiar efficacy to this blood, in order to procure the favor of God, and remission of sins for us. This is called *the Blood of the New Testament which was shed for the remission of sins*, Matth. 26. 28. *We have redemption through his Blood, the forgiveness of Sins*, Eph. 1. 7. *God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation*, but it is *through Faith in his Blood*, Rom. 3. 25. *We are justified by his Blood*, Rom. 5. 9. *Which cleanseth us from all Sins*, 1 Jo. 1. 7. *We have redemption through his Blood*, Col. 1. 14. *The Church of God is said to be the purchase of his Blood*, Act. 20. 28. And in one word, *He hath washed us from our Sins in his own Blood*, Rev. 1. 5. *Quæ toties repetita manifeste ostendunt, proprium aliquem ac peculiarem effectum huic morti ac sanguini tribuendum*, as Grot. rightly observes, *de Satisf. p. 13.* All which being so often repeated, evidently shews, that some more than ordinary virtue and energy belongs to the Death of Christ, whereby it hath a peculiar influence in order to procure the *pardon of our Sins*, and the *Justification of our Persons*: and withal being so frequently inculcated by the Apostles upon all occasions, again and again, it must farther be an evident argument, that it is a matter of great and high importance, forasmuch as our present

peace, and our future happiness absolutely depend upon it.

But now if it shall be farther asked, how the blood of Christ comes to be of that peculiar force, as thus to purchase pardon and reconciliation for Mankind; I *Ans.* the reason of it is, because our Blessed Saviour, by dying and shedding his blood, underwent that *'punishment,* and submitted to that *condemnation,* which our sins had otherwise rendred us inevitably obnoxious to: and this being in it self a *sufficient compensation* made to the justice of God, for the affronts and injuries offer'd to his Authority by the violation of his Laws; and likewise being *accepted* of by him as such; it must from hence necessarily and naturally be effectual, to procure for us pardon and impunity. Now this being a matter of great consequence, upon which the whole stress of the controversy between us and our Adversaries leans and rests; I shall a little farther enlarge upon it, and endeavour to make out these two things. *1st,* That Christ dyed *for our sakes,* and that not only as it signifies, for our benefit and advantage, but in *our room and stead,* *2dly,* That his Death, was in it self a sufficient compensation to the Justice of God, and accepted of by him for such.

First, That Christ dyed for us are the plain words of Scripture, *he gave himself for us,* Gal. 2. 20. Eph. 5. 25. *he dyed for us,* 1 Thes. 5. 10. *he dyed for all,* 2 Cor. 5. 14, 15. And this not only in general for our good, but he *was delivered up for our offences,* Rom. 4. 25. *he dyed for our Sins,* 1 Cor. 15. 3. So to the same purpose, and for the same reason, he is said to *dye for the ungodly,* Rom. 5. 6. And it is mentioned as the great instance of God's love to us, that *whilst we were yet sinners Christ dyed for us,* ver. 10. of the same Chap. All which phrases of dying for sins, and sinners, plainly denote to us, that sin in those places is not to be considered as *the final,* but as the *impulsive and meritorious* cause of Christ's Death.

And this is so evident, that even *Socinus* himself and his followers, notwithstanding the many shifts and cavils used by them to avoid the conviction of this truth, are yet, whether

¹ I do not mean exactly *Idem,* the very same punishment, but that which was equivalent.

they will or no forced to acknowledge, viz. That the death of Christ was necessary, not only for the destruction of the dominion of sin, but likewise for removal of the guilt of it: upon which account, they are willing to call it an ' *expiatory Sacrifice*, and allow that Christ by his death did expiate our sins, not only as expiation signifies the withdrawing men from *the practice*, but likewise as it denotes the *pardon of sin*. And now one would think that we were pretty near an agreement, and that a fair and calm debating of these matters in dispute, might bring us to such a right understanding of one another, that in a short time we might hope to see that happy hour in which Christians and Socinians shall be united both in judgment and affection: a *blessed Harmony*, which many wise and moderate men, have both earnestly desired, and long since projected. But I am sorry that I must be forced to inform the Reader, that he cannot safely rely upon the good words and *seemingly orthodox expressions* of a *Socinian*: for notwithstanding that openness and freedom, which sometimes this sort of men, when it is for their purpose, will seem to use; yet for the most part it is joyned with that obstinate reservedness, that unmoveable adherence to their old and beloved errors; that when an innocent well meaning man lays hold on their concessions, and thinks he may safely rely upon them, all upon a sudden he finds himself disappointed: for by the help of a distinction, or some new, and never before heard of explication, they presently disengage themselves, and leave the person who depends upon them under confusion and surprize: like a man who catches at an handful of smoke, the faster he closes his hand, the sooner it slides through his fingers, and when he thinks he holds it, he holds it not. Let the Reader peruse what follows, and then let him judge whether this be so or no.

The Learned *Grot.* in that often mentioned, but never sufficiently commended Treatise *de Satisf. cap. 10. p. 182.* gives us this state of the difference between *Socinus* and the Church of

1 *Mortem Christi sacrificium & quidem expiatorium esse fatemur*, Crell. contra *Grot. de Satisf. cap. 10. vid. Socin. de Chr. Serv. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Christ, concerning the *virtue and efficacy* of the death of Christ, viz. ¹ That according to *Socin.* the expiation made by Christ, primarily and properly respects *future sins*: because his death, which is the great confirmation of the new Covenant, by begetting faith in us, (viz. that God will be as good as his word in granting pardon to the penitent, according to the tenor of that Covenant) doth thereby help to withdraw us from the practice of Sin: but as to *Sins past*, it respects them only *secundarily and remotely*; for as much as this expiation is not properly conversant about God, but about our *selves*: that is, in few words, God is not *moved* by the death of Christ to *bestow* pardon of sin, but we by repentance and amendment of life, which in some remote sense is the effect of that death, are thereby *fitted and made capable* of receiving it.

² *Crellius* comes not long after, and in an artificial and elaborate discourse undertakes the defence of his master, and therein tells the Reader, that *Grotius* doth not rightly represent the Opinion of *Socinus*, nor consequently fairly state the question between them. For *Socinus* acknowledges, and so do his followers, if you believe him, that the Sacrifice of Christ hath a peculiar force, not only to withdraw men from the *practice of future*, but likewise to *procure pardon for past sins*. And this it doth three ways. First, by *declaring pardon* for past Sins. Secondly, By giving us a *right and title* to it, and thereby *moving and obliging* God to grant it. Lastly, by an *actual applica-*

¹ *Dissensus breviter explicabitur, si dicamus, juxta Socinum expiationis effectum primo ac proprie versari circa peccata futura, quia fidem ingenerando mors Christi nos à peccatis abstrahit: quoad peccata præterita non nisi secundo; & eatenus quoque omnem hanc actionem circa nos versari, non circa Deum, hoc est, Deum non moveri ad remittendum, sed nos parari ad accipiendam remissionem, per vitæ scilicet emendationem, Grot.*

² *Resp. ad cap. 10. lib. H. Gr. de Satisf. Sacrificii Christi vis ad peccatorum nostrorum expiationem pertinens, duplex est; altera, eaque potior & sacrificiorum magis propria, quam Grotius in Socini sententia explicanda omisit, est, qua peccatorum omnium, non tantum futurorum, sed & præteritorum, qualiacunque & quantacunque sint, reatum ac pœnas tollit; idque partim declarando, & jus ad eam rem nobis concedendo, partim actu ipso divina supplicia tollendo. Altera ea est, quam Grotius attingit, quod fidem nobis ingenerat, & nos in futurum à peccatis arceat ac revocat.*

tion, our blessed Saviour conferring and bestowing pardon upon Sinners, by virtue of that power and authority with which he is now invested in Heaven, and which was given him as the reward of his obedience and sufferings. All this at first view, (as one might be apt to think) would amount to a pretty handsome acknowledgment of this great truth; they seeming to express themselves *roundly and fully*, and to come up to the point: but when we come more narrowly to examin particulars, and to make those deductions and defalcations, which these men by explaining and limiting their own assertions, think reasonable to be allowed; the sum total of these particulars, when they come to be cast up, will be found to amount to one large, round insignificant Cypher.

For first the *declaration* of pardon, is not the *procuring* of it, neither is it of any force to do so. If Christs death did no more, then it is certain that remission of sins was purchased or procured some other way, as being antecedent to that declaration, which for that reason renders it impossible, that either it should be the *occasion*, or the *cause* of the pardon of sin. But 2dly, Christs death doth more, it gives us a *title* to pardon, and thereby *moves* God to bestow it. But how is God *moved* by the death of Christ? was he thereby prevailed upon to do that, which otherwise he was *absolutely averse to*, or at least what he had no *inclination* to do? no, God was most willing and ready to grant pardon to all mankind. He was very far from being angry with sinners; and as in this sense he was not *moved to displeasure* by their impieties, so he wanted *no other motive*, but his own mercy and compassion to render him propitious to them. Well, but tho his own goodness might *incline him* to grant, yet there might be something still

¹ *Animadvertendum est cum Socinus negat Christum Deum movisse morte sua ad peccatorum veniam nobis concedendam, eum, movendi vocem in magis propria & perfecta significatione accipere; ita ut notet, eum, cujus voluntas vel in contrarium propendeat, vel saltem ad rem aliquam per seipsam non est prona, nec eam sua sponte desideret, impellere ut aliquid velit, decernat ac faciat, Crell. contra Grot. cap. 8.*

wanting to induce him to *promise pardon*, and thereby to bring the sinner as within a nearer view, so likewise to give him greater hopes of it. No such matter: He that looks for any *Cause* of ' this purpose and decree of God to be gracious and kind to sinners, besides the *meer bounty and liberality* of God himself; employs his time and his enquiries to no purpose, and in the conclusion will find himself deceived. But however, the death of Christ is the great ² *confirmation* of the *new Covenant*, which was ratified in his blood, and thereby it gives us a *greater and stronger title* to pardon than we had before, I Ans. If we may suppose that God can *tye* himself by *promise*, then we must affirm, that he lay under an *obligation* to make it good, and this antecedently to Christ's death. For the Gospel, or the glad tidings of pardon and salvation was published by Christ in his life time. So that we can receive no *new or stronger right* to it by Christ's dying, than we had before his death; all this being sufficiently secured to us by the *promise of God* in the new Covenant; except we should imagine (which sure must be a very impious imagination) either that God had not *goodness and truth* enough to make good his promise, or that for some great and weighty reasons, which he could not foresee, he might be induced to *alter and change his purpose*. So sometimes the *Sacnians* will state this matter, as we have formerly shewn.

¹ Deus nostri amore impulsus remissionem peccatorum jam olim decreverit, & per Christum sponte sua nobis obtulerit, & Christum ad illius spem in animis nostris designandam, & eam reipsa implendam in mortem tradiderit, atque ingenti premio ad eam suscipiendam impulerit; ita ut res hæc ipsi Deo maxima ex parte sit adscribenda; & multo magis ipse Christum ad eam præstandam moverit, quam Christum conditionis ullius præstatione ipsum, ad peccatorum remissionem nobis largiendam, Id. Ibid. Causam impulsivam in salute nostra nullam excogitare poteris præter puram Dei liberalitatem & clementiam, Socin. de Ch. Serv. p. 2. cap. 25.

² Christus primo latissimum nuncium de remissione omnium peccatorum attulit, ac novum fœdus cum humano genere pepigit, in quo se Deus his verbis obligavit, ero propitijs iniquitatibus eorum, &c. quod fœdus ut esset tanto validius, proprii filii sui sanguine obsignavit, Wolzog. Comment. in 1. cap. Math. v. 21. vid. Crell. de causis Mortis Chr.

But ¹ *Crellius*, who chiefly insists on this way, being sensible that it casts too great and scandalous a reflection on the wisdom and veracity of God; to mollify this matter tells us, that this ratification of the new Covenant by the Death of Christ, doth not make the promise of God more sure in it self, but only gives us the greater assurance of the performance of it: as the Council of God tho immutable in it self, yet may be confirmed by his Oath, that thereby the heirs of promise might have more abundant consolation, and lay the faster hold upon the hope set before them, Heb. 6. 17, 18. Be it so; then from hence it necessarily follows, that the death of Christ is of no force in it self to prevail with God to grant the pardon of sin, only it gives us the greater hopes that he will grant it, and therefore the efficacy of it, *non versatur circa Deum*, as *Grotius* before rightly stated this matter, *sed circa homines*; doth not properly respect God, but our selves. But still I do not know how to get over this point; the death of Christ according to the Socinians was a necessary condition of pardon, ² nay it was not, *qualiscunque conditio*, an ordinary trivial condition, such as were the sin offerings under the Law, but it was an instance of so

¹ Veruntamen fieri poterat ut efficacia illa respectu Dei revera opus non esset, quia vim. Deus ipse illo amore, gratia ac misericordia qua impulsus fuerat ad remissionem peccatorum nobis decernendam, satis moveatur ad eam nobis reipsa prestandam, nec unquam istius vel decreti vel promissi sui ipsum pœniteat. Opus nihilominus fuit, ut istam efficaciam mors Christi haberet; quia nimirum spei nostræ multum intererat, eam vim morti Christi inesse. Et paulo post, Deus revera eo spectavit, non ut sibi ipsi veluti obstaculum poneret, quo minus aliquando voluntatem mutaret, & promissa sua rescindere prohiberetur; sed ut nos firmum spei nostræ de remissione peccatorum obtinendæ fundamentum haberemus. *Crell. ibid. & Comment. in Epist. ad Heb. cap. 9. v. 14.*

² Neque enim mors Christi ad remissionem peccatorum intervenit, tanquam nuda quædam conditio, aut res ad alterum tantum qui remissionem reipsa præstet, aliqua ratione ad id impellendum comparata: sed potissimum tanquam vera causa efficiens, quæ vi sua remissionem peccatorum nobis à Deo decretam præstat, & Efficacia sua eorum vim, quam ad nos damnandos, & divinis supplicis obnoxios reddendos habent, extinguit ac delet, *Crell. Contra Grot. cap. 10.* Ad hoc obtinendum sanguis à Christo fusus, non qualiscunque conditio fuit, sed cum tam arduum virtutis ac obedientiæ, Deoque gratum contineat opus, ex natura quoque sua vim habuit ad pariendam nobis conscientiæ Emundationem, *Id. Comment. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. 9. v. 14.*

profound an obedience and submission to his fathers will, and thereby so *grateful and acceptable* to God, that he was thereby prevailed upon, to part with all *that right* which he had to punish sinners: nay the death of Christ, *ex natura sua*, in its own nature, is of that virtue as to *purge the Conscience* from the guilt of sin; and at the same time that it *confirms and strengthens* the new Covenant, it so *weakens and enervates* the force of sin, that it leaves it no power to *Condemn us*; and thereby disarms it of all its *strength*, and consequently of all its *Terrors*.

These things are so often mentioned, and so much insisted, upon by these men, that one would think it were impossible, but that they must believe the death of Christ to have some *extraordinary force and efficacy*, in order to procure the remission of sins. And yet it is plain and certain as words can make it, that they do not believe it to have *any virtue at all*, either to purchase for us the favour of God, or to *work in us any of those conditions*, *viz.* Faith and repentance, which are necessary to entitle us to it. It neither *moves* God to *promise* forgiveness, nor *obliges him* to *perform* his promise; it cannot either withdraw us from the *practise*, nor secure us from the *punishment of sin*; It neither *procures* pardon, nor *confers it*; and is only a *bare condition* antecedent to his exaltation into Heaven, where they say he is endued with all power to forgive sins. In a word, the death of Christ, *nakedly considered in it self*, is but a *dead insignificant thing*, of no force nor efficacy, till it be, as it were *animated and enlivened* by his Resurrection.

For first, as to what concerns God, ¹ *Socinus* tells us that nothing can procure from him the *expiation of sin*, but only his own mercy and beneficence. That whatever else is done towards this expiation, *non Deum sed nos respiciunt*, the very words of *Grotius* as he stated this matter out of *Socin.* who one would think should best know his own meaning. Then as to the *blood*

¹ *Expiatio non ante facta fuerit expiatio, quam Christus in Caelis assumptus sit. Ex parte Dei nihil nobis expiationem comparare potest, nisi ipse pura misericordia & beneficentia: & quæ pro peccatis expiandis sunt non Deum, sed nos respiciunt: vel quia ad divinam liberalitatem amplectendam nos movent, vel quia ipse divinæ liberalitatis effectus inde ad nos manat, Socin. de Chr. Serv. p. 2. cap. 21.*

of Christ, notwithstanding the high Elogies and commendations which they sometimes give us of it; viz. that it is the *blood of the Covenant*, and the great *Confirmation* of the promises of pardon contained there. ¹ *Slicht.* will inform us, that it will not become us to say, that God is *bound or obliged*, and consequently moved to forgive sins by the blood and death of his Son: *He is obliged, because he is pleas'd to oblige himself, and no otherwise.* 3dly, As to the *Conditions* requisite to entitle us to pardon, tho' *Crell.* will confidently assure us, that the *Expiation of sin* is justly to be ascrib'd to the death of Christ, because it produces and effects in us those qualifications, viz. Faith and Repentance, upon which the pardon of sin is necessarily entailed; yet, when you come to enquire, *what efficacy* the death of Christ hath, in order to work in us those beforementioned Graces; Why truly then it must be acknowledg'd, that it hath only a *remote and an occasional virtue*; viz. as it is ² antecedent to his *exaltation* into Heaven, and the *glory* which he hath received there; which do contain very weighty and powerful motives to persuade us to repent and believe the Gospel: but as for the *death* of Christ, according to them it helps to produce those good effects, not by any proper direct influence, but as a condition, requisite indeed, *quoad ordinis antecessum*, but not otherwise; forasmuch as Christ must first die, before he could rise from the dead, and ascend into Heaven. At this rate the *Redemption of the World* might as truly and properly be ascribed to the *Birth of Christ*, as it is to his *Death*: it being as absolutely necessary

¹ Non est ut dicas Deum morte ac sanguine filii obstringi ac obligari, & consequenter moveri Deum ad remittenda peccata; obstringitur enim & movetur, quia ipse obstringi & moveri voluit. Slicht. Comment. in Rom. Cap. 5. v. 10.

² Liqueat sanguinem Christi hactenus peccata nostra vim expiandi habere, quatenus ejus fusionem consecuta est ipsius Christi in Cælis oblatio, quæ consequi laudquam potuisset, nisi Christus sanguinem suum prius fudisset. Et quatenus sanguis funderis est, maximam vim à consecuta resurrectione & gloria accepit: mors enim Christi resurrectione & ejus gloria quasi animatur; ac tum demum quod ingentes sunt illius vires agnoscimus. Crell. in cap. 9. ad Hebr. v. 14.

Mors, quamvis sine ea expiatio contingere non posset, minus tamen quam utrumvis eorum (de resurrectione & ad dextram Dei sessione loquitur) in expiandis peccatis per se revera pollet, tantum abest, ut per eam expiatio plene peracta fuerit. Socin. de Chr. Serv. lib. & cap. supra citat. vid. Catech. Rac. de proph. Ch. Munere cap. 8.

that he should be *born* before he could *dye*, as that he should *dye* before he could *rise and ascend* into Heaven, and present himself to his Father there.

But how comes it then to pass, that the Scripture speaks in such lofty and magnificent terms, of the *dignity and energy* of Christ's blood? *viz.* that we are *Justified, Redeemed, Purified, Saved* by his blood. How comes it to lay so great a stress upon the *cross of Christ*, as that the Gospel should from thence be styled the *doctrine of the cross*, 1 Cor. 1. 18. and that the knowledge and belief of it, should be of that excellence and usefulness, that St. Paul should *desire to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified*? 1 Cor. 2. 2.

Why, all this you must know is not true in *strictness and propriety* of speaking, and therefore must be taken *sano sensu*, and interpreted to a sound and warrantable meaning by *Trope and Metaphor*: and so at length, by perverting the plain, obvious, natural construction of the words of Scripture, and accommodating them to their own meaning, by their *forced and figurative* explications, these men have (as much as in them lyes) turned the Gospel of Christ into a *meer fable*; and for such, they have not been afraid to reproach and brand most of the *Mysteries of our Religion*, and particularly those two important Articles of it, treated of in these papers, concerning *Original sin*, and the *Redemption of the World by the death and sufferings of our Saviour*; which they have had the impudence to style humane inventions, absurd and senseless, nay, not only so, but impious and pernicious fables, such as are repugnant to the honour of God, and destructive of the salvation of mens Souls.

But to return, perhaps it will be farther said, whatever mistakes the *Socinians* might be guilty of about the virtue and efficacy of *Christ's death*: yet so far at least they are Orthodox, in that they ascribe a *mighty virtue* to his *Sacrifice*, which according to them, doth not consist in Christ's *offering up* of himself upon the Cross; but in his *oblation and presentation* of himself to his Father in Heaven, where *now he is endued with all power to forgive sins*, and doth actually bestow that forgiveness upon Sinners.

Well,

Well, be it so; Christ's Sacrifice now in Heaven is very powerful and operative; but how doth it exert its operations? in *moving or prevailing* with God to forgive men? No, there was no need of that, *viz.* of *inclining or persuading* God to do that which he was of *himself disposed*, nay, had long since decreed to do: so that there is nothing that Christ suffered or performed, either on Earth or in Heaven, that properly *respects God*. Nay, Christ was so far from *moving* his Father, ¹ that God rather *moved and directed* him to do all that he did for the good and benefit of mankind.

However, tho' this sacrifice be not conversant about God, yet it shews its efficacy, by having a *real proper influence* upon the pardon of sin, ¹ I mean *past sins*. But how doth this appear? hath it an *immediate influence*? doth pardon of sin immediately follow upon this oblation? so one would think it did, as they sometimes ² express themselves. 'For as the high Priest of old, procured expiation of sin, by the means of those Sacrifices prescribed under the Law, so that as soon as he had finished his oblation, the people without any more ado, were acquitted and absolved from their iniquities: so Christ by performing what God the Father required of him, *viz.* by shedding his blood, and then entering into the holy place, and presenting that blood to his Father; thereby procures, and we likewise thereby obtain forgiveness and redemption.

But when you come farther to enquire into this matter, then it amounts only to this; ³ that Christ is endued with power

¹ Apparet Deum gratia sua impulsam ad justificationem nobis concedendam, adeo ut quicquid Christus in hac parte fecit, id Deo auctore ac impulsore fecerit, non vero contra, Deum Christo auctore ac impulsore. Crell. cont. Grot. de Satisf. cap. 1.

² Certum est Antiquum Pontificem, non alia ratione peccata populi expiasset, quam ea peragendo, quibus peractis, populus veniam peccatorum suorum jam à Deo sponte decretam & promissam consequabatur. Sic dicendum est, Christum peccata nostra expiasset; quia peregerit, quibus peractis, veniam delictorum nostrorum jam à Deo sponte decretam & promissam consecuti sumus. Socin. ejusd. lib. cap. 20. & præl. Th. c. 22.

³ Christus ex mortuis resurgens, in Cælum ingressus est, & ibi pro nobis seipsum Deo obtulit, & ex eo expiationis modus perfectus fuit, id est, id factum est, unde & nos ad oblatam à Deo delictorum Condonationem amplectendam movemur, & Christus nobis eam Condonationem reipsa largiendi potestatem habet. Ex quibus deinde ipsa expiatio, & à peccatorum pœnis vera liberatio perpetuo manat. Idem cap. 21.

to forgive sins; but that he doth not presently and immediately confer this forgiveness, but first moves us to accept of, and to perform the conditions which are requisite to *entitle us to it*; (which, as we said before, were Faith and Repentance;) and then that absolution and pardon succeeds thereupon. And if so, then as *Grotius* first stated this matter, the *Expiation* wrought by Christ, doth *primarily* and properly respect *future sins*, and is but *mediately* and *secundarily* conversant about *past sins*: for by begetting in us repentance and amendment, it *first* helps to withdraw us from the *practice of sin*, and then confers upon us the *pardon of it*. And thus after many *windings and turnings*, when these men have sufficiently *tyred*, and perhaps have made you *giddy*, with following them backward and forward, they at length bring you back to the very same place from whence you first started, and leave you just as wise and as well satisfied as they found you.

But whatever the *Socinians* say, or gainsay in this matter; it will become us to believe as the Church of God hitherto hath done; that the Death of Christ was a *proper and efficacious motive* to prevail with his Father, to pardon sinners, who otherwise was resolved to punish them. And this will plainly appear, from the consideration of Christ's death under those two great notions, under which it is represented to us in the Scriptures, *viz.* as a *Sacrifice*, and as a *Punishment*. First as a *Sacrifice*; for being a *Priest* he must have a *Sacrifice*, the nature of that Office requiring it. *For every High-priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining unto God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for Sins*, Heb. 5. 1. Repeated again Heb. 8. 3. *Wherefore it is of necessity that this man also have somewhat to offer*: and that which he offered was himself, his whole humane nature, consisting of Soul and Body. His body was given him for this purpose: for when God designed to abolish the Legal Sacrifices, he substituted his Son in the room of them, and fitted and prepared for him a body, that in it he might be capable of dying, and therein to resemble all other expiatory Sacrifices which were to be slain, *Wherefore when he cometh into the World he saith, sacrifice and offering thou wouldest*
not

not, but a Body hast thou prepared me, Heb. 10. 5. Hereby, saith the Apostle, *He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second,* v. 9. That is, in the room of Bulls and Goats he substituted the body of Christ, *We being to be sanctified thro the offering of this body once for all,* v. 10.

Again, *his Soul* is said to be *made an offering for sin*, Isa. 53. 10. And in short, his whole humane nature, as composed of Soul and Body was this Sacrifice, and therefore he is said to *give himself for us*, Eph. 5. 2. *Thro the eternal Spirit he offered up himself to God.* Heb. 9. 14 And *he hath appeared to take away sin by the sacrifice of himself*, v. 26. He offered up a *Sacrifice*, when he offered up himself, Heb. 7. 27. And in one word, *having by himself purged our sins*, That is, having finished that part of the Priestly Office, which consisted in offering sacrifice, and having thereby made an expiation for Sin, and procured pardon for it; (for this purging of sins is in Scripture ascribed to the blood of Christ which was shed on the Cross, as was shewed before) *He sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on High*, Heb. 1. 3. So that the purging of Sins, or the expiation of them which is the same thing, was first performed, before Christ ascended into Heaven: which single text will sufficiently confute that Impious tenet of Socinus, who makes Christ to be no Priest, nor consequently to have offered any *Sacrifice*, till he came into Heaven: and there presented or made an oblation of himself to his father: which was so new and strange an Opinion, as being never before heard of in the world, that some of his friends were both surprized and highly offended with him for broaching it; tho since, this with the rest of his Errors is greedily swallowed, and stiffly maintained by his followers.

1 *Præfetto scripto tuo contra Volanum animadverti argumenta ejus satis accurate à te refutata, locaque scripturæ pleraque examinata ac elucidata: verum non sine maxore (ne quid gravius dicam) incidi inter legendum in quoddam paradoxon, scripturæ sacræ contrarium, ac plane horrendum, dum Christum in morte sua sive in cruce, sacrificium obtulisse pernegas: miror quid tibi in mentem venerit ut tam confidenter, (ne quid aliud dicam) contra manifesta sacræ Scripturæ testimonia pugnare, contrariamque sententiam tueri non timeas.* Epist. 1. Joh. Niemojov. ad Fault. Socin.

Thus Christ by dying for us was made a Sacrifice; and if we would know what the effect and consequence of it was, this we cannot better do, then by considering the nature of those Legal Sacrifices in use among the Jews, and the end of their institution: and this we shall find was for the expiation of sin; thereby to *move God* to bestow pardon, by accepting of the life of the *Beast*, instead of that of *the sinner*, which was forfeited to his Justice. The *Sin-offering* which the Priest offered, *made an atonement*, that is, pacified the Anger, and appeased the justice of God, *and then the sin was forgiven*, see 5. Lev. 13. 16. 18. Numb. 15. 28.. By which it appears that the *life of the beast* was offered in *Compensation*, and as such was accepted of by God, for the *life of the man*. And that here was a plain *surrogation* of one in the room of the other, is from hence further evident, because for some sins God would not accept of any Sacrifice; as in the case of Murder, Adultery, Idolatry, &c. The reason of which was, because having for such crimes resolved to have the life of the *offender himself*, he would admit of no *commutation*; nothing less than the death of the Malefactor himself, could, or should satisfy offended justice.

Thus tho the shedding the blood of the Sacrifice could not in all cases purchase remission, yet in no case was remission to be had without it, *Heb. 9. 21.* And when it was prescribed, there the *life of the Beast* went for the *life of the criminal*, God putting one in the room, and accepting it in the place of the other. Thus saith God, *the blood is the life*, or the life is in the blood, *I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your Souls, for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul*, Lev. 17. 11. Why is the blood so particularly appointed to this purpose! why might not the Heart or Head do as well? we see God gives the reason; *the life is the blood*; and therefore *that* is the most proper to be given in exchange for the *Life* of the offender.

Thus we see what was the direct and proper effect of these legal Sacrifices, they made a *proper and true atonement* or *expiation for sin*. They did not only *declare pardon*, and were so so said to expiate sin, as Socin. sometimes would have it; for it

is plain that forgiveness was consequent to the expiation, as in the places before mentioned, Lev. 5. *The Priest shall make an atonement, and then the sin shall be forgiven.* 2dly, They could not expiate sin, by withdrawing men from the practice of it: *it being impossible that the blood of Bulls and Goats should in this sense take away sin*; as is acknowledged by these men. Therefore it remains that they did it by *moving God* to grant forgiveness: not indeed by their own innate virtue and efficacy, but by Gods prescription and appointment: nor yet so by his appointment, as if they were only *bare conditions*, without any respect in the nature of the things themselves, or tendency in them to procure pardon; no, they did it properly by way of *commutation*, not such an one indeed as was an *equivalent* to the life of the man, yet however, such as made an inferior sort of compensation, and was accepted of by God to that purpose.

Now what the Sacrifices of the old Law did but *imperfectly*, that the great Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, did in a *more noble and eminent* manner accomplish; of which all the other Sacrifices were but *types and shadows*. And therefore *herein* they must agree, *viz.* That as the Sin-offerings under the Law made an *atonement*, and thereby *moved God* to grant remission of sin; so must the Sacrifice of Christ *appease the displeasure* of his Father, *ex irato placatum reddere* and thereby *prevail* with him to pardon sinners: but it must do this in a more noble and eminent manner, as we said before, than did those other sin-offerings. For first, whereas the Sacrifices under the Law could only take off the *Legal or carnal pollution*; the blood of Bulls and Goats by *sprinkling the unclean*, could only *sanctify to the purifying of the flesh*, Heb. 9. 13. But the blood of Christ could and did remove the inward guilt, and *purge even the conscience*, v. 14. where the word *καταρτίζω*, when applyed to *τὴν συνείδησιν* the Conscience, must be interpreted in the same sense, as are the words *ἀγιαζέει*, and *τὴν σαρὰν καὶ τὰ ὀστέα καὶ τὰ νεφρὰ καὶ τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς* the sanctifying and purifying of the flesh, in the foregoing verse; which plainly denote the taking away the *outward guilt or pollution*, (all guilt necessarily defiling men) even so the blood of Christ washes and cleanses us from the *inward and spiritual guilt of sin*.

And therefore 2dly, Whereas the Legal Sacrifices could only free the Criminal, from a *temporal*; the Sacrifice of Christ secures us from *eternal punishment*. Not but that the devout worshippers under the Law, *accedente fide & penitentia*, if they brought faith and repentance along with them, when atonement was made, were likewise absolved from the inward guilt, in the sight of God, and from eternal death; but this, these Sacrifices did not effect *sua vi*, nor *per se*; but only accidentally, *in the virtue*, and *by the efficacy* of the Sacrifice of Christ, which was represented by them.

3dly, The Sacrifices under the Law, could only make expiation for *past sins*, but not *for future*: the reason of which was, that the life of the beast being by way of commutation given for the life of the man, (which was forfeited by some *particular sin* which he had committed;) it was only accepted by God in that *particular case*; it not being in it self, of equal value to the single life of the man, which the Law then demanded for that single sin; and much less could it be an equal compensation for all future violations of the Law, and the many forfeitures of the Criminals life, which must thereby be made. And therefore as men sinned, the Sacrifices were to be repeated *toties quoties*: by new sins, men contracted *new guilt*, and a *new obligation* to punishment, and that must be taken away by a *fresh Sacrifice*: but Christ by the Sacrifice of himself, hath made one perfect expiation for all sins past, and to come, and thereby hath *perfected for ever them that are Sanctified*, Heb. 10. 14.

Therefore, when the *Socinians* say that the Jewish Sacrifices were imperfect, and that God substituted a more noble one, *viz.* That of his Son, in the room of them, for the accomplishment of many excellent ends and purposes, which these other Sacrifices could not by reason of their imbecillity accomplish; we acknowledge that they are so far in the right; but that which we find fault with them for, is,

First, that they limit the efficacy of Christs death, and make it thereby to have its effect in the Expiation only of *some sins*, and at *some times*. For by making the decree of sending Christ
 1 into

into the world subsequent to the legal Sacrifices, and founded in the weakness and imperfection of them: they thereby necessarily confine the virtue and benefit of it, to those only who liv'd after his coming into the World. But we say, that Christ hath *obtained eternal Redemption for all mankind*, who were all saved by virtue of his meritorious sufferings. *By means of his death Redemption was purchased for the transgressions which were under the first Testament*, 9. Heb. 15. And the Apostle doth irrefragably evince, that the virtue of his Sacrifice was not Temporary, as was that of the High Priest under the Law, but extended to all ages past, and to come; otherwise saith he, *He must have often suffered since the foundation of the world*, 9. Heb. 26. which way of arguing would have been of no force, had those who lived before his coming, not wanted the benefit of his Sacrifice. But now in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin, to remove the guilt of it, by virtue of that atonement which he hath made by the sacrifice of himself, who was manifested indeed in these last times, but fore-ordained before the foundation of the World, 1. Pet. 1. 20. And what he undertook, to do so long since, was looked upon by God the Father as if it had really been done, and therefore exerted its force, and obtained its effect, before the actual oblation of himself upon the Cross. Whosoever were saved before, or under the Law, were saved by him, who was the Lamb of God that took away the sins of the World, 1. Joh. 29. And was slain from the foundation of it, 13. Rev. 8. both in the acceptance of God, and his own voluntary undertaking; as also in all those Sacrifices, which were types and figures of him, and in whom Jesus Christ was set forth, and his death represented as it were to the eyes of the spectators.

Secondly, We find fault with the Socinians that they charge the Jewish Sacrifices with a weakness, of which they were not guilty; viz. as if they made atonement only for some lesser sins, viz. of ignorance and infirmity; but could make no expiation for any greater crimes of wilfulness, and against knowledge. The contrary to which will appear to any one who hath leisure to peruse the sixth Chapter of Lev. except we can think,

that *lying and cheating, and stealing, and false swearing*, are Peccadilloes, sins of lesser consequence; or that what is done with premeditation and design, may be called a sin of ignorance. It is true indeed, that he who *sinned presumptuously*, and with a high hand, who went on boldly affronting the authority of God, and shewing no tokens of repentance, *was to be cut off from among his people*, 15. Numb. 30. but every sin against knowledge is not to be accounted such.

Besides, it must be acknowledged indeed, that there are some sins for which God would admit of no Sacrifice, such were *Murder, Adultery, Idolatry*, &c. as was said formerly; but the ground of this refusal was not to be taken barely from the heinousness of the crimes themselves, but from other, and those political reasons: God dealing with the *Jews* whose *immediate Sovereign* he then was, as other Legislators and Governors do with their subjects; who sometimes think fit to assign *capital punishments* to certain offences, and to accept of *smaller* for other crimes, *in themselves* not less heinous, tho perhaps adjudged not to be so prejudicial to the peace and welfare of the Civil Government, as the former. This is certain, in the first and original intention of the Law, *all open violations* of it, were to be punished with death; but God thought fit for divers reasons to relax the strictness and severity of his laws; and in some cases to admit of a *Commutation*, and in others to refuse it. Thus false swearing, tho' in it self a capital crime that deserved death, as appears by the sanction annexed to the third Commandment, *The Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain*; yet in some cases God was willing to admit of an expiation for it by Sacrifice, *Lev. 6.* but Adultery was to be punished without mercy; and so was Idolatry, which among the *Jews* was *High treason* against the Majesty of God: whereas in several Christian states, the like punishment of death is not assigned to those crimes, tho' not less heinous

1 Non impunem vel impunitum dimittet, Tirin. Castalio, &c. est peccatum, plus intelligitur quam exprimitur. Non habebit infontem, i. e. gravissime punietur. Riv. Tenoeh. Grot. non Innocentem habebit in die Judicii magni, Targ. Jonath. vid. Pol. Synop.

in themselves, nor less displeasing to God now than formerly.

Lastly, That which we find fault with in the *Socinians*, and for which we have reason to conceive *an high*, as well as *just displeasure* against them, is, that they mention the word *expiation*, when they speak of the Sacrifice of Christ, but they mention it fraudulently and insidiously, retaining the word, but denying and overthrowing the thing meant and intended by it. They, thereby meaning only our *Sanctification*, We, that *Atonement* whereby God is appeas'd, and made willing to pardon, and to be reconciled to Sinners. Nay, that *very virtue* which they ascribe to the Sacrifice of Christ, to *Sanctifie*, by begetting Faith and Repentance in us, and thereby to render us capable of pardon, and which they seem so much to magnifie, when you come narrowly to examine it, will be found to be only a remote and an occasional virtue.

For let us consider this Sacrifice in its largest notion, as it comprehends both *the death of Christ*, (which as they say) was only preparatory to his Sacrifice; and his *actual oblation or presentation* of himself to God the Father after his ascent into Heaven: and let it likewise include, if you please, that large power and authority with which he is now invested, as the reward of his sufferings; yet *none of these*, nor *all of them* put together, have any proper direct efficacy, to withdraw men from the practice of sin, and thereby to *expiate* it in this sense, as *expiation* denotes the *destruction of the power of sin*. They only furnish us with good *motives and external* arguments, to persuade and encourage us to repent and believe the Gospel; but all this is done without any *internal operation* on the minds of men; and the whole is left to their own prudence and choice, without any 'the least assistance from the power or grace of Christ, either *exciting or disposing*, or any other ways *enabling them*.

1. Nonne ad Credendum Evangelio, Spiritus sancti interiore dono opus est? Resp. Nullo modo. Nec enim in Scripturis sacris legimus, cuique id conferri donum, nisi credenti Evangelio, Catech. Rac. de Proph. Chr. Munere. cap. 6. Respondeo me in sacris literis scriptum non invenire, Deum ex gratia sua peccatorem ita vocare, ut des illi vivæ fidei spiritum: sed invenio, Deum per verbum suum, omnes quibus id annuntiatur, aut quavis alia ratione patefit, ad credendum Evangelio invitare, & consequenter neminem ex illi esse qui credere nequeat. Socin. de Fide & operibus. p. 623.

to repent, and thereby to render them capable of pardon. Christ by rising from the dead, and ascending into Heaven, did that, unde *nos ad oblatam à Deo delictorum condonationem amplectendam movemur*, by which we are moved to embrace the pardon of sin, as *Socinus* words it; but that we *actually* embrace it, this is owing to our *own inclinations*, and the voluntary determinations of our own will, without any assistance from the Grace or Spirit of Christ. From all which it must necessarily follow, that the expiation of sin, is *primarily* and *immediately* to be ascribed to a *mans own will*, and but *secundarily* and *remotely*; nay, but *contingently*, to Christ: for whatever he did or suffered, did but furnish us with good motives, (as was said before) but such, as every man is left to his own liberty to accept or refuse at his pleasure.

But *2dly*, As the consideration of Christ's death under the notion of a Sacrifice, plainly makes it appear, that he did thereby move God to pardon sinners, by appeasing and reconciling him to them; so it will be farther evident, if we consider it as a punishment, under which notion the Scriptures represent it to us. I cannot now insist upon all those places and passages of Scripture, by which this may be made out, and much less have I time to vindicate them from the forced interpretations and cavils of the *Socinians*, for this, I must refer the Reader to our Writers who have been engaged in this Controversie, and particularly to the excellent *Grotius*, in his Learned Book *De Satisfactione*: Tho' I am sorry to say it, that he hath in his Comments upon the Epistles, given up in a manner into the hands of the *Socinians*, all those places which he had so nobly vindicated in that Treatise.

That Christ's death was a *punishment*, will plainly appear to any unprejudiced Reader, from those expressions in which his sufferings are described by the Evangelical Prophet, in the 53. of his Prophecie, where he is said to be *stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted*, ver. 4. The following words will inform us of the cause and reason of this severe usage of God towards him; *he was woun-*

ed for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, &c. all we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. ver. 5, 6. If our iniquities were laid upon, or imputed to him, it is no wonder if he felt the weight and burden of them. But the Socinians will say, 'tis true, he was afflicted for our sins, that is, the end of his sufferings was to *subdue the power*, and to withdraw us from the *practice of sin*. I Ans. the following words ver. 11. evince the contrary; viz. that our sins were not the *final* but *Impulsive and meritorious* cause of those afflictions, and that chastisement; for there it is said, *my righteous servant shall justify many, because he shall bear their iniquities*; now to bear their iniquity is nothing else but to bear the punishment of their iniquity; so Lam. 5. 7. *our fathers have sinned, and we have born their iniquities*, That is, were punished for them. And this is plain from the effect and consequence of that bearing mens sins; viz. that thereby they are justified, and acquitted from the guilt of them. Now Justification and Absolution from sin is the proper and natural effect, of one mans bearing the punishment of another mans Sin.

This will farther appear by other places of Scripture, where the sufferings of Christ are mentioned with relation to the *justice of God*, which irrefragably evince that they must be undergone by him, *as a punishment*: there being a necessary and an essential relation betwixt Justice and punishment. Thus God is said to *set forth Christ to be a propitiation for our sins thro faith in his blood, that he might declare his righteousness for the remission of sins, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believes*, 3. Rom. 25, 26. He hath now found out a way for the remission of sins, whereby at the same time that he exercises mercy, he may manifest his justice; and without any prejudice to that, he may now safely and honourably justify them who believe in his Son. Thus that text of old was interpreted by Origen.

But however, if it may not be thought clear and plain enough to make out this truth; we have others which cannot easily

be eluded; in which we find the sufferings of Christ mentioned *as a judicial act of God*, shewing his displeasure against sin, and condemning it thereby. *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh*, Rom. 8. 3. That is, God sent his Son into the world, clothed in our flesh, united to a mortal body, lyable to death, (styled therefore *sinful*, because *sin is the wages of death*) that in it he might be capable of dying for our sins: or as others would have it, he was in the likeness of sinful flesh, that is, stood in the *room and place of sinners*, their sins were imputed to him, and therefore he was to be made a Sacrifice for them; and hereby God *condemned sin in that flesh*, shewing thereby his high displeasure against it, by punishing it so severely in the person of his Son, *God would not spare him*, ver. 33. tho' his *own Son*, when he appeared in our likeness and with our sins. But at the same time that he hath given us an example of his great indignation against sin; he hath likewise for our comfort, weakened the force, and abated the power of it so far, that we need not now stand in fear of it, (I mean, if we will repent and amend our lives) for as a malefactor after he is condemned must dye, so sin is now dead; God by *condemning it* in the body of his Son, hath destroyed the *condemning power of it*, *there being now no condemnation to them who are in Christ*. For what he did, he did as their *Surety and Sponsor*; and therefore it shall be imputed to them: the same sentence that *condemned sin in him*, *absolved them*; he was *punished*, and they for ever freed from any *obligation to punishment*: I mean still, if they perform the conditions required on their parts to give them a title to this Absolution; which must always be understood when we speak of these matters.

Lastly, Christ is said to have *Redeemed us from the Curse of the Law*, by being *made a Curse for us*, Gal. 3. 13. Now the malediction of the Law was nothing else but the punishment which the Law threatened to the transgressors of it; and Christ freed us from that punishment, by undergoing it himself. He was *Condemned*, *Sentence passed upon him*, and he afterwards was *Executed* accordingly. For he was Hanged upon a Tree, which

which was particularly accounted an Infamous and an accursed Death among the Jews. And therefore those who were to be punished in the room of others, and to be made as it were *Sacrificia piacularia*, to make an expiation, and to avert the anger of God from a multitude or community, were to undergo that death. Thus God commanded *Moses* to hang up the heads of those that committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and joyned themselves to Baal-peor, Num. 25. 4. And this was done, not only to punish them for their own sins, but that thereby the fierce anger of the Lord might be turned from Israel. So David delivered up seven of the Sons of Saul into the hands of the Gibeonites, Who hanged them up unto the Lord in Gibeon, and thereby made an atonement for the Inheritance of the Lord, 2. Sam. 21.

And thus Christ made an atonement, by undergoing the penalty of the Law, and by being made a Curse *ὡς ἡμεῖς* for us, that is, in our room and stead. He could not be punished for his own sins, being pure, and spotless, and innocent: but he was punished for us, by a proper surrogation; He gave his life a Ransome for many, Math. 20. 28. his blood went for our blood, his life for our life; he underwent the Curse, and we thereby were freed or redeemed from it.

All which sufficiently overthrow that notion of the Socinians which I formerly mentioned, viz. That Christs Death was only an external sign, or rite, whereby God the Father ratified the new Covenant which he made with mankind. Now that which we have reason to dislike in this Account is, first, that they affirm that God never entred into any Covenant of Grace and Mercy with mankind, before the appearance of our blessed Saviour, who first published the glad tidings of it to the world. We on the contrary declare, that the promise of pardon and eternal life, was made and granted to the Pious under the Old Testament; which is not indeed in such Clear, Full, and Ample termes expressed there, as it is under the New; but however plainly revealed there: nay indeed, it is in a manner as old as the World; having bin first given to Adam in Paradise, after his fall, confirmed after-

wards to the *Patriarchs*, proclaimed by the *Prophets*, expected by the *faithful* under the Old Testament, as is evident in the Scriptures, and might easily be made appear from thence, if it were the business of this discourse.

2dly, That which we have reason to *dislike*, and indeed to *detest* in this account is, that they make the death of Christ only a bare rite of confirmation of this new Covenant, when we say, and I think have great reason to say it, (as may appear from what went before) that our blessed Saviour by dying for us, hath not only *ratified*, but *purchased* pardon of sin, and eternal life, and all other benefits contained in that Covenant: His blood was the *price of our redemption*, his life that *λύτρον*, that ransom which was payed for many, and laid down in exchange for the lives of all mankind, which as we said before,) were forfeited to Justice.

And this leads me to the last thing to be made out; *viz.* that the death of Christ was a *true and proper satisfaction* made to the justice of God, for the sins of the whole world, that is, for all that ever were, or ever shall be committed to the end of it.

For first, if we consider this death as a price *paid* to God the Father for the redemption of mankind, then I say this was a sufficient or *satisfactory payment*; and this appears from that *ρύσις*, that deliverance which is consequent hereupon; *viz.* from the Empire of Death, Sin, and the Devil; for over all these we have now *obtained the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Who hath delivered us from the powers of darkness*, Col. 1. 13. *From death and him that had the power of it, that is, the Devil*, Heb. 2. 14. And in short, *hath delivered us from the wrath to come*, 1 Thess. 1. 10.

2dly, If we consider it *as a Sacrifice*, we shall find that God *smelled a sweet savor in it*; it was acceptable to him, and accepted of by him in the behalf of the sinner. Christ offered up his own life which he gave for the life of us Criminals and *his blood cryeth for better things than that of Abel*; crying for pardon and obtaining it: for hereby atonement is made, pardon and forgiveness procured, God and Man reconciled.

Lastly,

Lastly, Consider it as a *punishment*, and then we shall find it such as gave God abundant satisfaction: for as much as it was an *equivalent commutation* for the punishment due to all mankind, and as such it was accepted of by God. And this appears from the *effect of it*, which was our *impunity and absolution*: for pardon of sin is the immediate and necessary result and consequence of his dying for us; he suffered, and we were absolved and discharged from all obligation to sufferings. And indeed if these sufferings had not bin of an equal value for the sufferings of all mankind, they would not have answered one of the main ends and reasons of inflicting them; which was to make a *compensation* to the justice of God, for the wrongs and injuries done to his authority by the violation of his Laws; in which consists the formal notion of punishment, as it is *τιμωρία*; which is to be distinguished from that sort of punishment, which we call *castigation*, as ¹ *Aristotle* hath well observed: forasmuch as chastisement is for the sake and for the good of him *that suffers*; but *vindicta*, vengeance, which is the most proper sort of punishment, is for the sake of him *that inflicts the sufferings*.

That we may understand this aright; we must know that this latter sort of punishment, which we call *τιμωρία*, or *vindicta noxia*; when inflicted by God, may have a double aspect; one, as it *looks forward*, and as such it is both designed, and is likewise in it self, a very proper method to deter men from the practice of sin, who may read their own doom in the punishment of others: and thus it proves a good fence and security to the authority of God, by preventing the contempt and violation of it for the future. And when this is the chief and principal intendment of it, then it is properly called *ἐξδειγμα*, *punitio propter exemplum*; punishment for example sake; upon which account, the word *Example*, both in our own and the learned Languages is taken for punishment: to make a man

¹ Arist. Rhetor. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. Διαφέρει ἡ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις· ἡ γὰρ ὁ κόλασις, καὶ πόνος ἐν τῷ ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ τιμωρία, καὶ πόνος, ἵνα ἀποδραστή. Vid. Aul. Gell. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.

an Example being the same thing as to punish him for Example, and to deter others.

But 2dly, It *looks backward likewise*, and then it is inflicted by way of *compensation* for the wrongs done to his Authority; the injury which he sustained by the disobedience and contempt, being in some measure recompensed by the punishment. It hath bin reasonably doubted, whether men in inflicting punishment, may aim at any such personal reparation, abstracted from the publick good; but there can be no doubt made of this, with relation to God, by any that believe the eternity of Hell torments (as I have elsewhere shewed *part. I. p. 33.*) which can have no other end but the *satisfaction of divine justice*. They are not inflicted for the good of the parties punished, and so are not to be reputed, *ædificatio*, or *reductio*. Chastisements or Monitions, to them who are placed out of the reach of pardon, and all possibility of amendment. They are not inflicted for example, and to deter others from the like practices: they who are in Heaven stand in no need of such warnings: and they who are in Hell, are absolutely incapable of receiving any benefit by them: and I know no middle place in which any are lodged who may be advantaged by them.

Now let us consider the sufferings of Christ (which we have already proved to be a punishment) under either of those two former notions, of *ædificatio*, or *reductio*, and then we shall find that they were, and must be *satisfactory* to the Justice of God. First, if Christ was punished for example, and thereby to deter men from the commission of sin; that thereby they might be thoroughly convinced of the heinous nature of sin, and God's high displeasure against it, in punishing it so severely in the *person of his own beloved Son*; then in this sense it must bear a *proportion* to the crimes to be remitted, otherwise it would not have answered the ends of inflicting it: a slight punishment would have been next to impunity, and would rather have encouraged, then deterred men from sinning for the future. 2dly, If his punishment was *reductio vindictæ*, then, as *Aristotle* before acquainted us, it must be inflicted for the

the sake of the offended party, and not only so, but in such a manner, *ὡς ἵνα πληρωθῇ*; *ut ei satisfiat, ut ejus animus expleatur*; that he may be satisfied; and therefore it must bear a *just proportion* to the offence, and be full as much as Justice can claim, otherwise it will not be *completely* satisfactory. If it doth but satisfy in part, then that justice in God, (which as we have formerly shewed was *πῶς ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, the attribute that demands punishment) will still be demanding it, and never cease to do so, till it be fully satisfied.

Neither can we here fly to the pleasure of God, and say, any thing is satisfactory which he will accept of as such: for here we are to consider the reason and end of the infliction. Indeed, if we consider things only in themselves, perhaps God might have found out a way for the salvation of Sinners, without demanding perfect satisfaction; or, as some may think, without any punishment at all: but when we consider, that now he hath declared his pleasure, that he will not pardon sin, nor shew *his mercy* to the sinner, except in such a way as may *satisfy his justice*; in this case we must consider now, not only the *pleasure of God* considered abstractedly in it self; but his pleasure with relation to *his justice*; and then the nature of the punishment at the same time comes under consideration, which must be such as may satisfy the demands of that justice; which it cannot do except it be proportioned to the offence, and of an equal value to the punishment remitted. And such was the punishment of Christ, a thing of *Infinite value*, which was derived to it from the *dignity of his person*; who was the Son of God, *equal to his Father*, and therefore was able to make him a sufficient compensation, and did so by dying for us.

And this the Apostle admirably and irrefragably makes out in several places of his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where he discourses of the perfection and dignity of the Sacrifice of Christ, and its preeminence above all the Sacrifices of the Law; and particularly in this, *that whereas the blood of bulls and goats, &c. could sanctify to the purifying of the flesh, the blood of Christ could purge the Conscience from dead works*, Heb. 9. 13, 14.

Here, first I suppose it will be granted, that the *purging of the*

the Conscience in this place, denotes the removal of the guilt of sin. This is own'd by the *Socinians* themselves, and therefore need not be proved. 2dly, That guilt is nothing but an obligation to punishment. 3dly, That the death of Christ was properly *a punishment*. I know this is denied both by the *Socinians*, and the followers of *Episcopus*, but is owned by all other Christians; and therefore I shall here take it for granted, having in some measure proved it to be so before. Now if the death of Christ be a punishment, then his blood must remove the guilt of sin, by satisfying Justice which is that attribute in God that demands punishment, there being a necessary and essential relation between them. 4thly, That the blood of Christ purges the Conscience, *sua vi & efficacia*, by its own proper *virtue and efficacy*; which efficacy can consist in nothing but this, that the death of Christ was of equal value to that punishment which the Law threatned, and Justice therefore demanded. For when a man hath fully undergone all that the Law requires; then all obligation to further punishment, naturally and necessarily ceaseth. Now from all this it must unavoidably follow, that the death of Christ was a *just and equal Compensation* made to the Justice of God, and therefore a *true and proper Satisfaction* for the sins of the whole world. Neither ought we here to have recourse to the divine *pleasure and estimation*; as if the sufferings of Christ were therefore only *Satisfactory*, because God the Father was pleased to esteem them such: for tho' in this case the *Consent* of God was absolutely necessary, to render the punishment of Christ available for the impunity of others; for God might have demanded the life of the Criminal, and have refused any Compensation, tho' often times a greater value than it, if he had so pleased: but supposing this consent, then I say, that the virtue and efficacy of Christ's death, is not to be taken only from the approbation and appointment of God, but from the intrinsic value of that death it self; otherwise the Apostles arguing would be of no

¹ Pretium quod Christus persolvit, juxta Dei patris estimationem persolutum est. Limb. Lib. 3. cap. 21. Sect. 3.

force. *The Sacrifices under the Law could not take away sins*, Heb. 10. 11. *The blood of bulls and goats could only sanctifie to the purifying of the flesh*; that is, the blood of those Sacrifices could only wash off the legal uncleanness, and remove the political and temporal guilt; but still the Criminal might stand guilty before God, and be obnoxious to his vengeance. *But the blood of Christ can purge even the Conscience*, Heb. 9. 13, 14. that is, can absolutely extinguish the whole obligation to punishment both Temporal and Eternal, and set the man right in the esteem of God, and restore him entirely to his favour. Now if in interpreting these words we must have recourse only to *the pleasure of God*; then it amounts to no more than this: That under the Law God did not think fit to appoint the blood of *bulls and goats*, to make expiation for the inward guilt of sin; but now he hath been pleased to accept of the blood of Christ to that purpose; tho' it be not of equal value nor bears a just proportion to the offences which are remitted by it. How doth this shew us the *superlative virtue and excellence* of the blood of Christ, above that of the legal Sacrifices? All the difference at this rate, is the divine acceptation, not in the things themselves.

Nay, saith the Apostle, *it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin*. How not possible? Could not God Almighty who had the power of pardoning, have granted it (I mean a full remission of all sins past and to come) upon what terms he pleas'd? I suppose the *Socinians* and *Rem.* will not deny but he might. How then was it impossible? why truly it was so, if ye consider these Sacrifices in themselves; they were not of *equal value* to the lives of men, which were forfeited, and therefore they *could not, sua vi*, nay, it was *absolutely impossible* that they should by their own force and worth, make a full compensation to the Justice of God, and thereby expiate the inward guilt of sin. But what they

1 Deo ius absolutum est declarandi, quo pretio sibi satisfieri velit. Sane si ex voluntate Dei, veteris Testamenti victimæ sufficere potuerunt, ad expianda minora populi delicta, &c. Quid ni & ex eadem illa voluntate Dei, sanguis Jესus Christi sufficiat omnibus totius mundi peccatis expiandis? Id. cap. 22. Sect. 5.

could not do, the blood of Christ hath done sufficiently and effectually; it hath *thoroughly purged the Conscience* both from guilt and terror; having removed all the obligation to punishment, and all the fears and expectation of it: for *by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*, Heb. 10. 14. He hath laid down his life, *the life of him that was God*, which was worth the whole world, and consequently his death was an equal exchange for the punishment due to all mankind: wherefore it need not be repeated, as were the legal Sacrifices by reason of their imperfection; for now once for all he hath entirely *put away sin by the Sacrifice of himself*, Heb. 9. 26. and all his devout worshippers, *being once thoroughly purged, have no more conscience of Sin*, and consequently have no need of a new Atonement and Expiation to be made.

Add to all this, that the Church of God in all Ages, hath accounted the sufferings of Christ to be truly and properly *Meritorious* of pardon, and therefore the devout members of it have always recommended themselves to the favour of God, *thro' the Mediation* and *by the merits* of his Son. For tho' pardon of sin, with respect to us sinners, be an act of *pure Grace and mercy*, of undeserved kindness and compassion in God; yet with respect to Christ it hath the notion of a *debt*, which he hath a right and title to in point of strict Justice; and therefore claims it as the purchase of his blood; which was a price of equal value to all the benefits of the new Covenant, which were thereby obtained. And therefore now in his *glorious Intercession* at the right hand of his Father, we must not imagine or represent him to our selves in the posture of an *humble Suppliant*, entreating and begging mercy and pardon for his faithful servants, as matter of Grace and Favour; but claiming and demanding it; and saying, *Father, I will* that they who repent and believe in me, (for he who hath purchased the blessings of the new Covenant for us, having the free disposal of them, may with the consent of his Father, bestow them upon whom, and upon what conditions he thinks fit) should be absolved and pardoned; *I will that they whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory, and partake of it; for thou hast loved me; and I would have thee to love them as thou hast loved me*, Joh. 17. 23, 24.

From

From which words it seems to be plain, as our Writers have observed; that the sufferings of Christ are not only an *equivalent commutation* for the punishment due to men, so that now, neither the honour of God, nor his justice can stand in the way of the Sinners pardon; but indeed are more than a compensation, *preponderating our guilt*, and purchasing for us, not only remission of sins, but likewise Eternal life; which is not necessarily included in pardon and forgiveness.

This is the Catholick Faith and Doctrine, concerning this *great and fundamental Article* of the Christian Religion, which is plainly revealed in the holy Scriptures, embraced by the Church of God in all ages since the first planting of one: and the substance of what they have believed and delivered down to us, is briefly and comprehensively summed up by our Church in the Prayer of Consecration, in the Office for the Communion; *That Christ by suffering death upon the Cross for our redemption, made there a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world*, Or as we have it in our thirty first Article, *The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual.*

But this which hath been so plainly delivered in the Scriptures and taught by the Catholick Church, hath been and is as plainly and boldly denyed by the *Socinians*, who tell us, that this whole account of the redemption of the world by the death and sufferings of Christ, as it is stated by us, is *false deceitful, absurd, pernicious*, and I know not what. First, they say it is *Erroneous*, as being against both reason and Scripture. Against reason, which informs us that it is repugnant to the known rules of Justice to punish an innocent person: and such by our own confession our blessed Saviour was. And what is thus the dictate of reason, is likewise the voice of God in Scripture, who hath declared his pleasure, *that the fathers shall not be put*

¹ See Dr. Scot's *Christian Life*. p. 2. vol 2. Sect. 5.

² *Et si nunc vulgo Christiani sentiunt, Christum morte sua nobis salutem meruisse, & pro peccatis nostris satisfecisse, quæ sententia fallax est, erronea & admodum perniciofa.* Cat. Racov. de Proph. Chri Munere cap. 8.

to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers, but every man shall be put to death for his own sin, Deut. 24. 16. But yet when we come to examine this matter, we find that the *Socinians* ¹ are forced to acknowledge that God did very grievously afflict his Son, delivering him up to a painful, infamous, accursed death for our sakes, and for our sins; that is, to deliver us from the dominion, and guilt of them: But this must by no means be accounted a punishment. Now I durst refer this matter to any indifferent person, and let him judge, whether is most agreeable to the dictates of plain natural reason, to afflict and torment an *innocent person* without any demerit; or to punish a person who stands in the room and place of *Sinners*, having voluntarily taken upon himself all their guilt, and being willing to undergo their punishment, that thereby he may purchase for them indemnity and pardon.

If we appeal to the suffrage and voice of mankind speaking in the Laws enacted by them, then we shall find that it is not repugnant to Justice to punish a *Sponsor or Proxie* for the crimes, and in the room of the *offending party*; this having been the practice in some cases, and for some weighty reasons, of the most civiliz'd Nations of the world; especially where there was the consent of the suffering person. But we have no examples of innocent persons among them, whom they have *afflicted and tortured*, and delivered up to execution, without any such reasons and considerations.

And then for the Scriptures; the sufferings of Christ are mentioned there in such a manner, as that the ² *Socinians* themselves are forced to acknowledge, that they may in some sense be called punishments. And if this be so, then one would think that tho' our opinion concerning the Redemption of the world by the death of Christ were a mistake; yet it might be ac-

¹ Deus, non ut sibi satisfaceret, sed ut nos ipsius ingente peccatorum remissionis beneficio frui possemus, filio suo non pepexit; & quamvis ab omni prorsus scelere immunem, tanquam Scelestissimum hominem, detestabili imprimis & atroci morti eum tradi voluit. Socin. de Chr. serv. p. 30. cap. 2. ² Merito dici potest, Christum qui peccatum non fecit, peccata nostra sustinuisse, & si placet, penas quoque aliorum dedisse, Id. Præl. Th. cap. 21. Ita in Christum ideo iniquitatem omnium nostrum incurrisse, adeoque ipsam iniquitatis poenam à Deo in Christum conjectam fuisse scriptum est, &c. Id. Ibid.

counted a pardonable mistake; and such as wise and considering men might fall into. No, say these men; it is *a vain, absurd, ridiculous error*.¹ It is *nugatoria fabula, absurda vulgi fabula*, a meer trifling fable, an ill contrived story, fit only to be imposed upon vulgar and illiterate persons. It is *Commentum ex curiosorum hominum cerebro natum*, the contrivance of some idle persons, who had nothing else to do but to please and make themselves sport with the errors and mistakes of silly people. Nay it is *vanum somnium*, an idle dream, in which so many incoherent and extravagant things are put together, that a man who was awake and had his eyes open, could scarce ever have thought on them.

In short, that *Covenant* which we say was entred into between the Father and the Son for the Redemption and Salvation of mankind, was not a *real transaction*, but only *transacted* upon the Theater of some vain mens imaginations, who first invented, and then imposed this story upon the World: there was nothing in it but fancy and fiction, and the whole project is *purely dramatical*: so that at best it is but a Fable, and a Fable very ill contrived too, which doth not look like the result of a judicious and deliberate compofure; but seems to be the work rather of a roving wandering fancy, scarce fit to be represented upon a Theater: and therefore *Smalcus* is not without reasonable hopes, *that both the Play and the Actors will be chased off of the stage, and dismissed thence with the contempt and scorn and hisses of the Spectators*.

Nay if we believe these men, it were much better that this whole matter were a Fable, than that it should be true in point of reality and fact. For if there were any such agree-

¹ *Nullum Christi meritum agnoscimus, & pro nugatoria fabula id totum habemus.* Smal. Disp. 2. contra Franz. *Hec prædicta evertunt funditus istam de Dei iræ placatione, & satisfactione, non minus periculosam, quam absurdam vulgi fabulam.* Idem. Refut. Smigl. cap. 28.

² Id. Hom. 4. super 1. Cap. 1. Joh.

³ Ostorod. apud Pelt

⁴ *Cum Demonstratum sit Christum non esse verum Deum, quid aliud expectes, quam ut Smiglecius cum sua monstrosa de satisfactione Christi sententia exhibitus & expositus ex hac scena dimittatur.* Smalc. Refut. Nov. Monit. Nov. Arr. Cap. 33.

ment between the Father and Son as we say and believe, it could be nothing else ' say they, but a plain contrivance between them to gull and impose upon the World. For since God was not *angry* with mankind, what need was there that his Son should endeavour to *pacify* him? what need was there, that Christ should suffer so much to *move God* to do that, which he was of himself *inclined*, nay indeed *resolved* to do beforehand? In short, since God could have forgiven men their Trespases without any satisfaction, which would have bin an act of true bounty and liberality, and as such it is every where proclaimed in the Scriptures; why should he desire Christ first to pay him the debt, and then that he might liberally remit it? What is this but to take a *needless Circuit*, to go a great way about to compass that, which might have bin effected more compendiously; and indeed can be nothing less than *downright collusion and imposture*?

Gracious God? can any Christian ear bear these reproaches tamely and without a just indignation? I dare appeal to any the most *moderate and indifferent* Christian among us; if with *all zeal and concern* for the Christian Religion, he hath not likewise shaken of all *true sense and belief of it*; whether it be fit for any man to hear the great and adorable mysteries of our Religion thus scouted and ridiculed, and treated with so barbarous, and such unsufferable insolence and scorn, and not to shew a just resentment. What? hath it in all ages bin accounted a piece of justice which we owe to our friends, to vindicate their memory or reputations from injury and defamation; and hath not the warmth which hath bin shewn upon such occasions bin accounted, not only a just but a generous indignation? And can we sit down like persons unconcerned, when we see and hear the wise and admirable contrivance for the Salvation of mankind, together with the great contrivers of it thus derided and defamed, and thereby exposed to the contempt and laughter of *Buffoons and Atheists*? Certainly whatever excuses we may make, or with whatsoever specious names and titles we may think fit to varnish over our silence and reservedness in this affair; yet all unpre-

1 Cum potuerit Deus sine ulla solutione debitum universum remittere, quid circuitu isto inutili opus fuit, & collusione quadam? Socin. Præl. Th. cap. 15.

judiced standers by will account it; not the effect of *Christian moderation*, but of *unchristian lukewarmness* if not *perfidiousness*, in the cause of God and his Holy Religion.

But to proceed, this Opinion which hath prevailed among Christians concerning the Redemption of the world by Christ, is not only an *absurd*, but likewise (as the *Socin.* tell us) a *very pernicious error*: it is not an idle fancy which may do no great harm, but a very dangerous mistake; such as is first, ¹ harmful to the Souls of men; as being one of the great hindrances of their Salvation, tho hitherto it hath bin looked upon as the best, & indeed the only means of obtaining it. So that we had need look carefully about us, lest we mistake our way to happiness, and think that to be the road to Heaven, which will directly lead us to the chambers of darkness and eternal death. And this is like to be *our* ² case, if we believe these men, for this doctrine concerning the reconciliation and satisfaction of God by the sufferings and death of Christ, totally overthrows (say they) the whole method of our Justification and Salvation: for as this *λύτρον*, *this ransom* that we have talked of, and which we say was paid to the Justice of God as the price of our redemption, was *no real* but only a *fiction* imaginary payment; so the *deliverance* which we expect thereby from the dominion of Death and the Devil, will prove in the conclusion to be but an *imaginary deliverance*: *verbo tenus tantum servabimur, re autem ipsa in aeternum condemnabimur*, saith Socin. So that we had best examine matters thoroughly, and consider what is fit to be done, before we adventure too rashly to *rely upon the merits* and satisfaction of Christ; for they who do so are like to find them but a *broken reed*; too weak to support the weight that is laid upon it: or rather like a *broken staff*, which will not only fail, but enter into the side of him that leans on it, and pierce him thorow with many sorrows.

¹ Cedo qui hæc opinio est pernicioſa? R. ad eum modum quod hominibus ſenſtram ad peccandi licentiam aperiatur, aut certe ad ſocordiam in pietate colenda eos invitet. Catech. Racov. de Proph. Chr. Mun. cap. 8. vid. Socin. Lib. Suaf. cap. 2.

² Et certe niſi aliam ſalutis noſtræ rationem ineamus, quemadmodum, &c. verba tenus tantum diviniæ juſtitie id, quod nos illi debemus perſolutum eſt, re autem ipſa nihil ſolutum fuit: ſic verbo tenus tantum ſervabimur; re autem ipſa in aeternum condemnabimur. Id. de Chr. Serv. p. 3. cap. 4.

How may some Christian say? are not the merits of Christ of strength and force enough to bear the weight laid upon them? was not he God as well as man, and did not his divine nature communicate an extraordinary value to his sufferings; whereby they become, as was said before, *a full, and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole World?* No, no, people have indeed for many years past, bin imposed upon and gulled with such idle stories; but really there is no such matter.

For first of all, supposing Christ to be such an extraordinary person as we imagine, yet the dignity of his nature will add no worth to his sufferings; '*for with God there is no respect of persons.*' But 2dly, suppose there were, yet there was nothing *singular or extraordinary* either in the person or sufferings of Christ, which should induce us to imagine, that any satisfaction either was, or could thereby be given to God for the sins of men. And therefore in short, as there is no communication of idoms or properties from one nature to another: so there is as little communication of value and dignity from the nature to the punishment. Therefore tho' Christ *was stricken, smitten of God and afflicted*; yet this really signifies no more ² than if the same were done to any ordinary man; nay these stroaks are of no more virtue, than if they were laid upon the body of a Beast, or upon the back of an Ass, or a Mule which have no understanding. Thus do these wretched men, in the heat of their opposition to our blessed Saviour, rise up to the highest pitch of wickedness and fury; like the Jews of old, being full of all envy and mischief, they speak against the things revealed by the spirit of God, *contradicting and blaspheming.*

And now I must again address my self to the Christian Reader, and beseech him by the mercies of God, and the bowels of Christ; nay, I must conjure him by the remembrance of his Agonies and sweat in the Garden, of his bitter death and passion, that he would not suffer *the blood* of his Saviour (that *precious blood* that was

¹ Id. ibid.

² Quocirca, si plaga, puta hominis corpori inflicta, nullam per se vim majorem habere potest, quam si eadem bestiae alicui inflicta fuisset; multo magis quicquid passus est Christus nullam majorem vim per se habere potest, quam si quilibet purus homo idem passus esset. Ibid.

shed for his sake) to be thus slighted and undervalued, and *esteemed but as a common or a prophane thing*. For what will be the issue and consequence of this, but, when these men have brought down the price of it so low, that others should *trample it under their feet*.

But to proceed, as our Doctrine concerning Salvation by Christ is *prejudicial to the Souls of men*, so it is, if we believe the *Socinians*, *highly injurious to the honor of God*; ' for hereby we rob God of the honor of his Justice, equity, liberality, and beneficence, which the Scriptures every where do so highly magnifie: nay, instead of a *benigne and munificent Deity*, we form to our selves the notion of a *mean, cruel, sordid, illiberal Being*, and thus to represent God is the highest Impiety and Sacrilege. Add to all this, that since God could pardon the sins of men out of meer Grace and Bounty, now to make him require strict payment and satisfaction to his Justice before he would do so; *is, say they*, an argument of barbarous and savage cruelty, rather than of kindness and liberality.

Therefore to conclude this point, and to sum up all that they have said against this great Article of our Religion; in few words it amounts to this, that the Doctrine concerning the satisfaction of Christ, and the Salvation of the World by that means; is a *false, erroneous, foolish, absurd, whimsical, pernicious, impious, monstrous, blasphemous Opinion*¹. Would not any man think, that these wretches were censuring some position taken out of the *Alcoran*, which hath thus fallen under

¹ *Quid vel absurdius, vel iniquius, ob eamque rem, cum de Deo loquimur, magis impium ac detestandum excogitari potuit? Is qui omnis aequitatis ac rectitudinis fons est, tam iniquum & pravam facinus contra suum ipsius decretum admiserit? Cujus si rationem diligentissime inquiras, nullam profecto reperiēs, ut hic non summæ iniquitatis tantum & pravitatis, suprema cum impietate, Deus accusetur; sed extremæ quoque infcitie ac fatuitatis, per turpissimam atque indignissimam blasphemiam & contumeliam insimuletur. Id. cap. 3. ejusd. lib. Quid enim causæ fuit, ut in istum finem filium suum innocentissimum Deus tam dira & execrabili morte affici voluerit, cum satisfactione ista nil opus esset; ita & liberalitas perit, & pro beneficentissimo & munificentissimo Deo, immanem & sordidum, suprema cum impietate nefandoque sacrilegio, nobis confingimus. Id. cap. 2.*

² *Satanas per anile Commentum de præterno Dei filio obscuravit doctrinam de Christo: & salutarem de ipsius munere doctrinam, per absurdum, perniciosum, blasphemum dogma de Christi satisfactione fæde conspurcavit. Smal. Refut. Nov. Monstr. Nov. Arr. cap. 27.*

So great and heavy a Condemnation? No, it is no less than one of the most important and capital Articles of our Religion, embraced by all good Christians, not only as the *object of their Faith*, but likewise as the *foundation of their Hopes*, which are entirely subverted when this Doctrine is once overthrown. And yet I will be bold to say, that there is not one, no not the *worst passage* in all that impious bundle of lyes, errors and absurdities before mentioned, that equals, (at least doth not exceed) *the best part of our Gospel*, in point of *folly, falsehood and impiety*, if what these men affirm of it be true. The Church of God hath now for many ages laboured under some strange and unaccountable infatuation, in mistaking such a gross, senseless, Opinion, for one of the main and principal parts of their Faith. But it is high time to rectify this mistake; and whatsoever Religion we may think fit to make choice of, we cannot (at this rate) choose a worse than the Christian, if this doctrine makes up (as most think it doth) a main part of it.

And therefore I cannot much wonder at the story that is told, of a certain *Socinian* or *Socinians*, who applied themselves to *Ben Hamet*, late Embassador here from the Emperor of *Fez*, and proposed in behalf of themselves and their brethren, that a good correspondence might be settled, and a close League enter'd into, between the *English* Unitarians, and the Orthodox Churches of *Algiers* and *Morocco*. And if such passages as these shall be published, and permitted to pass uncontrolled among us; the minds of many may in good time be disposed, to exchange the *Bible* for the *Alcoran*, as they say, some of the most eminent Unitarians in the last Age did.

Upon the whole, we may hence be convinced, what great reason we all have to *contend for our holy Faith*, and to vindicate it from the calumnies and slanders cast upon it by these ungodly men, who thus openly, with unparallel'd insolence and malice, reproach and vilify our doctrine; and who (as it is to be feared) would shew no great tenderness to our persons, if they had us in their clutches; *God keep us out of them*. And this, as it is a duty incumbent upon all Christians, according to

1 Paulus Alciator Adamus Nauferus, &c.

their circumstances and abilities; so is it in a more particular manner upon us, who are dedicated more immediately to the service of Religion; and who must not only give an account of our own actions, but are likewise accountable for the Souls of others committed to our charge. It is true indeed, that they who are engaged in this service, must look for many (and those not small) discouragements: they must expect, that their labours in this kind shall be *undervalued*, their writings (if they have leisure and inclinations to commit any thing to writing) *censured*, nay, their intentions *misconstrued*; and it is well if they escape so, and have not likewise their *persons defam'd* into the bargain.

But none of all these, should prove a discouragement to any good man, and hinder him from doing his duty. And indeed he deserves not *the name*, and much less *the blessedness* of a true Christian, who cannot be content to suffer more than all this comes to, for the sake, and in the defence of his blessed Lord and Master, who hath done and suffered so much for him. Nay, not only the consideration of our duty, but that of our truest interest, should make us willing to be engaged in this holy warfare: for in the conclusion, it will appear to be much better, that we be found (if the will of God be so) among such who *suffer for the truth*, than in the number of them who *persecute*, or those who *betray it*. Tho' indeed, a notable pretence hath been found out, wherewithal to palliate and varnish over this treachery; and that is, the pretence of *moderation and tenderness* towards these dissenters from us, I mean in our doctrine, nay, in the fundamental doctrines of our holy Religion, if there be any such.

By this we may see, that the Devil is become wiser now in this last Age, than he was formerly. And it is no wonder, that the older he is, the craftier he should likewise grow. In former times he set himself with all his might to overthrow the Christian Religion, by *methods of his own contriving*; by inhumane and bloody persecutions, by Racks and Gibbets, Grid-Irons and Fiery Furnaces, Crusadoes and Inquisitions. But all these proved ineffectual: for tho' hereby he destroyed the *persons of Believers*, yet their *Faith* survived the malice of their Enemies, and like the *Phoenix* rose more gloriously out of the ashes of the *Martyrs*.

Now he is resolved to try a new method, and to fight against God *with his own weapons*: For *Reason*, which is the great gift of God, must now be made use of to *overturn Religion*; and the *Graces of God's Spirit*, among which meekness and moderation (I do not mean the hypocritical and designing pretences to them) which are none of the least; must help to undermine the *Doctrines* which he hath revealed.

Many things might be said upon this subject, which ought not to be crowded together into too narrow a compass, as very well deserving a larger room; Therefore I shall say no more of this matter at present: only I shall crave leave to renew my address to my Brethren of the Clergy, and desire them not to be discouraged or affrighted from *contending for their holy Faith*, by reason of any charge, or imputation that may be laid on them, of being turbulent or contentious persons for so doing. If we have ill names given us, we cannot help it, we must go on in the discharge of our duty. We are by a *second Consecration*, besides that at our Baptism, devoted to the service of our great Lord and Master; we are not only *Souldiers*, but *Officers* in those Companies of men who are listed under Christ's Banner, and therefore are obliged to fight under it, against all the Spiritual Enemies of his Kingdom. And we may rest assured, that when our great *General*, and the *Captain of our Salvation* comes to take an account of our behavior, we cannot desire to be found in any better posture, than *standing up* in defence of his Honour, and the holy truths which he hath published to the World: *Happy are those Servants who shall be found so doing when their Master comes*. And if in other things they are found likewise performing their duty (for we must not think to make the doing of one part, commute for the neglect of the rest) they shall receive approbation and praise from the mouth of their once Crucified, but now Glorified Redeemer; who when their Souls are dismissed from the *Embraces* of their Bodies, will stand ready to receive them into his *own Armes*, and will welcome each of them with that blessed Sentence, *Euge bone serve, well done good and faithful servant*, thou hast been faithful in the discharge of thy trust, *enter thou into the joy of thy Lord*.

The End of the Second part.

A
PRESERVATIVE
AGAINST
SOCINIANISM.
THE THIRD PART.

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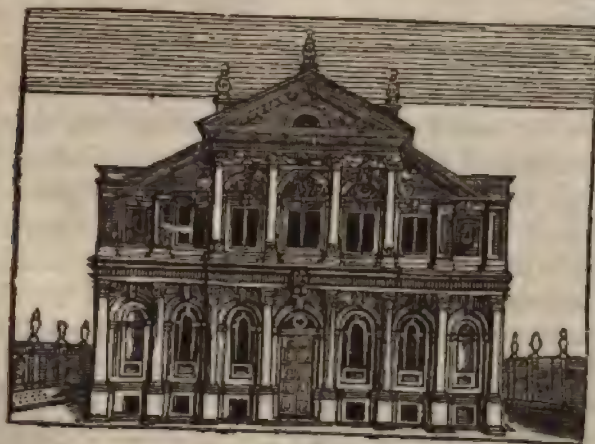
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A
PRESERVATIVE
AGAINST
SOCINIANISM:
SHEWING

The necessity of Faith, and that *Socinus* and his Followers on the contrary, by making the persuasion of the mind concerning divine Truths, a useless or at best an indifferent matter, plainly undermine all Revealed, and more especially the Christian Religion.

THE THIRD PART.

By JONATHAN EDWARDS D.D.



O X O N.

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I

A

PRESERVATIVE

A G A I N S T

Socinianism.

IN pursuance of the method laid down in the first part of the Preservative, the Reader might expect that I should proceed to shew the opposition between the *Impious opinions of Socinus*, and the other Articles of our *Holy Faith* not mentioned in the two former Treatises, and which remain yet to be discoursed of. But omitting at present to handle those matters in that order as was then proposed, I have at this time rather made choyce, to lay before the Reader several of those loose and irreligious positions, which are to be found in the Books of the forenamed *Socinus* and his followers, whereby they have plainly struck not only at the *Christian Religion*, the overthrow of which seems to have bin their first and principal aim; but likewise at all Religion whether *natural or revealed*, against which they have advanced sundry pernicious assertions, some of which are plainly expressed, others more covertly insinuated in their Writings, whereby they have laid the foundations of that *Infidelity and Atheisme*, which under several shapes, and divers disguises, doth at this time too far prevail in these parts of the World.

And herēby, tho I shall not exactly observe the method, I may yet, I hope, in some measure *answer*, and perhaps more effectually *compass* the design, which I chiefly proposed to my self when I first undertook this work; which was to fortify the minds of men, and guard them from the infection of those errors, which have so hastily, and I am sorry to say, so largely diffused themselves among divers persons of different ranks and orders, to the great trouble and amazement of all such, who have not shaken off all fear of God, and regard for his holy Religion as yet preserved and established among us.

There are none who are any ways conversant in these matters, but very well know, that many of the Socinians, especially heretofore, were such who put on the outward shape and semblance of a more than ordinary piety, and in their writings have advanced the precepts of Morality to a very great height, in which they have bin very copious and pathetical, in declaiming against vice, recommending virtue, and with great vehemence pressing the necessity of a good life; which we must all acknowledge is one of *the principal*, and as they tell us *the only end* of all Religion. How far they have bin in good earnest in all this, is not so easy nor so safe for any of us to determin; it will therefore become us to leave them to the judgment of Almighty God, by whose most righteous sentence, they and we must in the conclusion either stand or fall. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say upon this occasion, that by advancing Morality upon the ruins of the Christian Religion, and at the same time that they enforce obedience to the Laws of Christ, by *undermining those motives* which are, tho not the *only*, yet the *chief and principal causes* which produce and support it, they take effectual care to render all their exhortations, as far as in them lyes, useless and insignificant, and thereby give too great occasion to *suspect their sincerity* in this whole affair.

But let their intentions be what they will, it is certain that by these means, they have very notably gain'd these two, and those no inconsiderable advantages: 1st, hereby they have prevailed with many, who otherwise seem to be of a different opinion from them, to entertain very *favorable thoughts*, nay a *very high esteem* of their

their persons and writings, for the sake of their Piety: and this esteem, by degrees helps to *extenuate their errors*, and covers the malignity of them, which in time come to be accounted but small and very pardonable mistakes.

2^{ly}, Which is a necessary consequence of the former, they hereby, (I mean among them who entertain those favorable thoughts of them) take off the keenness and edge of those resentments, which are absolutely needful to engage men in a warm and vigorous opposition of their pernicious tenets: for while you *extenuate an error*, at the same time and for the same reason, you *weaken the opposite truth*; and by the same degrees that your *zeal* against the one abates, your *concern* for the other must grow cool, and in time perhaps be extinguished. It is therefore certain and beyond all doubt, that it cannot be worth any mans time or pains, to be engaged in the vindication of a truth, where the opposite error is so harmless and inoffensive, that it scarce deserves our *notice* and much less a *confutation*.

And this seems to be the apprehension which many now adays have of the *bold and dangerous* opinions of *Socin*. as they formerly were accounted. For some there are who pretending to more than ordinary degrees of moderation, I mean in the affairs of Religion, in which a greater scope and latitude is thought fit and reasonable to be allowed, (for in their own private concerns they do not think themselves under the same strict obligation to practise it) who tell us, that there is indeed some difference between us and the *Socinians*, but it is only about some points of high speculation, which are placed out of the reach of humane reason; and what is not the object of *our knowledge*, need not be the subject of *our care*, neither is it fit that any man should be *concerned* for what he cannot fully and plainly *comprehend*. It is true our adversaries despise the *mysteries of the Gospel*, but at the same time they retain a due regard for *the precepts of it*, and are at perfect agreement with us, in promoting the true end of all Religion which is holyness and a good life. All other matters in dispute between us are but Metaphysical notions, and niceties of the Schooles, about which men may argue *pro* and *con*, and wrangle eternally; but never make either themselves or

others in the least either wiser or better; but rather on the other hand, they hereby do a great deal of mischief; by engaging men in *warm and senseless disputes* about trifling and inconsiderable matters; dividing their judgments, and alienating their affections from each other, and by that means, disturb the peace and quiet of the world, which is of greater consequence, and ought therefore to be more valued by us, than these curious but useless speculations.

Others there are who, tho they cannot think so mildly and gently of *these errors*, yet retain a great respect for the *Authors* of them, and therefore to hide their nakedness, in great compassion, and out of Christian charity to be sure, they fling a mantle of *justice and probity* over them: by which means they do at the same time *adorn their persons*, and conceal the *deformity* of their opinions, which in their own proper and native dress, would be apt to create a just horror and detestation in the minds of all sincere and serious Christians.

Now to take of the mask and disguise under which these impious opinions walk, not only *with impunity*, but with *confidence*, and some sort of *reputation and credit* among us, is the design of this present undertaking, and to represent them in their own true colours, stripped of all that paint and varnish wherewith they usually are disguised; and to place them in a true light, in which they may be viewed in their just deformity and danger, and with that numerous train of evil consequences which inevitably attend them: whereby it will appear, that under what softening terms soever some persons may think fit to represent them, yet that truly and really they are highly dishonorable to God, destructive to the souls of men, and tend plainly to the overthrowing of *all*, and particularly the *Christian Religion*; the ruin of which, I mean if these principles and opinions should universally prevail, they will more effectually accomplish, than any, or than all the other methods that ever yet have bin made use of to destroy it.

This is really a *heavy charge*, and therefore by some may be thought an *uncharitable one*; wherefore I must now proceed to make it good; and in order thereunto I shall first begin with

Revealed

Revealed Religion, which is comprehended in the writings of the Old and New Testament, which contain a discovery of all those things which we are obliged either to believe or practise in order to obtain Eternal life.

Now the truth and credit of these holy writings are more ways than one assaulted by these men; some whereof are more remote and at a greater distance, whereby they do not so much *directly oppose*, as *insidiously attack* the holy Scriptures, and thereby *secretly undermine* that Authority, which they pretend *openly to acknowledge*. Others are more plainly and directly levelled against their authority and inspiration.

Among those more oblique and remote methods, the principal which are made use of by them, and which I shall more largely insist upon are these two; The first is that whereby they speak slightly and contemptibly of Faith, in comparison of Morality, to which they do not only give the preference, but place in a kind of opposition to it: The second way is by advancing *Reason above Revelation*, and making it the *supreme judge* of all those discoveries which are made by this latter, and its dictates the *adequate Rule* both of our Faith and Practice.

I begin with the first, *viz.* That whereby they speak contemptibly of *Faith*, and consequently, must at the same time endeavor to bring into contempt that part of the revelation which concerns the *Articles of Faith*; for if faith be unnecessary, it can be for no other reason but because the *objects* about which it is conversant are so; and if those *objects* are trifling and inconsiderable, the *discovery and revelation* of them must be equally useless and insignificant; so that there being a necessary connexion between these three, their Credit and Reputation must stand or fall together: He that is not a friend to each, is a friend to none of them and he that opposes one, is an enemy to them all.

Now that I may proceed clearly and orderly in this matter; according to the method made use of in the two former Treatises, I shall shew, first what *the Scriptures* inform us concerning Faith and the Articles and mysteries of *our Faith*; and then what *the Socinians* and their friends say of these matters; which upon examination will be found to be directly repugnant to what the

holy writings affirm, tending plainly to disparage the *Revelation*, and thereby to bring into contempt the *Religion* which is discovered by it.

If we look into the Scriptures, and especially those of the New Testament, we shall find that they pretend to give us an information of some things concerning *God* both as to his *Nature, Counsels, and Decrees*, which no human understanding ever conceived, none the most piercing judgment that ever mortal man was possessed of could ever penetrate; and therefore they are styled by our Savior the *Mysterys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, which were *hid from the wise and prudent*, but by the distinguishing mercy of *God revealed unto babes*, *Matt. 11. 25.* Such was that great truth that *Christ was the son of the living God*, which was a truth of so great importance, that our Savior tells *Peter* who made that acknowledgment of him, that he would *build his Church upon it, as on a rock against which the Gates of Hell should not prevail*; and withall that it was of that sublime and mysterious nature, *that flesh and blood could not reveal it unto him, but his Father which was in Heaven*, *Math. 16. 17.* Again, as *no man could know the son*, who he really was, as to his *nature, descent, and original*, which was all Heavenly and Divine, but by the revelation of the Father; so could no man *know the Father but the Son, and he to whom the son would reveal him*, *Math. 11. 27.*

Now as to what concerns the *unity and essential perfections of the Godhead*, which as the Socinians and Remonstrants tell us was all that was necessary to be known of him, this was discovered long before: so likewise what relates to matters of meer morality and the practice of virtue, was in great measure made known before Christ's coming; and in that sense God might be said to be seen by the light of nature: but there were some other things, concerning *his person and subsistence*, as he stands in relation to the two other glorious persons in the Trinity, the Son and Holy Ghost, which no humane reason could possibly discover; as also concerning his *Counsel and Will*, in reference to those great transactions which concern the Salvation of mankind, which no *wit of man* could ever find out, as lying hid in the *secret and eternal Counsel of his mind*, which therefore no finite wisdom or under-

understanding could ever fathom or draw out, only he *who lay in the bosom of the Father*, either did, or could discover.

To the same purpose St. Paul assures us that there were several *deep things of God*, which were the results of his meer pleasure, which none could know or be conscious to, *but the Spirit of God, who searcheth all things*, and which things God hath revealed to mankind by his Spirit, 1 Cor. 2. 10, 11. or otherwise they must for ever have bin ignorant of them. Hence the doctrine of the Gospel which contains the discovery of these secrets, is styled the *mystery of the Gospel*, Eph. 6. 19. *The mystery of Christ* Col. 4. 3. *The mystery of Faith*, 1 Tim. 3. 9. And the great *mystery of Godliness*, verse 16. of that Chap. Nay the same Apostle, when he mentions these things thus revealed, speaks of them in very lofty and magnificent terms, that they were *such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, i. e.* the heart of man could not conceive and find them out, 1 Cor. 2. 9. And therefore we find him very copious in the magnifying his office and ministry, upon this very score, that he published the *wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom of God, ordained before the world unto our Glory*, v. 7. That he and the other Apostles were *Stewards of the mysteries of God*, 1 Cor. 4. 1.

From all which these two things seem to be very plain, and as one might reasonably think beyond all dispute. First, as was said before, that the Gospel contains a revelation of certain matters which no wit or invention of man could ever discover, no reason can comprehend: why else should they be styled *mysteries*, such as were *hid from the wise and prudent*, and known only by revelation? How could it otherwise with truth or decency be said, *that flesh and blood could not discover them?* and that the *Love of God*, and his merciful intentions for the Redemption of mankind, which were discovered in the Gospel, did *surpass all knowledge?* Eph. 3. 19. Lastly, it could not otherwise be agreeable to truth, what yet is roundly and without any hesitation delivered by the Apostle, 1 Cor. 2. 14. *That the natural man, who is guided only by the light of nature, or human reason, doth not perceive the things of the Spirit of God*, those spiritual and sublime mysteries which are revealed by the spirit of God: & *διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, non capit, percipit, intelligit,*

intelligit, so this word is rendered by several Interpreters; the word *δέχεται*, being the same with *γινώσκει* which is used in the same verse; he neither doth understand, nor indeed *can he know them*: or let it be rendered as we do in our translation, *non accipit, recipit*, he doth not *receive them*, *non ita admittit ut approbet*, he doth not admit them so as to approve of them, it will amount to the same purpose. And indeed both these things seem to be very evident from the words: *viz.* that the *things of God*, which are discovered by the spirit of God in the Gospel, are such, as transcend the power of the most exalted reason to find out and comprehend; nay not only so, some of them do not only *surpass*, but seem *opposite* to the understandings of men guided only by the light of nature; *they are foolishness unto him*,: *i. e.* absurd and repugnant to reason. So that in short, this *ἀνθρώπου ψυχικός*, this natural man, *qui non alia quam naturali animi luce præditus est, qui humana ratione omnia metitur*, who measures all things by the standard of human reason, cannot discover these sublime truths by his own natural abilities; and after they are discovered, he is so far from admitting and embracing them, that he rather rejects them as absurd and foolish, and quite contrary to those rules *ἀνθρώπινος σοφίας*, of human wisdom, of bare reason, whereby he judges of the truth or falshood of things.

2dly, That which follows farther from hence, is that these truths thus Revealed, are matters of *great importance* and high consequence; otherwise the Gospel were not to be so highly valued, nor ought the Ministers of it so mightily to magnify themselves and their Ministry upon this account. Sure the Son of God would never have come *out of the bosom of the Father*, and discovered what lay hid there; nor the spirit of God have *searched for these deep things*, except they had bin matters of great weight and moment, and the revelation of them of great and high importance to the world. And therefore we find the Scriptures laying a great stress upon these matters, representing them under such Characters, and with such high Elogies, that it is plain, they expected we should entertain these sublime truths, with great reverence, attention, and esteem, that they should be received with all thankfulness, and *accounted by us worthy of all acception.*

ception: or in one word which will comprehend all this, that we should believe them. Which leads me to consider what these holy writings say of the *Act of Faith*, as well as what we have already heard, they have said of the *Object and Articles of it*.

And here we shall find that they lay a great stress upon the *Grace of Faith*, and especially as it hath Christ for its object, which is the great duty of the Gospel; recommended to us so often and so earnestly by our blessed Savior, that one would think, there should be no room left for doubt in this affair, by any who own the name of Christ, and are therefore willing to govern their judgment, and regulate their apprehensions concerning the *usefulness or necessity* of things, by the sentence of their Savior. Now he hath assured us more than once, that our *happiness or ruine* depends upon our having or wanting this Grace. *He that believeth on the Son of God, hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him*, Jo. 3. 36. In imitation of the *Serpent which Moses lift up in the wilderness*, our Savior tells us that *he was to be lifted up* upon the Cross, that whosoever looks up to him by the eye of Faith, *whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have everlasting life*, verse 15. God sent his son into the world for the salvation of it, but that the end of his coming may be accomplished in us, this Grace is absolutely requisite, that thereby we may be entitled to those benefits which he has purchased for us by his coming. *God so loved the World that he gave his only begotten, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have everlasting life*, v. 16. and again in the 18. verse, *He that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already*. Thus our Savior delivered himself when he preached to men in his own person while he was in the world; and when he was to leave it, the like commission he gave to his Apostles, and required them to publish the same doctrine: *Go into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned*, Mark 16. 15, 16. They were to proclaim the glad tidings of Salvation to all mankind, and were withal to inform them of the great condition required on their parts to make them capable of it, which was Faith. And

in pursuance of this Commission, we find Them still inculcating the necessity of this Grace, as antecedently requisite to give men a right and title to pardon of sin, and all the other blessings of the new Covenant. This was that which *Philip* required of the Eunuch, Acts 8. 37. *To believe with all his heart*, what he immediately afterwards tells him he did, viz. *that Jesus Christ is the Son of God*. To that important question of the Jaylor, *Sirs what must I do to be saved?* St. Paul returns this answer, *believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shalt be saved, and thy house*, Acts 16. 31. And in short, that we are acquitted from guilt, reconciled to God, justified, pardoned, saved, they tell us is owing to faith in the son of God.

Hitherto we have only spoken of faith in Christ, as it hath him for its object; but forasmuch as this faith respects the *person, natures, offices, actions, and sufferings* of our blessed Savior, it doth by consequence infer the necessity of believing the other Articles of our Holy Religion, which are either directly included in, or have some necessary relation to, this great and fundamental doctrine. And thus we see what the Scriptures inform us of the doctrines of our faith, and of the faith of those doctrines; both which are put together by St. John in the 20th Chapter of his Gospel verse 31. *These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the son of God, and that believing ye might have life thro his name*. Which words give us an account of the principal reason that moved our Evangelist and Apostle to write and publish his Gospel, which was to assert and vindicate this great truth, then and since vehemently opposed, that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*. 2dly, They farther inform us of the importance of that discovery; that hereby is revealed to us, not only a certain, but likewise a necessary and fundamental truth, upon the knowledge and belief of which depends our happiness and *eternal life*. In short, from hence it appears, that both the doctrine here recommended to our faith is of high consequence, a necessary and essential part of the Christian Religion, *that Jesus is the son of God*; and also that the belief of this doctrine is of equal importance, of necessary and indispensable obligation, our happiness absolutely depending upon it, *That believing ye might have life thro his name*.

It

It is time now we should enquire what the Socinians affirm of both these matters. And first what they say of the *doctrines or objects* of our faith. And here in general, they tell us that there are no doctrines delivered in the Scriptures, and proposed to our belief, which surpass the reach and comprehension of human reason: and therefore that those *Articles of faith* which have bin embraced by the Christian Church, and received under the notion of *sublime and mysterious truths*, are all of them false, erroneous, foolish and absurd, and many of them pernicious and impious fables. Let us consider them under each of these characters.

First, they say they are *false*, as being opposite to the plain dictates of reason, whereby we ought to judge of the truth or fallshood of things. And such are the doctrines of the *Trinity, Incarnation, and satisfaction* of our blessed Savior; which are, say they, not only *above* the conceptions of men, but directly *contrary* to them; and indeed are not only repugnant to reason, but likewise to the common sense of mankind. So that in short, what we call a mysterious truth, is nothing else but mystical nonsense; and what we magnify in these matters as the result of divine wisdom, is really and truly the product of ignorance and mistake.

From hence it must follow, that they are not only false, but likewise in the second place *foolish and absurd*: scarce any thing can be invented that is more ridiculous than these doctrines, which are only the wild and extravagant notions of some phantastick persons, which equal all the fictions of poetry; none of which are more exorbitant, but most of them far less harmful than these absurd and monstrous opinions. In short, those hard

1. Nihil credi potest, quod à ratione capi & intelligi non potest; & quicquid nobis revelatum est, quicquid à nobis credi debet, id nequaquam rationis captum excedit. Ea quæ nobis ad credendum vere sunt proposita, negamus esse mysteria, quæ scilicet caput rationis superent, & communem naturæ cursum, & ordinariam rerum indolem superent, Schlichting. contra Meisn. p. 124.

2. Socin. libell. Suaf. cap. 4. Jam quod attinet ad communem sensum, nemo est tam stolidus, qui non videat pugnare hæc inter se, illum Deum nostrum esse unum numero, & tamen tres esse, quorum unusquisque sit ille Deus noster.

words above mentioned, of *Trinity Incarnation, Sacrament*, which are introduced into our Religion are a *barbarous and unknown language, Metaphysical gibberish*: perfect Cant, fit only for Gypsies and Fortune-tellers. We love, it seems, as these men tell the world, to amuse our Disciples with terms as *mystical* as the *Egyptian Hieroglyphicks*, yet couch but a very mean and despicable sense: under mysterious and surprizing terms, affecting a phantastical way of speaking, when we might speak soberly and plainly. Thus they find fault with our *words*, and the manner of expressing our selves. At other times, when we come to explain our selves, and in that explication make choice of very easy and intelligible terms, then they quarrel with our *meaning*; upon which account, they say the modern Christianity, (so they are pleased to style our Religion) is no better, nor other than a sort of *Paganism and Heathenism*. It is all *enigmatical and oracular*, but the Devils Oracles are to be preferred: for they represented plain truths under doubtful and ambiguous expressions; we in plain words express unintelligible, mystical, sublime contradictions: which makes our Religion, at least our way of expressing it, a *perfect Gaulemaufrey*¹.

So that in our dealing with these Gentlemen we are reduced to very great, and indeed inextricable streights. Let us express our selves which way we please, still they are resolved to quarrel with us. If we make choice of plain words in which to express the mysteries of our Faith, then 'tis all *riddle and paradox*. If their perverseness and importunity oblige us to use any new words not found in Scripture, then we are *Oracular and Hieroglyphical*; and our language is *Egyptian* all over. What therefore is left for us to do? why truly nothing that I know of but to bear our misfortunes as wisely and as well as we can: and since it is so difficult to procure their good opinion, we must as far as I can perceive, together with the hopes, lay aside likewise all

¹ *Impartial account of the word Mystery*, p. 13. ² *The Trinitarian Scheme of Religion*, p. 7. ³ *Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarn.* p. 16. ⁴ *Impartial account of the word Mystery*, p. 18, 19.
⁵ *Idem.*

endeavors of recommending our selves to their favor. Lastly our doctrines they say, are highly pernicious and mischievous: for hereby, if we believe one of our adversaries ¹, the purity of the Gospel is corrupted, which consists in the plainness and simplicity of it; and the beauty of it is concealed by this disguise of mystery which is put upon it. Secondly, They give Encouragement to a wicked life, and are directly inconsistent with piety towards God, as they are with reason and natural knowledge. Thirdly, They are the great incendiaries of the world, disturbing the peace of the Christian Church which hereby hath bin crumbled into innumerable parties and factions. Forthly, They are partly the necessary causes, and partly the unhappy occasions of divers hurtful errors and heresies, and particularly of those which compose the body of Popery. Lastly, By their absurdity and impossibility, they have given a check to the progress of the Gospel, have hindered the conversion of Jews and Mahometans, and serve only to propagate Deism and Atheism with which the age is infected, and which is in great measure owing to the absurd corruptions of the true religion, by these additions which have bin made to it by injudicious and fanciful men.

Thus doth this great champion of infidelity come forth like another Goliath, bidding defiance to our religion, railing at it and the professors of it, in the most reviling and contumelious language, and thereby endeavoring to expose both the one and the other, to the contempt and laughter of Buffoons and Atheists. Now if we farther enquire into the *Reasons and Causes* of these errors, and by what means such opinions, so dishonorable to God, so repugnant to common sense and reason, so pernicious and absurd, in which folly and impiety seem to strive for the preeminence, should universally prevail in the Christian Church, they instance in these following.

And first, they tell us this is owing to *ignorance*, and the mistakes of unskilful and injudicious men; but these mistakes have yet received a wonderful improvement by that curiosity and wantonness of fancy which is to be observed in some persons; but above all, by that regard and fondness which men have had for

¹ Letter of Resolution, p. 5. 7. 11. 17.

mysteries. All the world, I know not by what fate overruling them, and in all ages ¹, have bin in love with mysteries, and have doted on them. This dotage was remarkable in the *Pagans* of old, and it attended those who in the first ages of Christianity ² were converted to the Christian faith; who brought this humor along with them into the Church. This doting on mystery, which they tell us was the great mystery of Iniquity, began, (as some of them state this matter) very early, even as early as the days of the Apostles. ³ Others say, that the *Christians at first extracted out of the Heathen writers what was excellent in Paganism, the virtuous and moral part, and left the fabulous behind like a caput mortuum.* But in process of time the Fathers of the Church introduced new Mysteries and Articles in the room of the former, which in time universally prevailed. But tho they do not exactly agree upon the *date*, yet they all agree in the *thing*; that our Religion, as it is at present established in the Christian Church, is of infamous extraction, being *purely Heathenish*, and of *Pagan descent, and original.*

But tho this humor, and affectation of mysteries, hath had, as our adversaries tell us, too great and fatal an influence upon our Religion, yet that alone could never have bin able to have done all this mischief. For tho the foundations of that folly and superstition which at first was brought into the Church, might hereby be laid; yet these could never have bin perpetuated, and propagated among so many men, and thro so many ages,

¹ So sacred and dangerous was the discovery of Mysteries to Ecclesiastical men of that time, (he speaks of the Statue of Harpocrates in the Temple of Isis) as well as of ours, and such is the love of superstitious people, of what religion soever they be, for Cabal and Mystery; because they take delight in admiring what they do not understand, and in reverencing the very silence of any thing that goes under the name of Mystery. Discourse of the word Mystry p. 3.

² The Trinity is not a Theology of divine Tradition, but merely of Paganick and Heathen extraction, and brought into the Christian Church by the Platonick Philosophers when they came over to Christianity, Letter of Resolution p. 16. This Author (speaking of the Author of the History of Oracles) clearly discovers to us the source of Mysteries springing out of the wonderful and incomprehensible language of Plato, and at the same time the holy reverence paid to Mysteries arising from a blind respect paid to false Antiquity. Discourse of Myst. p. 19.

³ Herb. de Rel. Gentil. p. 230.

without the help of some other more lasting, and more culpable causes, than either *ignorance, curiosity, wantonness of phansy, or the like.*

And therefore in the 2d place they tell us, that this ignorance of divine truths, and the dangerous errors which succeeded thereupon, were owing to a general wickedness & corruption of manners, which, it seems, overspread the face of the Church, and overtook the professors of it very early; it should seem in, or very near the Apostles times: and then it is no wonder if this wickedness, by its own natural force should pervert the understandings of men, and by degrees help to corrupt their principles. To which we may add, if this were so, that God, as a just reward of an universal impiety, might give men up to these frantick delusions; to *believe a lye*, and then to publish it to the world.

The 2 Gospel and the words of it could not possibly lead men into such mistakes, because it is most evident, plain and intelligible to every man: and the Scriptures are so open and clear in these matters, *ut nemo qui eas non intelligat, non plane stupidus esse videatur*, saith Socin. Therefore it must follow that it must be owing, partly to mens ignorance and stupidity, but chiefly to their wickedness, and in particular to the *love of the world*, which is the root of almost all that evil that is in it.

1 *Nec Christus virtute caret, nec Christiana fides incertis scripturis nixa est, sed ipsorum hominum culpa fit, quo minus, ea quæ clarissime & constantissime scripta sunt, illi intelligant. Qui si tales fuerint quales esse debeant, profecto omnia intelligent in sacris voluminibus contenta, quæ eos intelligere necesse est: sin minus, æquum est ut sua malitia hanc etiam penam subeant, ut salutaria dogmata divinis literis comprehensa minime percipiant, aut olim percepta non amplius teneant.* Fausti Socin. Resp. ad Scrupulos, ab excellenti quodam viro propositos, p. 329. *Malos plerumque omnes post Apostolorum tempora fuisse, nihil prohibet: quod tamen ego non assero, quamvis Apostoli & Christus ipse tale quippiam prædixisse videantur, ibid Resp. ad 3. Scrup.*

2 *Quod autem adjungitur de scripturis vafre & contorte à Deo de sui cognitione proditis, si sententia nostra præcis illis incognita fuisset, supra refutatur. Hic tantum addo, quamvis sacræ Scripturæ in hac ipsa parte de qua quaritur, ita apertæ atque expeditæ sint, ut nemo qui eas non intelligat plane stupidus non videatur; tamen eorum verborum meminisse nos debere quæ scripta sunt ad finem libri Osæ Prophetæ, quis sapiens & intelliget ita, intelligens & scit hæc: quia rectæ viæ Domini, & justi ambulant in eis, prævaricatores vero corruent. Quæ verba ejusmodi sunt, ut ad ipsam verborum Dei intelligentiam omnino accommodari queant, quæ videlicet obvia sit piis, impiis non item.* Id. Resp. ad 6. Scrup.

But

But that you may not make a wrong judgment in this affair, and the innocent thereby be mistaken for the criminals; you must know that this immoderate love of wealth and riches, first seized the Priests; who in all ages (as these our worthy friends tell the world) have bin a company of crafty and designing men: and in order to procure a reputation to their persons and functions, and then to compass the ends of their ambition and covetousness; first contrived these mysterious doctrines, which they published in a barbarous and an unknown language, thereby keeping the people in awe; and then taking advantage of those fears and that superstition, which by these means they wrought in their minds, they lead them where they would, and managed both their *Consciences* and *Estates* just as they pleased. * And as at first these were the persons who introduced these mysterious

1 By the means of Mystery Divines have made Religion a very difficult thing, 'tis an Art which Christians are not able to understand. Thereby they have raised themselves above common Christians, and are made necessary to the people, improving that art to their own benefit, Discourse of Myst. p. 13.

2 The Learned, if you speak of such as are Priests or Ministers and Beneficed men, have such abyass given to their minds by the awe of their Superiors to whom they are accountable, by the fears of deprivation, by their Subscriptions to the Articles of their several Churches, that it may be said their Learning gives no authority to their Opinions. 'Tis plain enough that their Opinions are such, as the conditions and terms of Preferment do require of them. While men are Shackled by early Subscriptions, hopes of Preferment, fears of Punishment, and the like restraints, they are fitter to support the Kingdom of darkness and error, than to receive the true light and genuine Gospel of Christ. An Exhort. to a Free and Impartial enquiry into the Doctrines of Rel. p. 3. Neither is L. M. alone, but there are many others who believe their Paradoxes no more than we, but they subdue first their Consciences, and afterwards their minds to the Sophistries usually alledged to prove them, so long as Holy Mother (which can dispose of their fortunes in the World,) recommends this belief as the condition of holding a Parsonage or a Vicarage, or of getting a Deanery or Prebend. But after all that Reverence which any pretend to have for this Holy Mother, 'tis certain there is nothing really meant by our Holy Mother the Church, but only the strongest side, or the prevailing party. And all the mighty Complements men use to this blessed Mother, are nothing else but their wit or their fears. They find themselves the slaves of an usurping faction in the Church, which is able to constrain them to do any thing, tho never so contradictory or absurd: therefore the witty presently list themselves of the party, and call themselves Sons and Children, and subscribe and swear to all that she propounds. In others their dread and awe turns into real reverence, or rather superstition: but they do not reflect on the causes that first byassed their minds to this obedience; but those causes were originally nothing else but the power and wealth of the Holy Mother, that is as was said, of the strongest side. Answer to Mr. L. Milburne.

doctrines

doctrines into our Religion, for their own advantage; so the same secular motives prevail with most now adays to retain them. They are our preferments which help to keep up the belief of these mysteries, and if it were not for the bias which is given to our minds by the awe of our Superiors, and the fears of losing our promotions which keep us in order, we should soon discover our true sentiments, and all presently turn Socinians. For if men quit their opinions, they must at the same time lose their preferments, which are, say they, *the main support of all this superstructure, which otherwise of it self would soon fall to the ground.*

So that at this rate, the Superior and Inferior orders of Priests are a company of profligate and irreligious wretches; who have lost all honor and all honesty; the one *Imposing*, and the other *Submitting* to their Impositions, against their Consciences, and contrary to their judgments, only to compass their designs, and to secure their preferments. Upon this account, one of them plainly tells the world, that he knows no reason why we may not be reputed *Atheists*: for our Religion as to what concerns the Priests and Learned men among us, is all *contrivance and imposture, a cheat as gross and palpable as was that carried on of old by the Augurs and Aruspices; and therefore he wonders how we can be such stark fools, or errant knaves, that when we meet we can carry a grave look, and not laugh at one another.* Tho by the by, if a man might be allowed to guess at this Gentleman's modesty by his writings, if one of his friends, for some particular reason, should smile in his face, I am apt to think he would scarce put him out of countenance.

Lastly, it may yet reasonably be imagined, that the causes above mentioned, tho they might go a great way in order to corrupt our Religion: yet could not be so universally prevalent and for so many Ages: were it not for some higher and greater force. The *awe of Superiors*, the *fears of deprivation*, the *hopes of preferment*, may be great restraints: but one would think the *evidence of truth*, and the *importance of it*, should likewise have some influence on the minds of men, and have enabled

them long before this, to have broke thro those restraints, had not some more potent, but invisible chains, fettered their understandings, and totally deprived them of their liberty. This mighty force then that prevails above sense and reason, revelation and Scriptures, can be nothing less than *Magick and Enchantment*, whereby the eies of the simple are dazled, *being bewitched*, as they tell us, *into a belief of the most odd things with a charm of words*¹. So that like men in a trance, they shall have their eies open, and yet not be able to discern the ridiculousness of those opinions which are imposed on their understandings. The Devil was the first, as they tell us, who invented sundry of those Doctrines: and sure one would think, he was the person likewise who first invented the word *Mystery*, which is an *affrighting, astonishing* word, the mention of it is enough to make men start. It is as bad as *Abraxas* or *Abracadabra*: it carries along with it charm and incantation: and the generality of Christians

¹ *Mystery is a supplement ready at hand, when we fall short of reason. In a word, Mystery is a salve for all diseases, it dazles the eies of simple people, or rather bewitches them in so great a measure, that by seeing they perceive not the ridiculousness of those opinions imposed on their belief; and it makes wise men willing to shut them: for they do not love to be disturbed in the enjoyment of their temporal advantages, and they are afraid of Socrates his fate. Discourse of the word Mystery p. 19. In Religion men take care to adorn the most monstrous opinions, they look upon them as the beloved part and the chief of their Religion: and lest they should be attacked in that weak place, they fence it with the name of Mystery. They will allow no body to touch them, nor to cast their eies upon them. He that undertakes to attack an Orthodox that way, is looked upon as one who designs the utter ruine of Religion. They are so far in the right, seeing they cannot otherwise defend their Opinions, than by frightening Children with the Wolf's skin. Ibid. p. 4. The word and Sacraments are a sort of means that act not by any natural energy of their own, nor by any harmony, suitableness or agreeableness to our powers faculties or natures; but by a Theurgical, Teletick and Mystical operation, which is to say they work on our minds as Spells, Charms and Incantations. Let a man in black sprinkle you with some of the Churches water, or give you a bit of bread, or sup of wine, over which he hath pronounced the wonder-working words prescribed in Mother Churches Ritual, tho by nature you are as bad as the Devil, you shall be qualify'd for Heaven. And this no less certainly than by tying the Norman knot, you may gain the love of the person you desire; or by other devices recorded in the learned books of Magick, you may cause hatred, raise winds, and do a thousand other feats. Therefore when St. Austin defined a Sacrament to be the outward visible sign of an inward Spiritual grace; the good Father should have considered, that this is the definition of a Charm, not of a Gospel Sacrament. Trinitarian Scheme of Rel. p. 24.*

sure must have some sorcery and witchcraft practised upon their understandings, or else they could never be so unaccountably infatuated, as with this word, and by the help of it, to embrace so many wild and such frantick opinions.

By this time I am afraid I have surfeited the Reader, I am sure I have tyred my self, with the repetition of this *nauseous* and *unsavory stuffe*, which these our adversaries with equal falsehood and impudence, disgorge against our holy Religion and the professors of it. But I have done it for the sake of such who wanting time and leisure to peruse their writings, may here at one view inform themselves of those *calumnies* which ly dispersed and scattered in their writings, which with great assurance are almost every day published by them. And there are two reasons which have principally induced me to it, which I think are of some consideration in this affair.

The first is, that I may undeceive the Reader, and rectify those mistakes which otherwise he may, or perhaps hath bin lead into, by that unwary and indeed unjust account which hath bin given of our Adversaries and their polemical performances; which sometimes have bin recommended to the world, under the highest characters of *prudence, temper, modesty, gravity*, together with I know not how many other goodly epithets which have bin but too liberally bestowed on them. They are said, to have kept within the bounds of decency, to have argued closely and clearly without heat and passion, to have confuted their Adversaries opinions, without railing at their persons. They stand closely upon their guard, warily defend themselves, without giving advantage to their enemies by any loose and unwarrantable expressions, which *passion* is apt to suggest when *reason and sound Argument* is wanting; and in one word, they are said to have set a pattern of writing Controversies to the world.

If this be so, and that we can reconcile this character with those expressions which have now bin cited out of their books; then I think we have lost all distinction between *modesty and arrogance, rudeness and decency, truth and calumny*. For I will defy any man of the greatest wit, in conjunction with the greatest

malice, to forge and utter any thing against us and our Religion, nay tho the Devil himself were at the elbow of the writer, which can exceed what these men charge us with, in point of *falsehood and virulence*. One of the heaviest charges which was of old drawn up against the Christians, and laid at their doors, was, that in their assemblies they were wont to murder an Infant, and out of sport and wantonness to drink up his blood; so that their *Love-feasts*, as they called them, were indeed nothing else but so many *Thyestean banquets*.

But if what our adversaries affirm of us and our Religion be true, we doe much worse: for what those men might be supposed to do out of *frenzy and distraction*, (for who but frantick and wild people would be guilty of such lewd pranks?) the Guides of the Church have done out of *contrivance and design*; who have bin engaged in a wicked combination for about sixteen ages, to delude and cheat the world, and that in a matter of highest consequence, relating to the *honor of God*, and the *Salvation of mens Souls*, which they have disregarded in comparison of their own interest, and secular designs.

For what proportion do the lives of a few Infants bear to the Souls of so many millions, whom the Christian Doctor by infusing so many loose and impious opinions into the minds of their followers, have, *as far as in them lay*, led to eternal perdition? For tho these opinions in themselves, should not *absolutely and inevitably* occasion the ruine of those who embrace them; yet they bring them, as our adversaries tell the world into great hazard, being mighty obstacles to mens happyness, and do very naturally and easily turn them out of the way which leads to eternal life. And if so, then we cannot but conclude

I Præterea errores quidam in ea (Religione scil. Evangelica dicta) sunt, qui non per se ipsi æternam salutem non adimunt, tamen, vel quia circa res maxime momentanas versantur, vel aliam quampiam ob causam, facile impediunt, quo minus quis æternam salutis viam recte aut norit, aut certe teneat. Socin. Lib. Sui. Proem.

Videmus non paucos errores circa istam vitam studiosius, non necessario impedire, quo minus quis Deo ac Christo credat. Quod aliam potius non dubitamus, quo se facile efficere possint: obsecrata videlicet per omnes vias, ut in aliam formam versa ratione, qua nobis divinitus revelata sunt, non tamen, Socin. Lib. Sui. 4. Sect. 3.

that

that the Guides and *Fathers* of the Church (as they have hitherto bin accounted) having shaken off all *paternal care*, and indeed *natural affection*, have turned worse than Scythians and Canibals; by how much it is a greater and more barbarous piece of cruelty to *destroy mens Souls*, than it is to prey upon, and devour *their bodies*.

Perhaps it will be said, that this charge, and those scandalous epithets before mentioned, are chiefly managed, and made use of by the *English Unitarians*, who being a rout of profligate and irreligious wretches, together with all regard for Religion, have shaken off all reverence and respect for men.

Ans. Whether they deserve this severe censure, is more than I can tell. It is true, the Libertines and looser persons of the age, with great satisfaction peruse their books, and very greedily swallow the opinions contained in them. But as for the writers and managers of these controversies, they may, for ought I know, be persons of as strict morals, and of as great *justice and probity* as their forefathers, *the ancient and forreign Socinians*. But be that matter as it will, this I may make bold to aver, that the forreigners have spoke as hard words, and made as severe reflections upon us and our Religion, as most of the Moderns; who have but written after the Copy which the former have set them; and from whom they seeme to have borrowed a great part of *their language*, as well as their *Opinions*.

Thus, as hath formerly bin observed, the Holy Trinity hath bin stiled by them *Triceps Cerberus*, *monstrum triforme*; a three-

1 Nos Christo ejusque discipulis majorem fidem adjungimus, quam vanis atque impiis fanaticorum hominum commentis (de patribus loquitur) qui humanarum scientiarum cognitione inflati ac tumentes, ea excogitarunt, quæ totum salutis nostræ fundamentum, quantum in ipsis quidem fuit, funditus everterunt. Andr. Dudith. Epist. ad Theod. Bezan. inter opera Socin. p. 525.

Hic sane aslutum Satanae inventum liceat admirari, qui quum animadverteret, non posse consistere regnum suum, si debitus sacris Scripturis honos relinqueretur, persuasit hominibus sacram scripturam ita esse difficilem, ut ex ea salutis cognitio constare nobis non possit. Sic perfecit, ut verbo Dei seposito, aut penitus abjecto, major jam Patrum Commentis & additamentis, qui tamen mali vitrici verius dici possint, quam ipsis veritatis magistris autoritas à servis Antichristi tribuatur, Id. ibid.

headed Cerberus, and a three-faced mishapen Monster; the Incarnation of our Blessed Savior, is accounted an *idle senseless fable*; the Doctrine of Original Sin, such an other *old wives tale*, invented by the *Jews*, and imposed on the Church by *Antichrist*; the redemption of the world by the death and sufferings of our Savior, is reproached as a *pernicious, monstrous, impious, blasphemous Opinion*; the Divinity of Christ, and his eternal generation is accounted by *Wolzogen*. 'an idle dream, a fable, a figment, nay monstrosum commentum, a monstrous figment of Heathenish extraction, which the ancient Fathers learnt in the Schoole of *Plato*, and from thence introduced it into the Christian Religion. And yet that is a mild reflection in comparison of what he saith upon the same occasion; *viz.* that it is one of those false doctrines which by the cunning² and contrivance of *the Devil* have crept into the Church.' And indeed it is no wonder it should have such an infamous original, if what he tells us of it be true: for he saith, it is *nefanda sententia*, an execrable opinion, joined with the highest diminution of the glory of Christ, who is hereby denyed to be the Messiah, and the true Son of God.

You must know therefore, that this *eternal* Son of whom we dream, is only the *fictionitious*³ and *imaginary* offspring of mens brain:

¹ Hic vero non possumus præterire, quin admirationi lectorum exponamus, Monstrosum quoddam commentum, quod veteres Patres primitus ex ethnica Platonis schola in religionem Christianam introduxerunt, &c. Sed ut modo dictum Somnium de essentiali verbo Dei melius percipiatur, &c. Wolzogen. Prolegom. in Evang. Johan. Cap. 6. Sana ratio judicat, magnum scil. illud mysterium de origine & essentia filii Dei, falsum esse & merum humani cerebri figmentum. Recto ratio distat, eos qui fabulam istam credunt, vel nescire quid credant, vel in labyrintho inextricabili, cujus nullus sit exitus, versari. Id. ibid.

² Hoc loco tacito pede prætereundum non est sed paucis delibandum, quomodo factum sit Satana astutia ac stratagemate, ut falsa dogmata de persona Domini Jesu, in Christianis Ecclesiis sensim, & quasi gradatim irrepserint, &c. Id. in Proleg. cap. 3. Atque hæc nefanda & cum summa diminutione divinæ gloriæ domini Jesu conjuncta sententia, est illa ipsa quæ hodie in Christiano orbe passim obtinuit ac regnat, quæ si illius vim ac rem ipsam spectes, revera negat Jesum esse filium Dei.

³ Hæc est doctrina per quam Satanas Hominem Jesum, de solio divinæ majestatis ejus in animis hominum deturbavit, aliumque in eo reposuit, qui nunquam in rerum natura extitit; secundam scil. Trinitatis personam, & fictum quendam Dei filium, qui ab æterno (id est nunquam) ex essentia Dei (qui neque gignere nec parere potest) genui-
tus sit. Ibid.

who

who never had any being in nature, only exists in the fancies and imaginations *curiosorum hominum*, of some conceited and whimsical persons. Nothing in nature, nothing in scriptures could possibly suggest any such notion to the minds of men. It is true, the first chapt. of St. *John* is quoted upon this occasion and to this purpose; but he ventures to assure us, that no man ¹ in *his right wits*, could possibly find out the Eternity and the Divinity of Christ in that place: And yet all the Christian Interpreters did find out, as they thought, these doctrines there. But these Commentators before *Socinus*, *delirabant omnes*, raved and talked like mad men, or men in a feavor, as an English *Socinian* words it. Farther, as this opinion concerning the Divinity of Christ, is detestable in its own nature, so is it extremely pernicious in its consequences: for by this stratagem, as the same *Wolzogen*. tells us, the Devil, who first invented it, hath very notably and effectually compassed his design, ² and gained his point. For hereby he hath, if we believe this our adversary, banished all saving faith out of the world; and with it all the comfort of a Christian, and all our hopes of happiness which are hereby intirely subverted.

In short, do the modern Unitarians, say that the Articles of our faith, corrupt the purity and simplicity of the Gospel, and give encouragement to a wicked life? so do the ³ Ancient and foreign *Socinians*. Do the former say, that they retard the progress of the Gospel, and hinder the conversion of Jews and Mahometans? so do ⁴ the latter. Do the former say, that the love
of

¹ *Verum quis homo sane mentis tantam vim in his verbis, in principio, posset odorari, & rem tam gravem atque incomprehensibilem ex iis elicere?* Id. cap. 5.

² *Hæc est doctrina per quam Satanas attigit scopum suum. Hæcque ratione vera fides salvifica, quæ vincit mundum, penitus sublata est; ac omne nostrum solatium ac spes in lubrico posita est.* Id. cap. 3.

³ *In Evangelicorum religione quædam concedi, quæ cum Christi præceptis pugnant. Atque non paucos esse errores, qui facile veram salutis æternæ viam obscurant, atque impediunt.* Socin. Lib. Suas. Cap. 3. & 4.

⁴ *Vos illi estis qui sine tropis, & præsertim sine illa vestra Idiomatum communicatione, nihil firmè explicare potestis; & per ipsos tropos eas de Deo Christoque opiniones in Ecclesiam invexistis, quæ sanctissimam religionem nostram & Judæis, & Mahometanis omnibus deridendam exponunt.* Socin. ad Parænesin Volani Resp. p. 381. Ita-
que

of the world beguiles us, and that we are bewitched with a charm of words? so do the latter, who ascribe all our ignorance of divine truths, sometimes to an inordinate love of the world, and sometimes to stupidity and fascination. It being a very common expression with these men to say, that we are *occacati, & fascinati præjudicatis opinionibus*; blinded and bewitched with prejudices. These, together with the imputations of *stupidity, insatuation, madness, blasphemy*, are the decent epithets which they bestow upon the living, these the flowers with which they adorn the memories, and which they cast upon the graves of the dead. But to proceed: By what hath bin said, it should seem that the imaginations of

que a vobis omnino, vestrisque non sanis verbi Dei interpretationibus, tanta in Dei Ecclesia vastitatis sive causa sive occasio profecta est. De ortu & progressu Religionis Mathematicæ Loquitur. Ibid.

Que omnia cum non solum sacris literis adversentur, verum etiam sibi ipsis non consent, immo cum ridicula magna ex parte apparent, efficitur prob dolor, ut Jesu Christi religio sacrosancta & diviniſſima, & Judæis, & Turcis, & exteris denique omnibus maxime sit Ludibrio. Id. in Prolegom. ad Explic. Cap. i. Johan.

I Nihil præterea absurdius excogitari potest (cui quidem tota reſclamat natura) quam ut tres sint unus, &c. Ex qua opinione innumera portenta oriri necesse est longe absurdissima; unde sacra Divinaque Oracula plane subvertantur; ita tamen nescio quo pacto Christianorum vulgus fascinatum fuit, vel ita stupidum est, ut omnia hæc non modo constanter credat, verum etiam ab hac fide salutem suam omnino pendere existimet, & sibi ipsis homines illudentes atque imponentes, quod vident, se non videre; quod autem non vident, se videre penitus sunt persuasi. Id. v. 14. ejusdem Cap.

Tamen quia gustatum tuum ita depravatum, atque ut ita dicam, Papeis Opinionibus infatuatum esse video, ut nihil tibi jam propemodum sapiat, quod à Cænosus istis Lacunis haustum non sit (de Patrum scriptis loquitur) tuum tibi Augustinum proferam, cujus tantam doctrinæ & sanctitatis opinionem Satanas inseruit in animos hominum, ut major ejus quam Christi doctrinæ fides passim habeatur. Nam quum alia multa plane ab Evangelio abhorrentia, tum hanc de Triplici Deo extaticam phantasiam, ex ipsius potissimum commentariorum penu depromserunt, qui Scholastici Theologi nominantur. Ex hoc nimirum vino biberunt illi primi, deinde reliquas quoque gentes temulenti isti inebriarunt, ita quidem, ut jam, quod ebriis accidere soles, pro uno tres, aut etiam plures, perturbata visione aspiciant, And. Dudith. Epist. prius citata ad Theod. Bezam. inter opera Socini p. 525.

If what *Dudithius* here affirms of *St. Austin* and the Schoole-men be true, I cannot much wonder at the account which some of the modern Unitarians give of *Athenasius*, who tell us that he was Drunk when he composed his Creed. For thereby it might happen to him, as it doth to other Intoxicated persons, who behold all objects double or treble: so he, I say, while he was under this disorder might think he beheld *pro uno, duos vel tres Deos*, two or three Gods instead of one, and accordingly put them into the Confession of his Faith.

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men tho never so roving and extravagant, could never have pickt up such wild notions, as have prevailed among Christians, had not the ¹ Devil come in to their assistance; who was at the elbow of the Learned and leading men when they wrote their *Commentaries*, (or their *Comments* rather, as these men would have it believed) on the Bible. Lastly do the Moderns say, that our opinions directly lead men to Atheism? so say the elder and foreign ² Unitarians. I know not what can be said, or thought worse of any men or any opinions than this.

But yet I must confess there is some difference still between our Ancient and modern Adversaries. For the latter have bin more assuming and arrogant in their writings, whilst the others have put on the semblance of modesty and seriousness. The one have *ridiculed* our Religion, whilst the other have with great gravity *blasphemed* it. The one have bin *humorsome and pleasant*, endeavoring the diversion and entertainment of their Readers; whilst the others are more serious, and seem to be *in good earnest* in their reproaches of us. In short, the Moderns have endeavored to expose our Religion to *contempt and derision*, whilst the Foreigners labor to create in the minds of men, an *abhorrence and detestation* of it.

But tho they have taken different ways, yet they both agree

¹ Et licet hoc ipse (Johannes scil.) apertissimis verbis utendo optime præstiterit, non destitit tamen nobis & veritati adversarius, Satan, quoad hominibus persuasit, vocem *ipsum*, non fuit, sed factum est hoc loco significare: atque effect ut quod validissimum semper Argumentum fuisset ad errores hosce Platonicos ex Christi Ecclesia exterminandos, omnis fallacia potissimum fundamentum extiterit. Socin. Explic. 1. Cap. Johan. v. 14.

By this it should seem, that as *Hermolaus Barbarus* was said to have consulted the Devil for the signification of the word *ipsum*: so the Christian Interpreters either consulted him in interpreting and translating the word *ipsum*; or else he of his own accord, over officiously lent them his assistance, and persuaded them to render the word above named, not *was* flesh, as they should have done, but *was made* flesh.

² Opinionem istam de uno & trino Deo, non solum falsam, sed & periculosam admodum esse censemus, quippe quæ & de uno vero Deo fidem labefactare possit, & totam salutis nostræ per Christum rationem pervertere; atque idcirco quam maxime possumus eam ex omnium mentibus evulsam cupimus, & porro pro viribus curamus. Socin. Def. Animadvers. in assertiones Theol. Collegii Posnan. de trino & uno Deo. p. 634.

Dicimus nullum graviorem, contra fidem de uno vero Deo, ab Antichristi spiritu errorem in Christi Ecclesiam fuisse inductum, quam error Trinitatis personarum in una Dei essentia. Ibid.

in one common end, and have bin but too successful in attaining it, *viz.* The weakening that esteem and reputation in which our Religion formerly was held, and which it always deserves, in the world. For the reproaches which these men have cast upon us, have bin greedily pickt up by the *loose and the Libertines* of the Age, and are with great satisfaction, indeed with a kind of triumph bandyed among them in their clubs and meetings. And the pernicious effects of this are every day too visible, insomuch that we find some *ridiculing* the mysteries of our Faith, others with great vehemence *opposing* them; and a strange *indifference* hath diffused it self among divers others; who tho they have not forsaken the profession of the Faith, yet have in great measure shaken off the reverence and concern which they should have for it: so that they are *Ταρυμῆνοι*, (if I may be allowed to use that word in the sense as some have taken and rendered it,) do as it were in *procinctu stare*, being in a very good disposition and forwardness, ready to receive any Religion either *with, or without Creeds*, with or without *Sacraments* and a *Ministry*, if that can be called Religion, where these are wanting.

Upon the whole, for my own part, I am of opinion, that *Celsus*, and *Porphyrie*, and *Julian* may as well be proposed for decent patterns of writing, as these our Adversaries: for there is no expression so rash, no calumnies so virulent, no language so rude and boysterous, which they do not make use of upon this occasion, in order to defame our Religion, and discredit the professors and maintainers of it. Neither is it enough to say, what sometimes is offered in excuse of them, *viz.* that they do not rail against *persons*, but *opinions*: that they shew a respect to their *Adversaries* at the same time that they thus warmly condemn their *errors*.

For first, though it should be allowed, which is not always true, that they do not revile their particular adversaries when they write against them, yet they speak very opprobriously of Christians in general, and of the Doctors and Fathers of the Church; in which they have bin but too much imitated by the *Remonstrants*. And this I think is more criminal; forasmuch as the reputation of bodies and communities of men, is more sacred,

sacred, and ought therefore to be had in greater regard than that of particular persons.

But 2^{dly}, (which is a consideration of infinitely greater weight in this case) it ought to be remembred, and our Adversaries can never be too often charged with it: that tho they should really observe that good temper in their writings, as never to use the least disrespectful expression towards any man; yet they can never be excused for those *blasphemous expressions*, which with great boldness and impiety are uttered by them 'against the *blessed and adorable Trinity*; which they call a false and portentous figment, and the belief of it, they say, hath bin the unhappy occasion of many other most absurd and monstrous opinions, which have prevailed in the Christian Church. *Against the eternal son of God*, the great and blessed Savior of mankind, whom we and all the whole Christian world worship, they utter many contumelious expressions, with relation both to his person and his offices; denying his Divinity, undervaluing his sufferings; speaking of him in the most slight and contemptible manner, calling him *fictus quidam Deus, qui nunquam in rerum natura extitit*: an imaginary God, a mere Idol, and an Idol we know is nothing in the world; to whom the Christian Church very foolishly, first ascribes a divine nature, and then with equal folly, pays divine honors to him.

And then as to the *spirit of God*, the third person in the blessed Trinity, they speak of him with yet much greater contempt; not only degrading him from his divinity, but denying his subsistence and personality: sometimes accounting him

1 And among them hear what the wise Socinus saith, (that great pattern of Temper, Prudence, and Moderation) who passes this modest and decent Reflection upon those opinions which prevail in the Christian Church, concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, and which are accounted the main and fundamental Articles of our Religion. *Verum sperandum est, ut non secus atque portentosa ista Sophistarum de Eucharistia opinio, jam Deo auspice ita palam traducta est, ut pueri quoque eam merito derideant, atque explodant: ita monstrosa haec de Deo nostro, & Christo ejus figmenta, quaeque hoc tempore sacrosancta & omni veneratione dignissima, praecipuaeque religionis nostrae arcana esse creduntur, aliquando tandem, Deo volente, ita cunctorum oculis retegantur, & unicuique tanto suis ludibrio, ut neminem non pudeat se hisce fabulis unquam non dicam fidem adhibuisse, sed anrem accommodasse. Id. Ibid.*

only an *accident*, either a *quality*, or an *operation*; at other times in a most detestable manner, styling him a mere *vapor*¹ and *exhalation*; and by that Blasphemous hypothesis, giving an account of the division and distribution of his gifts and graces: hereby sporting and dallying with him as Children doe with bubbles, which may be driven hither or thither with the breath of their mouths.

Now if in our discourses and writings, all undecent reflections upon our adversaries are esteemed blameworthy; how much more worthy, not only of *blame*, but of *abhorrence* and *detestation* are those rude and scurrilous expressions, which are uttered by them against these two glorious persons in the ever blessed Trinity, whose honor should be infinitely dearer to us, not only than our own mean and inconsiderable reputations, but even than our very lives. Upon these considerations, I confess, I have not without some surprize and wonder, perused certain passages of late, and² heretofore published in commendation of these men; and particularly of the strength and clearness of their reasoning, of their candor and fairness, in the managements of their disputes against us. What can any man think that compares those Elogies, and these expressions transcribed out of their writings? For my own part I must profess, I cannot imagine what good end can be served by such unseasonable and extravagant commendations. On the other hand, I am sure, they do but furnish people with occasion of suspicion that their admirers, out of love and fondness to their persons, without consulting their books, have overhastily ventured to represent them to the world, under these advantageous Characters: or else men may be apt to think much worse, (which yet charity I presume will forbid them to imagine;) that they have not that due regard for the Religion which they profess, or the blessed Author of it as becomes them: both which have bin thus violently assaulted, with all the *ill arts*, and all the *ill language* which wit heighteneth. It malice would suggest.

The second reason

¹ Vid. *The first part.*
tra Bodeab Cap. 5.

those calumnies, and that charge which these men have drawn up against our Holy Faith, and the professors of it, was, that I might hereby justify the endeavors of all such who either by *Preaching* or *writing*, by *Argument* or *Authority* (and Gods blessing rest upon them who make use of their authority to so good a purpose) make it their business to oppose the attempts of these men, and to stop the growth of their pernicious errors, which have but too far spread themselves amongst us. For if we have any regard for the honor of God, the welfare of our Religion, or our own reputation, we have just reason to be engaged in this vindication; for all these suffer in those unjust aspersions which they in their writings perpetually cast upon us.

Many things well deserve to be spoken on this subject, which I shall defer at present, and reserve them to be mentioned in the conclusion of this discourse: only there is one thing which is fit to be insisted upon here, as being pertinent to my present design, and will help to make good the charge which I drew up against them in the beginning of this discourse, *viz.* that hereby they do, tho not directly oppose, yet secretly undermine the authority of the Holy Scriptures; and give men just cause, if what they say be true, not only to suspect, but plainly to deny their truth and inspiration. For if the Articles and mysteries of our Faith are, as we say, *revealed in the holy Scriptures*; and if those very mysteries, are, as our adversaries say, such *absurd, impious, monstrous, blasphemous* opinions; it must by a direct and necessary consequence follow from hence, that the Scriptures are so far from having God for their Author, that no honest or wise man could be concerned in the composing and publishing of them.

It will be said, that these Doctrines are not to be found in the holy Scriptures, but are rather the inventions and additions of *fanciful and injudicious* men, to say no worse of them. Now how shall this matter be tried? We have always affirmed, that our Religion is plainly revealed in the Bible; that we found it there, and took it thence. They say, it is not contained in the Holy writings, and can never be proved out of them. If we refer men to the plain and express words of Scripture, and bid them make use of their eyes, and peruse

what is written there, and then upon a fair perusal, believe the report of their understandings in this affair: then our Adversaries tell us, that we ought not always to collect Articles of Faith, from the *Words and Letter* of the Scriptures, but from the *sense and meaning* of them; which may, and oftentimes is really very different, from what the words and letter at first view may seem to import. But how shall we be assured that this is so in this case, and that by forsaking the plain, obvious, natural construction of the words, we shall not deviate from the design and intention of the holy writers? In certain matters which are disputed between us, we say the words of Scripture are to be taken in the *literal* and *natural* sense: our Adversaries to avoid the evidence and conviction which arises hence, betake themselves to *Tropes and Metaphors*. How shall this matter I say be determined?

Now one would think, that the fairest proposal that can possibly be made in this case, is, that it should be referred to the arbitration of those who lived in, or next to the Age in which the Apostles and other holy writers lived, who either upon their own knowledge, or by the writings and discourses of such who conversed with the holy Pen-men, might be informed of their true sense and meaning: and consequently we, who live at this great distance from the Apostolical age, by perusing the writings of the Ancients, and finding what was their sense in these controverted points, may be able to form a judgment concerning those Doctrines, which are now generally believed and embraced among Christians; whether they really are the same with those that were at first preached by the Apostles, and entertained by their Disciples and followers.

Here we have brought this matter to a short issue, if our Adversaries would join with us upon this head. But they absolutely decline it, for this reason, that there was a general
Apostacy

1 Quod si statim post illa tempora (scil. Apostolica) aliter de Christo publice doceri ceptum est, ac nos doceamus, nihil permovemur: scientes ab Apostolis, & ab ipso

Apostacy and defection presently after the Apostles times, from the doctrine of the Apostles, in the points which are disputed between us, and particularly in that which concerns the divinity of Christ. For this opinion, they say, was introduced into the Church by *Antichrist*, many *false Prophets and Impostors*, even in the Apostles days, going forth into the world, and seducing men into a belief of I know not what fictitious and imaginary divine nature in Christ.

Many scandalous reflections upon this occasion are by our adversaries cast upon the first and best ages of the Church, and those great men who lived in them, whose names and writings are transmitted down to us; whereby, not only the *wisdom and integrity* of the Fathers are called in question, but with them, the *Authority and Inspiration* of the holy Scriptures are dangerously shocked, and by these means brought into great doubt and uncertainty, as shall hereafter be made more largely to appear.

Well: but tho the opinions of *Fathers and Councils* ought not much to be regarded, who are said to be *parties*, and therefore ought not to be *judges* in the case; yet I hope we may with some appearance of reason appeal to other more indifferent persons, I mean *Jews and Pagans*; who tho they are infinitely prejudiced against the truth of our Religion, yet may be presumed to be competent judges of the sense and meaning of the words of Scripture, in such matters, which are as our adversaries themselves acknowledge, so plain and obvious, that none who are masters of common sense and reason, if they are not otherwise byassed, can possibly be lead into mistakes about them. Now if we consult the writings of the Ancients, as

ipso Christo tenebras istas propediem in Ecclesia futuras prædictum fuisse; & ipsi Apostolis adhuc viventibus, multos Antichristos extitisse, atque multos falsos prophetas atque Impostores in mundum produisse, &c. Socin. ad parænesim Aud. Volani Resp. p. 382.

Propterea enim ne ista tam sublimia de Homine isto credantur, hominibus imperitiis ab ipso ferme initio suggestit Satan, ut locis quibusdam divinarum literarum abuterentur, & Sophisticis rationibus ac consecutionibus innixi, & sibi & aliis persuaderent, in Christo Jesu præter humanam naturam, esse divinam essentiam, &c. Idem Resp. ad præfationem Wicki p. 532.

Religion, either thro' *ignorance* *mistook*, or thro' *malice* *perverted* the sense and meaning of the holy writings, in order to expose both them and our Religion to the hatred and contempt of the world. For tho' they might, and very often did, very *ignorantly* and very *maliciously* object divers false things against the Faith and practice of Christians; yet no such thing can with any ground or colour be suggested in *this case*. The Bishops and Fathers of the Church, who were concerned in the vindication of their Religion, never made any such answer, *viz.* that these were calumnies and false imputations upon them and the Scriptures. No: they owned the charge; acknowledged indeed that these were *Mysteries* which reason could not comprehend; but however still that they ought to be believed, because God required our Faith, which in these matters ought to be conducted, not by the uncertain reports of bare reason, but a more sure word of Prophecy, and the light of divine revelation. But of this more hereafter.

To conclude this head: The *Socinians* sometimes tell us, as we heard before, that our doctrines concerning the *Trinity and Incarnation*, are the great hindrances of the propagation of the Gospel among *Pagans and Mahometans*; and therefore, that in order to gain *Profelytes* to our Religion, we ought to part with the *Mysteries* of our Faith, which are the great stumbling block in the way of these Infidels. But I say this alone will not be effectual to the purpose, as long as we retain the Scriptures, where these doctrines are very plainly contained; and where *Jews and Mahometans* will be sure to find them. Neither is it to be imagined, that in the interpretation of Scripture, they will ever be governed by the *figurative and sophistical* expositions of the *Socinians*, against the *plain natural*

Ι Ἄριστον γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔσθ' ἐκ τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι θεὸς ὁπίσθεν γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι. Est objectio Tryph. Resp. Justinus: 'Εἰ τῷτο ἐκ ἀνθρώποις διδύγμασιν ἢ ἐπιχειρήμασιν ἐπεκαλούμην ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀναξίον μὲ ἐκ αὐτῶν εἶναι ὑμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἡραρὸς καὶ εἰς τῷτο εἰρημέναις τοιαύταις, πλεονάκις αὐτὰς λέγων, ἀξίον ὑμᾶς ἐπιγινῶναι αὐτάς, σκληροκαρδιοὶ ὡς τὸ γινῶναι νῦν καὶ δόγμα τῷ θεῷ γίνεσθαι. Just. Martyr contra Tryph. p. 292. Edit. Parif.

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significa-

signification of the words. You may as soon prevail with them to part with their *senses*, and make them believe the words are not to be found in the Scriptures, as persuade them that the received sense and meaning is not there likewise. And therefore upon occasion, some of them have declared, that if they could but believe the truth of the writings of the *New Testament*; they would soon believe the *Divinity* of our Savior, and would adore and invoke him as God.

In short, to gain the good opinion of Infidels, and to reconcile them to our Religion, we must not only part with our Articles, but likewise turn *Traditors*, and deliver up our *Bibles*. And then perhaps, in compliance with so great and extraordinary a complement, they may receive us into their friendship.

Having thus seen what opinion the *Socinians* have of the *Doctrines and Mysteries* of our Faith: I now proceede to shew what it is that they say of the *grace* of Faith, and the act of *believing*. And here upon examination we shall find that they entertain as low, mean thoughts of the habit and grace of Faith, as they do of the objects of it. For they often tell us, that piety and a good life is the summe and abridgment of all Re-

¹ *Vera pietas, vitæque innocentia totam religionem complectitur.* Socin. Præf. in Resp. contra Palæologum.

Ad Christi aspectabilem Ecclesiam constituendam nihil aliud requiritur quam vera cognitio præceptorum Christi. Si quis cognoscere velit ad salutem æternam adipiscendam nihil aliud requiri quam conservationem præceptorum Christi, præter multa ipsius Christi verba id aperte significantia, & alia complura ipsius Apostolorum dicta, legat Johannis primam Epist. &c. Id. Epist. 2da ad Matth. Radecium.

Est quidem Deus & Christus fundamentum salutis nostræ, sed non quatenus eorum essentiam aut substantiam recte novimus; sed quatenus Dei voluntatem per Christum patefactam tenemus. Vita æterna est cognoscere patrem illum, qui est ille solus verus Deus & quem misit Jesum Christum. At in sacris literis Deum & Christum cognoscere non significat utriusque essentiam vel substantiam novisse, sed voluntatem, eique se obedientem præstare. Ibid.

Primum igitur interrogo, quid censes de Christi natura sive essentia nobis cognitu esse necessarium? Resp. Id ut antea dixi, sine cujus cognitione voluntas Dei erga nos per ipsum Christum patefacta à nobis vel sciri, vel servari nequeat. Interrog. Quid igitur ex iis quæ ad Christi naturam vel essentiam pertinent ejusmodi esse censes? Resp. Nix quidquam. Id. Christ. Rel. Init. breviss. p. 653. Inter plurimos locos id apertissime docet divina illa Christianæ pietatis Epitome, quæ est apud Paulum, Tit. 2. 11. ubi breviter habetur, quicquid Christus ejusque Apostoli nos Dei nomine docuerunt, nihil esse aliud quam vitæ innocentiam cum spe beatæ immortalitatis conjunctam. Id. de Fide & Operibus p. 624.

ligion.

ligion; that no other knowledge of God is requisite, but that of his will and commands; that Faith, as it implies the assent of the understanding to the truths of the Gospel, is not of necessary obligation, but a kind of ornament at best, rather than a matter of real use. Admit it brings some small advantages with it, yet the want or absence of it will be attended with no great inconvenience. You may say of it, as one did of the skill or art of Poetry, *si adest, laudo, si abest, non multum vituperō*. In short, what the Apostle affirms of meats 1 Cor. 8. v. 8. may be equally verified of Faith, *It commendeth us not to God, for neither if we believe, are we the better, neither if we believe not, are we the worse: modo vitæ sanctimoniam salva sit*, provided you preserve a due regard for holiness, and live a good life.

Now any man that reads the *New Testament*, and particularly those passages above quoted out of it, wherein he will find the necessity of believing repeated so often, and mentioned so emphatically, may justly wonder, how it is possible for any one who owns the authority of the Gospel, to elude the force of them. And yet this is done by Socinus and his Disciples and Followers, who tell us, that by Faith in the forementioned places, is meant nothing else but *obedience* to the precepts of the Gospel; so that *Credere*, with him is, *obedire sub spe vitæ eternæ*, to yield obedience to the Laws of Christ, being animated and encouraged so to do, by the hopes and expectation of eternal Life.

Now this is contrary to the express declarations of the holy Scriptures, in which we find *Faith and Obedience* very often distinguished; as certainly they are, in all those places which make Faith the cause and principle of new obedience, as when it is said, that *Faith purifieth the Heart*, Acts 15. 9. that *it worketh by Love*, Gal. 5. 6. Now the cause and the effect, can never be one

1 Fide in ipsum Deum, id est, fiducia in ipso Deo collocanda, justificamur. Quæ fides obedientiam præceptorum Christi, non quidem ut effectum suum, sed ut suam substantiam & formam continet & complectitur. Socin. Notæ in Dial. de Justif. p. 610. Fidem nempe eam qua justificamur, nihil aliud esse quam Christo confidere, id quod executioni mandatur, suumque complementum & quasi formam suscipit, cum per spem vitæ æternæ Christi præceptis obedientia præstatur. Id. de Fide & Operibus. p. 626. Et alibi passim.

and the same thing; otherwise the greatest contradictions imaginable must from thence follow: As, that the same thing may be, and may not be at the same time; may be before, and after it self. In short, there is no ill consequence that can justly be charged upon *Transubstantiation*, which exceeds those, in point either of *absurdity* or *danger*, which are lodged in the bowels of this assertion, viz. *that good works are the formal notion of Evangelical faith.*

This renders the Apostle trifling in his exhortation, and guilty of such weakness and vanity, as were not to be excused in the most trivial Writers. *This is a faithful saying*, saith he to Titus, *and this I will that thou affirm constantly, that they who have believed in God should be careful to maintain good works*, Tit. 3. 8. Why should the Apostle make use of such a solemn preface, and urge in so emphatical a manner, that which when examined, amounts to so mean and empty a tautology: It being as if he should have said, I require thee to charge men solemnly, and often to put them in mind of this matter of great importance, viz. that they who obey the commandments of Christ, should be sure to be obedient to them. Indeed, if he had said, I require that they who already *do good works*, should be sure to *persevere* in them; there might be room and reason for such a command and admonition. Otherwise, if faith and obedience are not to be distinguished, there could be no ground in this place for this exhortation. *I will shew thee my faith by my works*, saith St. James, 2 James 18. v. A very notable discovery indeed, if these two are but one and the same thing; viz. that a man should discover his works by his operations, and demonstrate his obedience by his conformity to the Laws of Christ. It is true indeed, a lively and a firm faith cannot be separated from good works: but however it may, and must be distinguished from them, as the cause and principle from the Effect, the root from the branches. Otherwise we shall turn things upside down; make no account whether the foundation or building be uppermost, and thereby occasion a strange and wild confusion in the order of Nature and Religion.

I shall farther acknowledge, that faith, by a *Synecdoche*, or a *Metonymie* rather, sometimes comprehends not only the *persuasion* of the mind concerning the truths of the Gospel, but likewise all that, which by a necessity either Natural or Moral flows from it: and so it may be allowed (as our Divines have rightly stated this matter) to take within its compals the consent of the understanding, together with the affections of the mind, and those actions likewise which are consequent to a firm persuasion. Yet so, that in the first place, in its primary and most natural signification, it denotes the assent of the understanding: and therefore by no means, without great injustice, as well as absurdity, can faith be taken to signifie the latter, *viz.* obedience, so as to exclude the former, which is the cause and parent of it. For *obedience* is no otherwise to be styled *faith*, but because it flows from *faith*; that is, when the truths of the Gospel make such a deep and lasting impresson on the mind, as thereby to influence the life and practice.

Perhaps it will be said, that the Socinians will make no difficulty to acknowledge, that this faith or persuasion of the mind, is antecedent to obedience and the principle of it: but that they do not conceive it to be any otherwise useful or necessary, than as it respects the *Commands* of Christ, as those commands are enforced by the *promises* thereunto annexed, and the hopes and expectations which are thereby conceived of Eternal life. All other faith relating to the *Person* of Christ, and all other knowledge and enquiries after *his Nature*, they say, are superfluous, or as some of them have expressed it, impertinent to our Lords design.

1 *Arbitror autem ea quæ hæcenus a me dicta sunt, satis esse ad demonstrandum, cur, cum de Christi fide verba sunt, fiduciam potissimum intelligam quæ in ipso Christo collocetur, id est reipsa obedientiam præceptorum ejus, sub spe eorum quæ promissit: atque affirmem hanc fidem esse illam Christi fidem qua revera justificamur, non autem persuasionem illam quod Jesus sit Messias.* Id. Socin. De fide & Operibus, p. 625.

2 *Quod ad illas opiniones attinet quæ ad Christi naturam vel essentiam pertinent, vix ullæ sunt ex quibus quantumvis falsis consequatur, eum qui illas tenet non credere Jesum esse Christum.* Id. Comment. in 1 Epist. Johan. cap. 5. v. 1.

Now this I say, is directly repugnant to the plain and express declarations of the holy Scriptures, which describe faith in Christ to be a firm persuasion of the truth of certain propositions concerning Christ, which are grounded upon his authority, and either respect his *Offices*, or relate to his *Person*. And this faith is required of us as a virtue highly commendable in it self, and an especial Instrument of our Salvation: it being a *necessary condition* required of us antecedently to our partaking of the benefits and priviledges which our blessed Saviour hath purchased for us. In short, we are required to believe him to be the *Christ, the son of God, the Saviour of the world*. For God did not think fit to dispense those great blessings which have been procured for us to any, but such as should own and acknowledge him *from whom* they are derived; as also by *what means* they were at first obtained, and by *which* they are still to be applyed. And therefore they that thus believe, viz. *that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God*, are said to *be born of God*, 1 John 5. 1. *To dwell in God, and God in them*, 1 Joh. 4. 15. *To overcome the world*, 1 Joh. 5. 5. To be as sure of everlasting life as if they were in actual possession of it. *He that believeth on the son of God hath everlasting life*, Joh. 3. 36. On the other hand, they who do not thus believe on him, are said to *make God a lyar, because they believe not the record which God gave of his son*, 1 Joh. 5. 10. who hath declared more than once by a voice from Heaven, that he was *his beloved son*. Nay, hereby they do not only dishonour God, but bring also inevitable ruine upon their own Souls; being already *under condemnation and the wrath of God abiding on them*, 3 Joh. 18. 36.

Thus we see the sense of the Scriptures concerning this matter, which all along put a great stress upon Faith, as it bespeaks the assent of the understanding, and persuasion of the mind concerning the truths of the Gospel, and particularly this great truth that *Jesus is the Son of God*. And this alone might be abundantly sufficient to convince any honest and unprejudic'd mind, not only of the *usefulness*, but likewise of the *absolute and indispensable necessity* of believing. But forasmuch as this is a matter of great importance, in which the honor of our blessed Saviour;

vior; the truth and authority of the holy writings, and particularly those of the *New Testament*; the excellence and indeed the certainty of the Christian Religion, are highly concerned: I shall farther enlarge upon this Head, and endeavour to lay before the Reader sundry of those evil and pernicious consequences, which are included in, and unavoidably follow from the contrary opinion, which makes faith either an *useless*, or at best but an *indifferent* matter.

And first I say, this opinion tends plainly to the dishonor of our blessed Savior, and to weaken that veneration which every one who is called by his name ought to have for him: To have just and right conceptions of him, being the first act of honor, and the foundation of all other expressions of homage and duty which we owe him; and therefore if we have not a true information and knowledge of him as to his *nature and essence*, it is impossible for us with any *certainty*, or with any *safety*, to pay him that adoration and service which may be claimed from us.

Upon this account, we find him in his Sermons and Discourses, making it his business to inform the people upon all occasions of his *nature, descent, and original*: always declaring that he was *the son of God*, that *God was his Father*, that he was *the Messiah* the Savior of the World, that he *came from God*, that he was *the living bread which came down from Heaven*. Nay he doth not only bear witness of himself, but for the farther confirmation of this great truth he appeals to the Scriptures, *Jo. 5. 39. which testified of him*; to the *Miracles* which he wrought *v. 36. which proclaimed his Divinity*, and were a clear proof of the truth of all that he had averred of himself; to the testimony of *John Baptist v. 33. who bare witness unto this truth. For he saw the Spirit descending from Heaven and remaining on him, 1 Jo. 33.* And what he saw himself he published to others, and bare record that he was *the son of God v. 34.* Nay to place this truth above the reach of all doubt, he appeals, as to the last and greatest confirmation that could possibly be given of it, to the Testimony of his Father who sent him *v. 37. and by a voice from Heaven more then once bare witness of him, and declared that he was his well beloved Son, Mat. 3. 17. & 17. 5.*

Now

Now to what purpose should our Savior take all this pains to informe his Hearers, so often to inculcate, and by so many arguments to confirm this matter, if it were not of great consequence, highly fitting to be made known, and therefore necessary to be believed? And therefore we find that he was desirous to know, if I may so say, not only what effect his *doctrine* had upon the minds of his hearers, but what opinion they had of his *person*, whom doe men say that *I the son of man am*? Mat. 16. 13. The same question he repeats to his Disciples, that they might declare their apprehensions of him, *but whom say ye that I am*? v. 15. To the man cured of his blindness Jo. 9. 35. the question that he puts to him in order to his being admitted one of his Disciples, was, *dost thou believe on the son of God*? which Faith plainly respected the *person*, and not directly or immediately the *commands of Christ*. For the answer returned, was not which be those commands, but who is that person, v. 36. *who is he Lord that I might believe on him*? And upon this discovery made by our Savior of himself v. 37. the blind man declares his Faith and acknowledgment of him, that he was *the son of God*; and as a sign of his inward Faith, he pays his outward adoration: *Lord I believe and he worshiped him*, v. 36.

Thus, St. Thomas his Faith did not consist formally in obedience, but in the acknowledgment of Christs person, Jo. 20. 28. *My Lord and my God*. And this perswasion of the mind, and confession of the mouth, which is the consequence and proof of the former, is not only a duty, but a duty so acceptable to God, that our Savior more than once pronounces a *blessing* to it; first here in his discourse with Thomas v. 29. *because thou hast seen, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed*. Where the word *Believe* in the Antithesis, must be taken in the same sense as it is used in the former part. Now in the former it is plain, it is used to denote the assent of the understanding; for St. Thomas his infidelity did not consist in *immorality and disobedience*, but in a *distrust* of the truth of what the Apostles had related concerning the resurrection of Christ. His faith consequently consisted in an *assent to and acknowledgment* of what he before doubted. The same blessing, and for the same reason

reason our Saviour pronounces to St. Peter; *viz.* for his glorious Confession and acknowledgement of his Divinity, Matt. 16. 17. *Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but my Father which is in Heaven.*

It is true indeed, and therefore must be acknowledged, that this perswasion of the mind, and a Confession consequent thereupon of the Divine Nature of Christ, without a *Conformity to his Laws*, will not be sufficient to recommend us to the favour of God, and to give us a title to the blessing pronounced to them who believe. But this will not overthrow the truth of what I have now asserted, *viz.* that faith in this sense as we now take it, is a duty highly acceptable to God, and of as necessary obligation, as is any other of the graces of Gods Spirit, tho' none of them *in separation* from the rest will give us a title to happiness. For instance: *Temperance and Chastity* are virtues highly commendable in themselves, and therefore serve to recommend us to the favour of God; but if they are found in any person, where *truth and justice* are wanting, they alone, without these latter virtues will never procure us a reward. Yet however, this will not hinder, but that these good qualities, are, as we said before, in themselves very acceptable to God, and of necessary and indispensable obligation.

The case is the very same with faith. If any man therefore should put the question from St. James, 2d. ch. 14. v. and ask, *if a man have faith, and have not works, can that faith save him?* I Ans. by no means: we may roundly and peremptorily declare that this faith, tho' it should be joined with *fiducia*, a *strong confidence*, or if you please, a *recumbency* on Christ, will not, it cannot save him. But will it therefore follow, that it is not acceptable to God, and absolutely required of us? No, this can as little be allowed as the former. That which can reasonably be collected from hence is, not that it is not *necessary*, but that it is not *the only thing* that is so. I know it will be here said, that this faith, as it is terminated in the person of Christ, doth not properly respect his *Nature*, but only or chiefly his *Offices*. So that when we are so often required in the Scriptures to *believe in Christ*, the meaning of it is, that we should believe him

to be the *Messiah*, without troubling our selves or others with any curious but needless enquiries after his *Nature and Essence*.

Ansro. The Scriptures declare the contrary, that it is not sufficient to make an acknowledgement of *his Office*, without the knowledge of *his Nature*; as is evident from those places before mentioned, wherein he is declared, and we are therefore required to believe him to be *the son of God*: the writings of the New Testament, every where laying a particular stress on this phrase, and requiring of us to believe in him, in this determinate sense and notion; *viz.* That he whom we own to be our Savior, Jesus Christ, *is the son of God*.

This was that which he allways averred and declared of himself. The same likewise was constantly affirmed and preached by his Apostles; firmly and universally believed by all his friends, and followers; objected against him by his enemies, and drawn up into an accusation and charge by the Jews. *We have a Law* (say they) *and by that Law he ought to dye, because he made himself the son of God*, Jo. 19. 7. Nay the very Devils proclaimed this great truth, unwillingly to be sure, but yet publicly and loudly they declared, what at the same time they trembled at the mention of, proving the Heralds of his Divinity; for *Mark* 3. 11. we are told, *that unclean Spirits when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, thou art the Son of God*.

I know it will here be replied by some, that it is true indeed, we are obliged in Scripture to confess and acknowledge our Savior to be *the Son of God*: but by this phrase is meant no more, but that we should believe him to be the *Messiah*; these being Synonymous terms, both the one and the other of them serving to denote to us, not the *nature*, but the *offices* of our blessed Savior, and particularly his office of being our King, so that to believe him to be the *son of God*, imports no more than to acknowledge him to be the *Messiah*: That is, to submit to his Authority, to own him for our Sovereign, and our selves for his Subjects; and in pursuance thereof, to promise all due submission to his Regal power, and obedience to his Laws.

This

This is a notion that was at first started by ¹ *Socinus*, and afterwards greedily embraced by divers others; and particularly by Mr. *Hobbes*, that great promoter of useful notions among us, both with relation to Religion, and Civil Government; from whom the Author of a late Treatise entituled, the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, might have borrowed his thoughts of this matter. Tho it must be confessed that some other persons, of a much greater and better name and note, have likewise recommended the same notion: I mean ² *Gratius* and ³ *Episcopus*, whose Authority and Learning have led divers others into the like dangerous mistake.

I Ans. therefore, that these two phrases of being the *Messiah* and the *son of God* are not equipollent phrases, nor have they therefore the same formal import and signification; the one properly denoting the *Nature*, and the other the *Offices* of our Savior. It is true indeed, they are often joyned together; but the reason why they are so joyned is, because the *nature* and the *office* did meet in the same person. He who was the *Messiah* was truly the *son of God*: and none but only he who was thus the son of God, could execute the office of the *Messiah*. But however the formal notion of these Epithets given our Savior is different, as denoting and signifying

¹ Si quis diligenter inspiciat factam ad Christum à Caiapha & aliis Judæis interrogationem, an esset Dei filius, intelliget omnino, aliud nihil eos, filii Dei, & quidem singularis cujusdam filii Dei nomine intellexisse, quam Christum, &c. & postea, ex quibus constat, unicam esse interrogationem, & verba illa, ille filius Dei, fuisse adhibita, ad magis declarandam illius qui Christus sit dignitatem atque præstantiam: non ad aliquid addendum quod Christi appellatio per se non complectatur. Socin. Resp. ad Wiek. Oper. Vol. 2. p. 571. & alibi passim.

² Vide illius Comment. in Mat. 14. v. 33. & cap. 26. v. 63.

³ Quid ergo, inquires, sibi voluerunt ista locutione, quando confitebantur Jesum esse filium Dei? Certe aliud nihil, quam Jesum esse Christum, sive Messiam aut Regem illum Israelis promissum, quem, quia Rex singularis erat, unusquisque oleo lætitiæ supra consortes suos, filium Dei non *ἑωχὼ* vocaverunt; prout patet ex eo, quod Nathaniel vocem illam, filii Dei, exponat, tu es Rex Israelis. Et quod confessionem illam Petri, tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi; Marcus & Lucas non aliter referant quam hinc verbis, Tu es Christus, & Tu es Christus ille Dei, id est, Rex ille Deo unice gratus, & Deo proximus. Episcop. Inst. Theol. Lib. 4. Cap. 34. Sect. 2. De Deo.

two different things; as will appear from these following considerations.

First, that to be the *son of God* plainly denotes the nature and essence; but to be the *Messiah*, the office of our Savior, as was said before. And this will appear from the writings of the *New Testament*, where we find these two Titles, of being the *Messiah*, and the *son of God*, very plainly distinguished: without which distinction we cannot clear the Scriptures from the imputation of needlessness, and sometimes absurd repetitions. For tho in some places, these phrases may seem to be so joyned together, as if they were *Equivalent*, and only *Exegetical* of each other; yet in others they are placed in such a manner of distinction, that they cannot be supposed to be of the same import, without allowing a manifest and a very impertinent Tautology.

And thus (for instance) they are distinguished in the Eunuch's answer to the question of *Philip*, Acts 8. 37. *I believe* (saith he) *that Jesus Christ is the son of God; or that the son of God is Jesus Christ* (for so the words as they stand in the Original, may be reciprocally rendred) yet in both cases, the one of these standing in the place of a *subject*, and the other of a *predicate*, they cannot denote the same thing, without supposing, that the grave and solemn profession which this new Convert made of his Faith, should consist in a ludicrous, because Identical predication: It being at this rate no other than if he should have said, *I believe that Jesus Christ is Jesus Christ*. Thus *Saul* after his Conversion, in the Synagogues at *Damascus*, is said to have *preached Christ* among the Jews that were there; and the substance of what he Preached was, that *he was the son of God*, Acts 9. 20. The like confession of his Faith was made by *St. Peter*, both for himself, and in the name of the rest of the Apostles, Jo. 6. 69. *We believe and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the son of the living God*.

Now as when the Scriptures inform us, that some believed, and others proved and demonstrated that *Jesus was the Christ*; it must from thence be evident, that to be *Jesus*, and *Christ*, must signify two distinct things; for the same thing cannot, except

except very foolishly and impertinently, be affirmed, and much less be demonstrated of it self. So when the same holy writings acquaint us, that some persons in the solemn declarations of their faith, professed that *Jesus Christ was the son of God*; and that others by reason and argument, made it their business to prove and demonstrate him to be so: we ought to conceive, that to be *Jesus Christ*, and to be the *son of God*, are two phrases that import two different things: otherwise we cannot acquit those holy men who made those professions, and were engaged in that proof, from the imputation of folly and impertinence.

Once more, if these places should not be sufficient to silence the Cavils of our Adversaries, yet one would think that the words of St. *John*, ch. 20. v. 31. should put it beyond all doubt. In which the Apostle gives an account of the reason that moved and induced him to commit to writing the History of our Saviors life and actions, viz. that we might be thereby prevail'd on to believe that *Jesus is the Christ*, and not only so, but that he likewise was the *son of God*. By which phrase, it is plain that he meant to assert the divine nature and Godhead of our Savior; the proof and vindication of which, against the impious Opinion of *Cerintus*, who denied his Divinity, was the chief design of our Apostle and Evangelist in writing his Gospel, as ¹ *Ireneus* and ² St. *Hierome* assure us.

And this distinction the Jews very plainly and clearly understood. For when our Savior assumed to himself the denomination of being the son of God, they took his meaning to be, that he thereby professed himself to be the *natural son of God*, and not only a son *by adoption* and favor, as he must be supposed to be, if he were no otherwise the *son of God*, but because he was the *Messiah*. For the consequences which they drew from this affirmation of his could not agree to one who

¹ Lib. 3. Cap. 11. ² Catal. Script. Ecclesiast. And the same is affirmed by *Euseb.* viz. that St. *John* wrote his Gospel to assert the Divinity of our Savior; tho he doth not make mention of *Cerintus* his Heresy as the occasion of his writing. Εἰκότως δ' ἐν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεαλογίαν, ἀπὸ Ματθαίου καὶ Λουκᾶ περιγραφείσαν, ἀποσιωπᾷται τὸν Ἰωάννην τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπὸρριπταῖ, ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος οἶα κρείττονι παραπομπῇ γένηται. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. Cap. 24.*

was only a son by adoption. For *Jo. 5. 18.* by saying that *God was his Father idios patri,* his own proper Father in a peculiar sense, they drew this conclusion, that he made himself *equal to God, i. e.* of the same nature and substance; otherwise it was not possible to suppose any such equality. So again *Jo. 10. 30.* by his affirming that *He and his Father were one;* they infer, and infer rightly, that he thereby plainly *made himself God, v. 33.*

Once more at his arraignment before *Pilate*, these two affirmations of his, that he was *Christ*, and that he was the *son of God*, gave occasion for a double charge and indictment against him. Both indeed by the Jews were accounted Capital Crimes, but yet of a different nature: the one being a crime against the State, the other against God and Religion. For in that he said he was *Christ a King*, this they improved into an accusation of High Treason, *Luke 23. 2. we found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a King.* So *Jo. 19. 12. whosoever maketh himself a King, speaketh against Cæsar.* But in that he said he was the *son of God*, this was allways by them accounted *Blasphemy*, and a sin directly and immediately against God. The High priest when he heard that he owned himself to be the son of God, and that as such, he should sit on the right hand of power, rent his Clothes, and said that he *Blasphemed*, *Math. 26. 64, 65.* And *Jo. 19. 7. we have a law, and by that law he ought to dye, because he made himself the son of God.* From all which it appears, that to be the *Messiah*, and to be the *son of God*, signify two different things, and therefore are not equipollent terms.

2dly, This will farther appear from hence, *viz.* that our Savior was the *son of God* before he was the *Messiah*, and therefore these two phrases cannot denote the same thing. He was not the *Messiah*, as that bespeaks him to be a Mediator between God and men, before the fall of *Adam*; nor was he so, as to the actual and complete execution of that office, for many ages after; even till his assuming our nature, and his being born and brought forth into the world. But he was the *son of God* before the fall of *Adam*, nay, before the foundations of the Earth and the World were laid, even from everlasting.

3dly, The

3^{dly}, The ground and foundation of these two titles is vastly different: the one, *viz.* that of his being the son of God, being founded in an *eternal generation*; the other, that of his being the Messiah, in *designation and appointment*, and a mutual agreement between him and his father:

Which furnisheth us with a 4th, and an unanswerable reason against this assertion, *viz.* that to be the *Messiah* was but a *voluntary*, and therefore in it self a *contingent matter*, and that in two respects, the first whereof respects the fall and misery of man, which was antecedent to his redemption and recovery: so that if man had not sinned, as he might not (his sin being the result of his own freedom and choice) the *son of God* would never have been the *Messiah*. The second respects the gracious, but free pleasure of God. For after man had sinned, he might and must have been irrecoverably ruined and undone for ever, had not God in great compassion found out a way for his deliverance: which deliverance was the result of meer mercy, and founded in mutual but voluntary compact between the Father and the Son, as was said before. But that our Savior should be the *son of God*, this did not depend upon *arbitrary consent and pleasure*; but upon a *natural, necessary, and therefore an eternal generation*.

I confess these three last reasons will signify little with a *Socinian*, who denies any other nature in Christ, then that which he had, and received in the womb of the Virgin; or any existence, antecedent to his Birth and appearance in the world. But however they must be of irresistible force against all others, who agree with the *Socinians* in this notion, and yet acknowledge the Divinity and eternal generation of our Savior; who was therefore the son of God, both *before*, and for a *reason* vastly different from that whereby he was constituted the *Messiah*, as is fully and plainly acknowledged by *Episcopius*; who yet in direct opposition to that acknowledgment, confounds these two titles, which ought very carefully to be distinguished. But he did it to serve a very ill purpose: not indeed to impugn the truth and certainty of this great Article concerning the divinity of Christ, but to overthrow the *necessity of believing it*; and

and thereby he dangerously weakens, not to say undermines that important truth, which he had before not only plainly affirmed, but likewise very clearly, and I think unanswerably vindicated.

I say he hereby *weakens* that great Article of our Faith; and the reason why I say so, is this, because if Christ be God, as he grants he is, it can be for no other reason, but because he is the *natural and eternal son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds*: by which eternal generation he had the divine nature communicated to him, and thereby became truly and properly God. If any man therefore shall say, that the *Godhead* of our Savior is not included in that style and phrase of his being called the *son of God*, I must aver that by so saying, he doth not only weaken, but by consequence subvert, as one of the clearest, so likewise the fundamental proof of his Divinity. All other proofs of it which are taken from the *name, operations, and perfections of the Deity*, which are ascribed to him in the Scriptures, being founded upon this Title and supported by it.

For when he is called *God*, and the Divine works and attributes are ascribed to him, we must not think that he is God *distinct* from his Father, but *one* with him, partaker of the same divine nature and essence. Neither must he be supposed to have this divine nature and essence *of and from himself*, but from the Father, of *whom he was begotten before all Worlds*. In short, if he be not the son of God by a *true and essential generation*, then it is certain that he is not God. But if he be God by virtue of his being the *son of God*, then whenever we own and profess him to be that *Son*, we must at the same time allow, that the divine nature and substance was communicated to him from all Eternity, by a true, proper, tho mysterious and ineffable Generation; *for who can declare it?*

When I say the divine nature was communicated to him from the Father, I mean the same *individual, numerical divine nature and substance*; and so must every one else mean, that acknowledges and rightly believes the eternal Generation of the Son. By which phrase we understand, and therefore are obliged to

to believe, that the son of God was not made or created, *ex nihilo*, as the *Arians* of old blasphemously affirmed; but *begotten of the substance of his Father*; not by the substance, that is, by the Omnipotent substantial power of the Father, for in that sense the whole world, and every thing in it, may be said to be produced by the substance or substantial power of God the Father; but *ex substantia*, of his substance, which was, as we before said, communicated to him from all eternity.

Now the substance of one person, whether finite or infinite, cannot be communicated to another, but either *in part*, or *in whole*: no other way of communication is conceivable. When the substance is communicated but in part, as it is in all finite Generations, whether of men, or other Animals and plants, (and it is impossible it should be otherwise there) then this partial communication is the foundation of a *specifical likeness* or Identity between the person begetting and the person begotten; and because the Father cannot communicate his whole essence and substance to his Son, therefore it is impossible that the son can be *consubstantial* to his Father, (I speak of men) *i. e.* partaker of the same numerical humane nature; for if so, the Father and Son would be but one and the same man. But because the son is so begotten of the substance of his father, as to be partaker of it only in part, out of which part his complete essence and nature is made and framed; (the same indeed *in kind*, but yet *numerically* distinguished from that of his father) therefore the father and the son to all intents and purposes must not only be two distinct persons, but likewise two different men.

But in the Divine Generation things are quite otherwise. For here, because it is repugnant to the infinite perfections of the divine nature, to be *divided or separated into parts*; therefore, if it be communicated from the father to the son, as the Scriptures assure us it is, then it must be communicated whole and entire, without *repetition or multiplication*, and consequently without the *least difference and distinction*. And therefore the Fathers when they speak of this divine and ineffable generation of the son of God, teach us carefully to avoid entertaining in our imagination, any mean and corporeal represen-

4 Preservative

we must not think of any *πῦρ, περιπῦρ,* *division, or separation of parts*; but we must believe that the divine nature is perfectly and entirely communicated from the father to the son; which because it is not *divided, nor multiplied, nor consequently numerical*, it must be the same *numerical, individual nature*, without the least imaginable difference or distinction, as before.

Now they who assert only a *specific Identity* of nature in the father and son, must either with the *Arians* affirm, that the son was made *ἐκ ἑνός, non natus, sed factus*, that God the Father, by his Almighty power, created a divine person like himself, and formed him out of nothing: or else they must believe that but *part* of the divine nature, as in human generations, was communicated to him, out of which his whole essence and substance was framed: whereby he became a God of the *same kind* with his Father, but not of the same individual substance with him. Either of which affirmations, must be extremely erroneous, and directly repugnant both to natural reason, and revealed religion.

By all that hath been said, it is evident, that when our Savior affirmed of himself, and his Apostles afterwards, in pursuance of the commission which they received from him, published and declared to the world, that he was the *son of God*; meant, that he was the *natural son of God*, partaker of the same divine nature and substance with his Father, and therefore truly and properly *God*. Now the same persons, *viz.* Christ himself and his Apostles, do not only plainly declare him to be the son of God, but as plainly and positively require us to believe him to be so, and that under no less a penalty than eternal damnation. So our Savior himself, Jo. 3. 18. *He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten son of God.* and v. 36. *He that believeth not the son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.* So his Apostles, and particularly the beloved Disciple, who rested his head in the bosom of his master, and knew his mind and meaning, as well I dare say, as *Grotius, or Episcopus, or any the most Learned*

Learned Interpreter of Scripture that ever was in the world; this beloved Apostle I say, is very copious and pathetical in urging the necessity of this faith, which we are now speaking of, 1 Jo. 4. 15. *Whofoever confesseth that Jesus is the son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.* Again, *who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the son of God?* ch. 5. 5.

This was the main scope and design of all his writings, to form in men a perswasion and acknowledgment of this truth. *These are written,* (saith he, speaking of our Savior's appearing to his Disciples after his resurrection, and the things which he spake and did in their presence) *that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and that believing, ye might have life through his name,* Jo. 20. 31. And *these things,* saith he in his Catholick Epistle directed to all the Churches, *have I written unto you, that ye might believe on the name of the son of God,* 1 Jo. 5. 13.

It is true indeed; and must not be denied, that our Savior is in the Scriptures stiled the son of God upon other accounts than this that we are now insisting on, *viz.* his eternal generation. But then I say, it matters not upon how many accounts, and for what other reasons he may be called the *son of God*, provided it be acknowledged, as it is by the persons with whom we are now disputing, that he is truly and properly so called, because he is the *natural and eternal son of God*: whenever he is called so upon any other account, it is only in a borrowed and figurative sense: the *eternal generation* being the only true, proper ground of that appellation, whereby he is in a more emphatical manner called the *son*, and the *only begotten son of God*, by way of eminence, and therefore by way of appropriation, in which neither man, nor Angel, nor any other creature can share with him.

In this sense, as we shewed before, our Savior, and his Apostles, affirmed of him that he was the *son of God*; and for such, they likewise require us, under the greatest obligations imaginable, to own and acknowledg him. We must believe him so to be the *son of God* as to be *equal to his father*, because *one with him*,

which Christ affirms of himself, *Jo. 10. 30.* And tho our Savior in that Chapter justifies the assuming to himself the name of the *son of God* upon the account of his mission and consecration to the high and noble office of a Mediator or Messiah, *ver. 36.* yet it is plain even in that place, that he doth not insist chiefly on that reason, but declares himself to be the *son of God* in a higher and more sublime sense. For after this answer of his to the Jews, which was only *responsum ad hominem*; he justifies his former assertion, *viz. that he and his father were one*; and appeals to his Miracles as the clear proof of what he thus affirmed of himself, *v. 37. If I do not the works of my Father*, that is, such as none can do but he that is God, *believe me not, i. e.* to be what before I affirmed of my relation to God, that he is my Father. *But if I do, i. e.* the works of my father, then in all reason ye ought to believe that the Father is in me, and I in him; or which is the same tho in other words, that *I am one with him*, as I affirmed before.

Again, we must believe him to be the son, and the only begotten son of God, who as St. John saith, *was with God in the beginning, and was God, by whom all things were made, and without whom was not any thing made that was made*, Nay the same St. John will tell us, *1 Jo. 5. 10.* that if we do not believe him thus to be the son of God, we make God a Lyar, because we do not believe the record which God gave of him, who by a voice from Heaven, more than once, declared him to be his beloved Son.

What can be said to avoid the force of such plain and express declarations of Christ and his Apostles in this affair? why it is said, even by them who own the eternal generation of our Savior, (for with the *Socinians* I am not now discoursing) that it is a necessary duty to believe him indeed to be the son of God; but that it is only necessary to believe him to be so, in one of the *inferior and Metaphorical* significations of that word, but not in the *true and proper*, tho the more noble and sublime.

Now this I think at first view to any unprejudiced person may justly seem a strange answer, for in all words which are capable of two senses, the *natural and proper* is the primary, and therefore ought in the first place, and chiefly to be regarded: and the

the *Figurative*, especially if it be subordinate, as it is in the case now before us, is to be considered secondarily, and therefore in a more remote and inferior sense.

It will be said, that the Metaphorical and less proper sense, may yet be of greatest importance, as it is in the case before us, it being upon many accounts necessary to believe *Jesus to be the Messiah*, and in that notion the adopted son of God: but it is not of the like consequence to believe him to be the *eternal son of God*, and thereby partaker of the same divine nature with his Father. To which, tho several things might be replied, yet the answer that I at present insist upon is this, that we cannot rightly and truly own him to be the *Messiah* without believing him likewise to be the *son of God*; I mean so, as to be partaker of the divine nature, and therefore *truly and properly God*: forasmuch as no person less than God could discharge the offices, and performe the functions, which were to be executed by the *Messias*. As will appear by a particular consideration of those offices, and the duties and actions which belong to them.

But before I proceed farther in this matter, I must premise two things. 1st, That when it is said, as it is on all hands, that it is necessary to believe *Jesus to be the Messiah*, I presume it is agreed upon at the same time, that this faith doth not consist only in the pronouncing and affirming these words, but chiefly in the acknowledgment of the thing that is intended and signified by them: for without the sense and meaning the words are but a *dead Letter*; and tho we should pronounce them never so often, nor ever so vehemently; yet if we do not attend to the thing signified thereby, our confession of this truth will signifie no more than the chattering of a Magpie, or the prating of a Parrot, which may be taught to pronounce words by rote without any knowledg of their meaning.

2. That whatever *general faith* in the *Messiah* might be sufficient for the Jews before *Christ's* coming, or for such who lived presently after it, before these matters relating to his person and offices were *plainly and fully revealed*; yet the same will not be sufficient now for such who live within the pale of the Church, and to whom those doctrines are clearly and evidently.

dently discovered, and sufficiently proposed : of such I say, it is required, that they should not only believe in general that *Jesus is the Messiah* : but, to render that faith effectual to the purposes for which it is enjoined, it is farther required, that they (provided that they have capacities to perceive and understand what is thus revealed) should acknowledg and believe, that he did such things as a *Prophet, Priest, and King*, which were necessary for him to perform as a *Mediator* between God and man, in order to procure the favor of the one, and the Salvation of the other. And these we say he could not do, if he were not God, as well as man, which I am now to shew.

And first, I say he could not be a *Prophet*, nor execute the duty of it, in such a manner, as the Scriptures assure us he did, except he were God. For he was to declare and publish to the world such sublime truths as no created knowledg could possibly discover, no finite understanding comprehend. And this both with relation to the *nature, perfections,* and counsels of God*, which none could possibly find out, but he who was in the *bosome of the Father* ; who hath indeed declared and published them to the world, as was formerly shewn.

Perhaps it will be said, that he was no otherwise privy to these secrets, than as God the father thought fit to make him so, by a *voluntary discovery* first to him, of what thereby he was empowered to reveal to the world. And to do this, doth not necessarily suppose in him a divine nature ; all that may be inferred from thence is, that by a particular act of *Grace and favor*, he was admitted into a more intimate view of the *nature and decrees of God* than any other : no such knowledge being ever communicated to any other person, as was freely and graciously bestowed upon him. *I Ans.* That this was not that in which his superlative dignity above all other Prophets consisted ; but he is in the Scriptures plainly distinguished from them, upon this account, *viz.* that he was enabled to make this discovery, not by an *occasional and arbitrary communication* ; but by a *permanent, necessary and abiding principle* of infinite knowledge in himself, and which he no otherwise received from his Father, than as he did the divine nature it self, which was communicated to him,

* *Matb. 11. 27.*

by a natural, necessary, and eternal generation. He is closely and intimately united to his father; *he is in the father and the father in him*, whereby they mutually comprehend, and are comprehended of each other. So that he perfectly and at one view beholds the infinite nature and perfections of his father, and is privy to all his counsels and decrees. And as *the Spirit of a man* is conscious to all his own motions, cogitations, and resolutions, without the help of any forreign and new discovery: so the *Spirit of God* knows all the things of God, which none else could know but by the help of that *spirit*. But the *spirit it self* knows them by his own intimate union with God, whose spirit he is, *who searches all things*, even the *μέγαλα τὰ θεῶν*, the deep things of God, 1 Cor. 2. 10. Now this *spirit of God*, is likewise the *spirit of Christ*, which was in the *Prophets of old*, and spake by them 1 Pet. 1. 11. And it was the same *spirit* which animated and instructed the Apostles, *leading them into all truth*, who, as our Savior saith, *should be given to them by the Father*, Jo. 14. 16. But yet in the succeeding ch. Jo. 16. 7. he tells them, *that he would send him likewise, viz. the Comforter*, who was *the spirit of truth*, who was given them on purpose, *to lead them into all truth*, v. 13. of that ch. He was *to receive from Christ* what afterwards he was *to shew unto them*, v. 14. So that he was the *spirit of the Father*, and the *spirit of the Son*; who proceeded from both, and was sent by both; *for all things that the father hath*, saith Christ, *are mine*, therefore said I, *he shall receive of mine and shall shew it unto you*, v. 15.

To conclude this head: he, who by a *permanent and abiding principle* of knowledge within himself, and not by a *delegated and arbitrary communication*, comprehends within the vast and mighty compass of his understanding the whole divine nature, and all the perfections of his Father, and is privy to all his secrets, as a mans Soul is conscious to all his own thoughts and resolutions; he who is the *eternal word and wisdom of his father*, who knows all that the father knows, and hath revealed such things which none could possibly discover but the *eternal spirit*, who lyes in the bosom of God, and thereby *searches the deep things* that are lodged there: He must be endued with infinite know-
ledge,

ledge, and be partaker of the *divine nature*, as well as the *divine secrets*, and therefore must be God. And for this reason we ought to submit our reasons, and resign our understandings to his authority, it being part of that homage and divine worship which is due to him. And therefore in matters of faith we must be content with his affirmation, whether we do or do not *comprehend* those divine truths which he hath revealed. Which *comprehension* ought to be of no regard in these matters, it being extrinsecal to the true and *formal reason* of believing; which is not resolved into the *evidence of the thing*, but into the *authority of God*, and the truth and certainty of his Revelations.

But 2dly, Let us consider him as *a King*, and then we shall find that none could execute the *Regal office* in such a manner as it was to be administred by the *Messiah* but he that was God. And that first, if we consider the vast extent of his dominion, which was to reach over the whole World; the Heavens and the Earth and all things in them; Men and Angels, both good and bad, were to be the Subjects of this mighty Empire. *All things are put under his feet, and he is made the head over all things to the Church*, and for the sake of it, Eph. 1. 22. *He is placed above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but likewise in that which is to come*, v. 21. Upon this account he is styled the *Prince of the Kings of the Earth, King of Kings and Lord of Lords*, Rev. 8. 5. Rev. 27. 14. It is true indeed, this power is said to be given him, as the reward of his obedience and sufferings. But we must know, that antecedent to this gift, he was possessed of a *natural, inherent and essential Sovereignty*, and which he no otherwise received, as was before observed of his infinite knowledg, then as he received the divine nature it self from his father, to which this power is necessarily and essentially annexed. And as to that other power which was bestowed upon him as *Mediator*, by way of gift; he could not possibly have bin capable of it, if he had not been *God* as well as *Man*. For who can be fit to be entrusted with so vast a *Sovereignty* over all parts of the Creation, but he who was the Creator

Creator of them. None but the eternal God, can be the *Lord of Heaven and Earth*: It is the stile and appellation by which he is known, and by which he is distinguished from all *false Gods*. No Creature is capable of being advanced to. so great and high a dignity: because this were to place him upon the same level with the supreme God; which cannot be done, without confounding all distinction in point of *greatness and power*, between God and the Creature. And the like confusion it must inevitably bring between both, in the duties of *Homage and adoration*, which are founded in the abovenamed prerogatives of sovereignty and power; quite contrary to the express and solemn declarations of Gods pleasure in this case. For we find him at the same time, and with the same solemnity, asserting the *Unity* of his nature, and the *Unity*, if I may so speak, of his worship. Thus *Esay 45. 22, 23. I am the Lord, and there is none else. And by my self have I sworn, the word is gone forth in righteousness and shall not return:* (the Decree we see is immutable and irreverfible) *unto me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear.* These being the acknowledgments of his infinite sovereignty, in which none can share with him, without a high encroachment on his divine prerogative, and a manifest violation of his commands and pleasure: for he hath solemnly and frequently declared, that *this his glory he will not give to another.*

And yet it is as plain that he hath parted with it to the Messiah: For God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father, *Phil. 2. 9, 10, 11.* And accordingly we find him that sitteth on the Throne, that is, God the Father, and the Lamb, that is, the Son, joined together in the same expressions of adoration, and in the highest strains of them, for *Rev. 5. 11, 12, 13.* we find the *Angels who were about the Throne, and the Beasts and Elders, the number of which was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands:* and together with them, every creature which is in *Heaven and Earth and under the Earth; and such as are in the Sea and all that are in them, ascribing blessing and glory and power, unto him that sitteth on the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever,*

By which it appears, that they are joined together in the same act of adoration, without any difference or inequality.

Now then we must either assert, that the Son of God to whom these *divine honors* are paid, is really partaker of the *divine nature*, as well as these divine honors: or else we must make *Idolatry*, viz. the ascribing divine worship to a creature, an uncertain arbitrary matter; not founded in the eternal and unalterable laws of reason, and the nature of things; but depending upon the positive, and therefore mutable declarations of Gods will and pleasure. And if so, then the *Heathens* were guilty of no such great crime, as hath hitherto been imagined, if of any at all, in giving religious worship, either to *Angels*, or the *souls of pious men*; or other eminent parts of the Creation: forasmuch as God having made no such *plain and positive revelation* of his mind to them in this case, they must upon this supposition, be left to the uncertain conduct of their own *humors and fancies*, or if you please their *Reason*: which yet must be supposed to be left at liberty to make choice of any convenient objects for divine worship; since there were no eternal and unchangable rules of nature, to direct and determine its choice.

But 2dly, That none could execute the *regal office*, as it was to be administred by the *Messiah*, except he were *God*; will farther appear from a consideration of those actions in which the exercise of this sovereignty doth consist; as also of those reciprocal duties of hope, trust, dependance, and an entire submission to his authority, which are required of us; all which do necessarily suppose in him *infinite perfections*, and cannot be performed by us, without the supposal of his *Omnipresence*, or at least of his *Infinite wisdom and power*: as is acknowledged by *Socinus* and his Disciples.

Now to suppose a *finite being*, capable of these *infinite perfections*, which are requisite for the discharge of this office, is one of the greatest absurdities imaginable; and indeed can amount to no less, than a plain contradiction: because it must quite alter the natures, and take away the distinction of things; and with it all truth and certainty, which must hereby be entirely subverted and destroyed. And he that can say or affirm this, may
with

with equal right affirm or deny any thing at his pleaſure, and if he will perſiſt in it, he can neither be convinced nor confuted.

Now the force of this Argument in order to prove the *divinity* of our Savior, which is taken from the conſideration of thoſe divine perfections of *infinite power and knowledge*, which are requiſite for the diſcharge of the *Kingly* office of the *Mefſiah*; and that divine worſhip and adoration, which is the neceſſary conſequence of that ſupreme authority and thoſe infinite perfections; is fully acknowledged, and by clear and unanſwerable arguments proved, and made out by the *Socinians*, and thoſe other *Unitarians*, who in the point of Invocation, and the adoration of our Savior, differ from *Socinus*. I mean one part of the Argument is acknowledged by *Socinus*, and the other by the other *Unitarians*: and the whole is clearly demonſtrated by both, which is ſufficient for our purpoſe.

And 1^{ſt}, That *Chriſt* is poſſeſſed of thoſe above named perfections of *infinite wiſdom and* ² *power* is confeſſed by *Socinus*,

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1. Et propterea in hoc & ſuperiori loco (ſcil. Apoc. 2. cap. 23. & Heb. 3. 5. & 6.) *Chriſto ſimpliciter & abſolute tribui agnoſco, quod corda hominum noſcat & ſcrutetur: quod de nullo prophetarum unquam dictum fuit, aut dici potuit.* Socin. Reſp. ad Wick. p. 616. Quilibet ratione præditus, ſi modo ſacris literis fidem adjungat, cum videt in ipsis expreſſum eſſe, *Chriſto à Deo datum fuiſſe omne judicium, nihil prorsus dubitat Chriſtum hominem omnia noſſe quæ à nobis agantur, cum judicium ſine cognitione exercere nequeat.* Socin. contra Franken. p. 771. & contra Franciſ. Dav. p. 739.

2. Quamvis *Chriſtus non eſt creationis ſocius, eſt tamen divina potestatis ſocius. De potestate autem loquimur ſumma, cum imperio videlicet ac dominatione conjuncta; qualem una cum divinis ſcriptaribus affirmamus eam eſſe, quam Chriſtus ex Dei patris dono habet.* Id. contra Frank. p. 773. In *Chriſto ipſa Dei potentia, divinitas atque majeſtas reſidet, atque relucet.* Id. ibid. p. 769. Nego falſum eſſe, *Chriſtum in Eccleſia participem eſſe omnipotentia.* Ibid. Dico igitur, verum eſſe ſolius Dei eſſe facere miracula: nec quiſquam miracula facere poteſt ipſo non dante & concedente. Hæc autem datio & conſeſſio varia eſſe poteſt, & amplior reſtrictiorve, prout ipſi Deo viſum fuerit. Præcipua vero differentia in eo conſiſtit, an potestas data & conſeſſa in eo ipſo reſideat cui data eſt, ejusque arbitrio perpetuo permiſſa, atque ejus propria facta: an vero non in eo ipſo reſideat cui data eſt; ſed ad arbitrium dantis ei ſit conſeſſa; ita ut precario, non autem domini titulo eam poſſideat. Chriſto ut omnium domino & hæredi univerſorum deſignato, ipſiusque Dei perſonam pleniffima ac ſingulariffima ratione in terris, in iis quæ ad ſalutem noſtram æternam pertinent, ſuſtinenti, talem potestatem Deum dare miracula faciendi decuit, qualem priore loco deſcripſimus. Id. Reſp. ad Wick. p. 616.

as being absolutely necessary for the execution of that supreme sovereignty and dominion, with which he is now invested in Heaven, where *he sits at the right hand of God*, men and Angels, and the whole Creation being now subject unto him.

2dly, That being possessed of this divine power, and those perfections, he is thereby become the object of *religious invocation and worship*. And this is not only acknowledged, but earnestly contended for by *Socinus*: who in several places in his writings, declares this to be a necessary duty, without which we cannot be Christians, nor be entituled to any of the benefits which Christ hath purchased for us.

From hence it must follow, that the belief of that one Article, that *Jesus is the Messiah*, even in the judgment of *Socinus* himself, (tho upon other occasions it be often affirmed by him) is not sufficient to make and constitute men Christians; except they likewise believe, what he saith, and saith rightly is the unavoidable consequence of that concession, that he is likewise to be adored, and that it is lawful to make our addressees to him by religious invocation. The contrary opinion, which was maintained in his time by *Palæologus, Francis David, Franken. &c.* is condemned by him as a damnable error, which overthrows the Christian Religion; and thereby renders those who entertain it,

Apostolorum potestas in eo diversa potissimum à Christi potestate fuit, quod ipse virtute patris in se manente & fecit, & facit; illi virtute quidem eadem, sed non in ipsis, verum in Christo residente faciebant, in cuius nomine operabantur. Id. Resp. ad Francisci Dav. Defensionem. p. 727. Nihil prorsus est contra Scripturam sacram analogiam, si duo æqualem potestatem in Ecclesia habere dicantur. Agnoverunt Judæi Christum sese quadam ratione Deo parem facere, Jo. 5. 18. Et ipsum in forma Dei, & æqualem Deo fuisse aperte testatur Paulus, Phil. 2. 6. Quam æqualitatem ad potentiam operandi referri debere, loci ipsi manifestum faciunt. Nullo autem modo absurdum est, ut duo sint æqualem habentes potestatem, quorum tamen alter alteri subijciatur & subordinetur, ita ut non duæ sed una potestas censeatur.

1 Video nihil in tota Christiana religione majoris momenti edi posse, quam hoc sit, demonstratio videlicet, quod Christo Invocatio seu cultus divinus conveniat. Sic vera Christi potestas & majestas ostendetur, & in omnium animis conformabitur: sine cujus cognitione, nec Deus ipse, nec quidquam rerum divinarum recte cognoscitur; salutis nostræ ratio revera ignoratur; ipsius Christi universa religio in dubium revocatur; aut saltem mutationi & sui in hoc ipso sæculo obnoxia redditur, &c. Socin. de Invocatione Chr. Tom. 1. p. 353.

unworthy of the ' Communion of the faithful, and much less fit for the sight and enjoyment of God. That is in short, it excludes men out of the *Church* here, and will shut the doors of *Heaven* against them hereafter.

Now from these two *premisses* which *Socinus* hath furnished us with, upon good reason and great authority, the other *Unitarians* have drawn this infallible conclusion; that if Christ be possessed of the before mentioned divine authority, and perfections, and be the object of divine worship, he must therefore infallibly be God. These being the clear and unanswerable proofs of his *Divinity*; forasmuch as none but *God* can have the infinite perfections of the *Godhead*, and thereupon be capable of divine worship and religious invocation.

And indeed the connexion between these two things is so evident, that *Socinus* and his followers dare not deny it: but on the other hand, contend earnestly for it, as for an undoubted and an important truth, *viz.* that Christ since his ascension into heaven is *Consecrated* and *deified*, and thereby become: *Verus Deus*, a true

1 In posterum; ab istis omnibus qui Christo Jesu adorationem & invocationem, cultum denique divinum non concedunt, diligentissime nobis caveamus, neque cum his qui tantæ blasphemiae vel suspecti quidem sunt, quicquam commercii habeamus. Idem ad Synod. Chmeln. Epist. eod. Tom. p. 397. Unus etiam, (de Palaeologo loquitur) atque adeo ut fallor, præcipuus fuit ex antesignanis illorum qui Christum nec adorandum nec invocandum esse hodie affirmant, & tamen se Christianos esse impudenter præsentantur, quo vix quidquam scelestius in religione nostra depravanda excogitari posse existimo. Merito igitur talis homo talem finem est sortitus, ut cum sui nominis perpetua ignominia, & quod multo pejus est, animæ æterna jactura magna illi meretrici (Romana scilicet Ecclesiæ) denuo sese adjunxerit. Id. Resp. ad Wiek. Tom. 2. Oper. p. 538. Sed quid pluribus opus est, cum tu ipse evidenter testaris, eum qui Christum invocandum negat, nec potestatem; nec gubernationem Christi in Ecclesiâ agnoscere, sine qua agnitione & professione, nemo salutem per Christum adipisci potest. Epist. 2. Joh. Niemjo. ad Faust. Socini. eod. Tom. p. 470.

2 Si Christus invocandus & adorandus est, duo manifeste pugnantia cum verbo Dei admittuntur, primo Christum esse illum unum verum Deum qui Israellem ex Ægypto duxit, &c. Fran. Davidis contra Socin. p. 731. & 742. Dato quod Christus ipse potestatem efficiendi habet, & facultatem præstandi, ut habeamus vitam æternam & resurgamus, optimo jure jam Deus non officio, sed natura proprie dici potest & debet. Id. p. 737.

3 Nec nos, Christum dominum Deumque nostrum esse negamus, immo & ultro profitemur, & vehementer gloriamur. Socin. contra Eutrop. p. 707. Nemo profecto, qui mente non caret, negaverit eum in quo plane divina virtus relucebat, Deum ob id ipsum merito dici potuisse, & porro fuisse. Id. ibid. p. 641. & alibi passim.

God,

God, made indeed and constituted such, *Deus factus*, but however possessed of a true and real Divinity.

I need not here acquaint the Reader what opinion *Socinus* and his Disciples have of the *Divinity* of our Savior, as it is owned and stated in the *Catholick Church*: How they load it, together with the other Articles of the Christian faith which have a connexion with it, with all the heaviest and most scandalous imputations, that wit heightened with malice could possibly suggest. Particularly, that it is a foolish and absurd opinion, repugnant to their clear and distinct Ideas and perceptions; and therefore, that it is so far from being an incomprehensible truth, that they plainly comprehend it to be a contradiction to our natural notions, it being a brutal and inexcusable error, repugnant to common sense as well as true reason.

Now let us examin this matter a little, and with the Readers leave and patience, fairly compare the Doctrine of the *Christian Church* concerning the *Divinity* of our Savior, with what these men affirm of it: and then I doubt not to make it appear; that all that charge of absurdity and nonsense, which (with equal falsehood and impudence) they load our doctrine with; is justly to be laid at their door, and retorted upon this *new and monstrous opinion* of theirs. Which is infinitely derogatory to the honor of God, repugnant to his divine nature and perfections, and tends plainly to undermine the foundations of all Religion, which can never long subsist where the *right notions* of God, and the *distinction* between him and his creatures are plainly subverted, as they are by this opinion.

1st Then: The Christian Church believes and professes that Christ is *true God*, and therefore that he is the *eternal God*; who had his being before the *foundation of the earth and the world was laid, even from everlasting*: necessary existence, and therefore eternal duration, *à parte ante*, being included in the notion of God. It is true indeed, he hath not his Godhead of and from himself, but from his Father, of whom he was begotten. But however this doth not depend upon arbitrary consent and pleasure, as we before observed, but upon a natural, necessary, and therefore an eternal Generation.

The *Sosinians* on the other hand tell us, that he is a *God*, distinct from his Father, and not only so, but that he is a *junior* and a *modern God*; made and constituted such, the other day, by the appointment of his Father. So that his *Godhead* is purely an arbitrary and contingent matter, not arising from any necessity founded in the nature of the thing, but perfectly owing to divine *Grace and favor*.

Now let any honest and unprejudiced reader fairly compare both these accounts, and then impartially pass sentence, whether of them seems to be most agreeable to plain reason. Will not natural reason; (I mean where it is not corrupted and depraved) agree with the declaration of the Christian Church, that if Christ be God, he must be so from all eternity? yes undoubtedly it will. Indeed the Christian religion farther informs us, that he hath his Godhead communicated to him by way of Generation, being begotten of the substance of his Father, which because it cannot be either divided or multiplied, must be one and the very same in both. This we must acknowledge to be a great and deep mystery, not to be *found out*, and much less *fathomed* by our shallow finite understandings. But yet at the same time we must affirm, that tho it *surpasses* our reason, it contains nothing that *overthrows* any plain dictate of it. For tho it must be confessed, that this may be repugnant to common notions and those Ideas which we have of *finite beings*, whose nature and essence cannot be communicated without being multiplied and divided into parts; but must it from thence follow, that it is contrary to any plain Idea and notion that we have of an *infinite being*? No, neither Logick nor Divinity will teach us to make any such inference; but rather the quite contrary, *viz.* that since we cannot form a *complete and adequate conception* of all the powers and perfections of the Godhead which is infinite; that therefore things *may be so* as the Church declares, for ought that *reason* can shew to the contrary: nay that they *must be so*, since this account is supported by a *supernatural*

Ι Θείας ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἀριστότατον ἦν ὄντων, ἀπεκρίνατο, διὸς ἀγενήτων γάρ. Σαυράτις ἐρωτηθεὶς τί διέτε εἶπε, τὸ ἀδύνατον καὶ αἰδῶν. Stob. Eclog. Phy. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

and divine revelation. It being highly reasonable to conclude, that God allmighty best knows his own nature, and the manner of its subsistence; and therefore that the account which he gives of himself being certainly true, ought to be believed and entertained, tho we cannot comprehend it.

On the other hand, the *Socinian* account of the divinity of Christ, is directly contrary to reason, and overthrows two principal dictates of it, concerning the Unity, and the necessary, and therefore eternal existence of the Godhead; both which are plainly included in the right notion which we frame of it.

2dly, The Church saith, that if Christ be *truly* God, and not only such in a figurative and metaphorical sense: that he must therefore be partaker of the divine nature and substance. Every thing being what it is by virtue of its nature and essence. If a man be a true man, he must be partaker of a human nature, and a true Angel must partake of the nature of an Angel. And the like must be affirmed of every thing else, whether created or uncreated, finite or infinite, the reason being the very same and common to them all. But the *Socinians* on the other hand say that Christ is *truly* God, and yet at the same time that he is a meer man; That he is ¹ *Deus verus*, as *Socinus* calls him, *Deus eximius*, as *Wolzogen*. nay not to acknowledge him to be a *true God*, is to renounce the Christian Religion, saith *Smalcus*. and yet they affirm that he is not any way partaker of the divine nature. Which is all one, as if a man should assert, that there were a true Triangle which had never an Angle in it, a square without ever a side, a figure without a line, a sentence without words, or a word without ever a letter. None of which can contain a greater absurdity than to say, that there is a true *God* without the *Godhead*, a divine *person* without a divine *nature*. Which is not only a false assertion, but a plain contradiction, and downright nonsense; If I may be allowed upon this occasion to make use of those decent characters, which these men at every turn bestow upon the sublime Articles of our holy faith.

¹ See the first part of the Preservative, p. 9, 10.

Perhaps it will be said, that the *Socinians* when they affirm Christ to be a *true God* mean that he is so only with respect to his *supreme dominion*, and those divine perfections which are necessary for the exercise of it. I know they do say so, but by this saying they are so far from clearing the point, that they confirm the former objections, and perplex this matter with new difficulties.

For *1st*, They suppose him to be a true God without a God-head, which is nothing else but the divine nature. For tho he should be possessed of the dominion and perfections before mentioned, without the divine nature, if that were possible; yet this would make him a God only in a figurative sense; by a *Metonymie* of the subject for the adjunct; but he could not be *Deus verus*, which they allways affirm. It is true indeed, this *supreme power* is a clear proof of his *Divinity*; but then it doth not *constitute* but *suppose* him to be God. As the Regal power doth not make the King a man, but suppose him to be such, otherwise he were not capable of it.

But *2dly*, By this answer they separate that which is *essential* from its *proper subject*, and thereby overthrow one of the first, and most universally received principles of Reason and Philosophy. For this Sovereignty which we are now speaking of, is not in God as it may be in men, founded in compact and voluntary consent; or owing to the appointment of any superior power from whom it may be derived: but it is found in the *divine nature* and perfections, and more immediately in those actions of *Creation and providence*, which necessarily suppose that divine nature, without which they could not be performed. So that this dominion over his Creatures is a *natural and necessary* Sovereignty, allways inherent in the God-head, and cannot be separated from it. And so are likewise those before mentioned perfections of *power and wisdom*, which are necessary attributes or *properties* of the divine nature. So we must be allowed to speak of them in the present case; tho really and truly they are only *different conceptions* of one and the same simple and uncompounded nature.

To this it will be farther said, that it is true, these attributes

2. Prefervative

... and *essentially* in God; and in Christ on-
ly being communicated to him from God
... then we must enquire, whether the
... likewise communicated with these divine
... it is not; then I say these following
... must be the unvoidable
... affirmation.

... what is *essential* may be separated from its proper *es-*
... the divine perfections from the divine nature: which
... destroy all true notions of God, and utterly con-
... distinction between him and his creatures: I mean as to
... nature and essence. For allowing that these attributes are
... in God, and by way of *communication* in his creatures;
... will argue only a subordination and dependance, but will
... be no argument of any difference of nature between them.
Now forasmuch as the nature of things in themselves are hid
from us, and that we cannot either *know* or *distinguish* them but
by their properties and operations: if the *properties* of God
can be communicated to men, then the *essential distinction* be-
tween God and man must hereby be confounded and utter-
ly lost.

2dly, From hence it must follow, that what is *peculiar* to one
may be common to many, who may *receive* what cannot be *bestowed*,
and *participate* of what is *incommunicable*. These things being in-
cluded in the notion of a property; *proprium quarto modo*, (and
such are the divine attributes) that it can neither be separated
from the essence, nor communicated to any other. Now that
the same thing should be proper and yet common, communi-
cated and yet be incommunicable, can amount to no less than
a palpable contradiction.

Lastly, From hence it must follow, that a *finite creature* is
capable of *infinite perfections*: which is infinitely a greater ab-
surdity then to affirm, that not only the writings of *Homier*,
but all the water in the Ocean may be comprehended in a
murelet. For supposing for once, that the properties could be
communicated: yet one would think it were impossible that they
should be communicated to a subject that were not *capable*
of

of receiving them. That maxim being of undoubted and eternal truth, that *quicquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis*. A rational creature can undoubtedly receive different degrees and improvements of knowledge; but yet this must be still with respect to its own powers and capacities. For as no agent can do more than he hath *power of doing*: so no patient can receive more than it hath a *capacity of receiving*, which allways supposes a proportion between them. Now there being no proportion between finite and infinite; it must therefore be impossible, that a finite being, whose faculties and capacities are finite likewise, should be possessed of infinite power and knowledge, because this were to suppose that it actually enjoyed more than it was capable of receiving.

If it should be said that the *capacities* of *Christs* humane nature were by the Almighty power of God enlarged, whereby he became in a condition to receive what otherwise he was not naturally capable of. I Ans. That the *capacities* of *Christ* could not be enlarged beyond the fixt bounds and limits of his nature, which being finite, can admit of nothing that is infinite. And therefore the question which will arise from hence must be, whether the *nature of Christ* be enlarged as well as these supposed *faculties and capacities*. If they say no, as they do, and are positive in it; then I must affirm that this supposition is irrational and groundless, and is liable to all the absurdities before mentioned: in making a *finite being*, while it continues such, to have an *infinite capacity*: which is absolutely impossible and more difficult to be conceived; than that the dimensions of a mans hand, while that continues the same as to its substance, should be so far extended, as that within its compass it should be able to grasp not only the globe of the Earth, but likewise the vast and prodigious circumference of the Heavens.

In short then, and to bring this matter to some Issue: Are not the *perfections* of infinite power and wisdom proper to God? This cannot well be denied. 2dly, Doth not the *supreme dominion* with which *Christ* is invested, necessarily suppose those infinite perfections, without which it could not be exercised?

This likewise must be granted. But will it not therefore follow in the last place, that therefore Christ is God? Here one would think that *Socinus* should be so entangled that he could not easily disengage himself. But tho you tie him never so fast, and think you have him bound hand and foot; yet by the help of some strange and unforeseen distinction, he presently sets himself at liberty.

For when urged and pressed with this objection by *Christian Franken* in the dispute between them about the divine worship and adoration of Christ; *Socinus* answers, that Christ indeed is partaker of the divine perfections, and particularly of Omnipotence, but it is only in a certain respect; viz. in *Ecclesia*,¹ in his Church, and with relation to those things that pertain to it. *Franken* farther urges; that we may not faith he, *brandish our Swords, and combat in the dark*: Is this power of Christ infinite, or is it not? *Socin.* Answers, it is infinite, but not absolutely so, but (as he said before) only in his Church. An arbitrary and a very senseless distinction. For he acknowledges that Christ is possessed of a power of doing every thing in the Church, & *ea omnia quæ quocunque modo ad Ecclesiam pertinent*: which any way may appertain and be for the good of the Church. And if so, then every thing may come within the compass of this power; because every thing may one way or other, either *mediately or immediately, directly or indirectly* have some relation to the Church. For within this Omnipotence is certainly included, as the same *Socinus* confesses,

¹ Ob. *Franken.* Si Christus particeps est adorationis, ergo & particeps est Omnipotentia ac reliquarum proprietatum Dei, sed hoc est falsum, Resp. *Socin.* Nego esse falsum Christum participem esse Omnipotentia in Ecclesia. *Franken.* Omnipotentia, sive in Ecclesia sive extra Ecclesiam est proprietas solius Dei. *Socin.* Absoluta Omnipotentia est proprietas Dei. Ex postea, Deus simpliciter est infinite Omnipotens. Christi Omnipotentia est in Ecclesia tantum. *Franken.* Ne gladium in tenebris ventilemus, quæro quid voces Omnipotentiam in Ecclesia. *Socin.* Omnipotentiam in Ecclesia voco datam Christo potestatem servandi omnes qui ipsi obediunt. Adde & ea omnia faciendi quæ ad Ecclesiam quocunque modo pertinent; sive ad universam sive ad partem ejus, seu denique ad singulos quosque qui ex eo numero aliqua ratione sunt. Hanc potestatem, agnoscit *Socinus* tantam esse, ut in suo genere instructa & Omnipotens appellari mereatur, quia prorsus inquit, singularis est & divina. Disp. inter *Fauft. Socin.* & *Christ. Franken.* de honore Christi. Tom. 2. Oper. *Socin.* p. 769.

the power of *working Miracles*, of *pardoning sins*, of *raising the dead*, of *saving and damning*; and in short, of altering the whole course and frame of nature, when it is for the use and service of the Church. All this Christ is allowed to doe, and that by a permanent and abiding principle of action within himself.

The same question then naturally returns, and we must ask again, is not this power which enables him to do all this, an *infinite power*? Yes saith Socin. it is, *in suo genere prorsus divina & singularis*, in its kind absolutely divine, and such as no other Creature is possessed of. Well? but a power that is thus infinite in one kind, is it not so in every kind? Is it not a contradiction to say, that a person possessed of *omnipotent* power in some cases, is *limited* in others, because hereby he must be limited and unlimited, finite and infinite at the same time? No saith Socin. it is no absurdity to affirm this of one and the same person, provided it be in different respects, as it is in the case before us. Christs power being as was said before, with respect to his Church infinite; but kept within just limits in respect of other matters which have no relation to it. So that Christ indeed is *Omnipotent*, but yet he is *finitely* so; *infinite Omnipotence* being the sole property of God. But is not *infinite omnipotence* a ridiculous tautology, and *finite omnipotence*, a contradictory blunder? Cannot the same omnipotent power which enables Christ to do every thing *within* the Church, enable him likewise to do any thing out of the Church? From whence must this difference arise? It can arise from nothing, but either first from the *difficulty of the things* to be done, or secondly, from the *pleasure and appointment* of God the Father who entrusted him with this power.

1st, As to the *difficulty* of the things, this can be no hinderance to the power of Christ, which is acknowledged to be infinite in its kind, and then certainly it must be so in every kind: because as all things that are placed out of the reach of a finite and created power are equally hard and difficult; so all things that are possible, to an infinite power are equally easy and capable of being done. It is a ridiculous imagination to

fanſy that any power ſhould *inteniſively* and with reſpect to the degrees of power be infinite; and yet *exteniſively*, and with relation to the objects, ſhould be limited and finite. Can any thing be too hard for Omnipotence? No certainly, for whereever there is this divine power, it muſt be *prorſus divina & in omni genere*; it muſt be ſo at all times, and in all places, and upon all occaſions.

But 2dly, Tho it ſhould be allowed that this difference doth not ariſe from the difficulty of the things to be done, yet it may perhaps be owing to the *pleaſure of God*; who hath entrusted our Savior with this mighty power, but under juſt reſtrictions and limitations, *viz.* that he ſhall exerciſe it in the affairs of his Church, but not elſewhere, or upon other occaſions.

I Anf. That this account, beſides that it is liable to thoſe two great abſurdities before mentioned, *viz.* 1ſt, That God (if he ſo pleaſed) might beſtow an *abſolutely infinite power*, in its utmoſt extent, upon a creature: that is, that he might communicate what is incommunicable: for ſuch are the divine attributes, and particularly an *infinite omnipotence* (I uſe the words of *Socin.* that the Reader may not wonder at the ſolecifme) which is acknowledged to be ſuch. 2dly, That a finite being is capable of infinite perfections. And beſides theſe, 3dly, That one infinite power can be controuled and reſtrained by another infinite power; which is impoſſible. For tho the perſons in whom theſe powers may be lodged, may be ſubordinate, yet the powers themſelves being infinite muſt be *equal*, and conſequently both being *ſupreme*, one cannot be *ſubject* to the other. Otherwiſe we muſt ſuppoſe the ſame power to be *inferior* and yet *ſupreme*; *limited*, and yet *almighty*; *Impotent* and *Omnipotent*; which are termes which deſtroy one another. Beſides this I ſay, it is directly contrary to the expreſs words of Scripture, and even to the interpretation of thoſe Scriptures by the *Socinians* themſelves.

In

1 Per mortem & reſurrectionem ſuam, omnem poteſtatem in celo & in terra, id eſt illimitatum regnum atque imperium ſuper omnes creaturas in celo & in terra exiſtentes etiam

In *Math. 28. 18*: Our Savior tells his Disciples, *that all power was given to him in Heaven and Earth*. And St. Paul assures us *That all things are put under his feet*. Every thing in Heaven and Earth, and under the Earth, that is, the whole Creation without exception of any part of it: *He only is excepted which did put all things under him*; *1 Cor. 15. 27*. By virtue of which power he is constituted and appointed *heir of all things*, *Heb. 1. 2*. *He is Prince of the Kings of the Earth*, *Rev. 11. 5*. *Navigels, Principalties and powers*, both the powers of Heaven and Hell are made subject unto him; *He hath the keys of Hell and death*, *Rev. 11. 18*. that is, full power to save and destroy. And can there be any greater. Upon this account the Socinians in the interpretation of these Texts, acknowledge the Empire of Christ to be universal, unlimited, and from which no creature is excepted. That his power is so absolute and perfect, that *à superiori nullis certis limitibus circumscripta est*. That it first and immediately indeed respects the Church, but for the sake of that, *cetera omnia*, all things else, which are subject to his pleasure; which are managed and governed, *à solo ejus nutu ac verbo*, by his single nod and word. Let him but utter his voice, or in the

etiam super mortem & Diabolum adeptus est, Wolzogen. Comment. in *Math. cap. 28. v. 18*. *E quibus omnibus liquido patet, potestatem istam Christo communicatam prorsus esse divinam, quæ se super omnia (solum tantum Deo excepto) extendit*, Ibid. *Judicare mundum est proprium Dei opus, verum nunc sub novo fœdere potestatem judicandi mundum plane & in totum Deo Christo filio suo commisit, adeoque eum dominum omnis creaturæ in cælo & in terra constituit*, Id. *cap. 1. 5. Johan. v. 22*. *Per sessionem Christi ad dextram patris tam perfecta designatur potestas, quæ à superiori potestate nullis certis limitibus circumscripta est*, Idem in *v. 23. ejusd. cap.* *Sedere ad dextram Dei dicitur, quatenus absoluta potestate in Dei populum, & propter hunc in cetera omnia gaudet, adeo ut auctore Paulo, Deo patri subjectus non sit, sed pro suo arbitrio ac voluntate, in iis omnibus quæ legibus divinis plane definita non sunt, cuncta gubernet*. Crell. in *Epist. ad Heb. cap. 1. v. 3*. *Illa subjectio omnium rerum sub pedes Christi, ad res præter Deum omnes nulla excepta refertur*, Id. *ad Epist. primam ad Corinth. cap. 15. ver. 25*.

1 Christus ferebat omnia, quatenus omnia ad ejus nutum ac placitam movebantur: nihil erat quod ejus imperio non cederet, non pareret. Perebat omnipotenti suo verbo, non magno aliquo comatu & molimine opus fuit ut Christus omnia moveret; solo nutu ac verbo cuncta peragebat: quod plane divinum est, & merito is qui id facit, Dei ipsius character & effigies nominatur. Talis nullus hominum extitit, qui virtute in se semper residente quotiescunque vellet, cuncta unico suo nutu ac verbo moveret. Id. in *Epist. ad Hebr. loc. prius cit.*

least manner intimate his pleasure, and then all the world immediately submits to his orders, and complies with his commands.

The last difficulty with which the *Socinian* opinion concerning the *falsitious divinity* of Christ is chargeable, is, that thereby as they separate the *divine perfections*, so they do *divine worship and adoration* from the divine nature; in direct opposition both to right reason, natural religion, and express revelation. And thereby plainly lay the foundations of *Idolatry*, and open the doors for it to enter into the Christian Church. Now the danger of *Idolatry* is both acknowledged, and extremely aggravated by the *Unitarians* on all hands. *Socinus* saith, that it is highly dishonorable to God, and destructive to the Souls of men; 'forasmuch as no *Idolater* can enter into the Kingdom of God. The *English Unitarians* say, that to worship any other person besides the one true God, and to make him the object of our praise, love, faith, devotion, &c. (as the *Socinians* do Christ, tho he be not in their opinion that one true God) or ascribe to the Gods of our own devising as they phrase it, that is, to any Creature, the glory of the incommunicable properties; viz. infinite wisdom, power, goodness: That this detracts from the glory of God, ² and is next door to *Atheism*. ³ That it is a sin of so heinous a nature, that it plainly dissolves the Covenant between God and man; and consequently, that they who are guilty of it, are in a desperate condition, out of the reach of mercy, and can have no hopes of it, which are only grounded upon that Covenant.

Now if a man were to govern himself by the writings and opinions of these persons, he would find himself reduced to

¹ *Quod ad me attinet, nullum mihi est dubium quin illi omnes sive Calviniani, &c. qui se ad præscriptum Christi gesserint cælestis vitæ Hereditatem adituri sint. De Papistis idem affirmare nolum, quos omnes hodie Idololatrias esse statuo. Novi vero, neminem Idololatrarum salutis æternæ competentem fore. Socin. Epist. ad And. Dudith. Tom. primo Oper. p. 502.*

² Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation p. 5, 6.

³ Reflections on two discourses of Mr. Lamoth. p. 8.

inextricable streights. If you do not worship Christ, say the one, *you deny him to be the Messiah*, and thereby turn Apostates from the Christian Religion. But if you do pay divine honors to him, you do in effect renounce all religion, *and are next door to Atheists*. Now since they are so positive and peremptory in this matter, and that the danger of refusing divine honor to Christ on one hand, and that of paying it to him, if he be but a meer creature, is really so great on the other; the conclusion that every one should draw from these different opinions of theirs, is, that the stating and settling the right object of divine worship is a matter of great consequence, in which the honor of God, and the Salvation of mens Souls is nearly concerned. And therefore that it will behoove us all to enquire not only into the *offices*, but likewise into the *nature* of Christ; which will render *faith in his person*, as we said in the beginning of this discourse to be not only a duty, but a necessary duty, without which we cannot in point either of prudence or safety govern our actions with relation to him. If we are required to pay divine honors to him, the question that will naturally arise from hence, will be, whether he be the right and lawful object of religious adoration? Otherwise we may before we are aware be guilty of Idolatry, which is a crime of so high a nature, that no wise man, would venture upon any action that might carry the least suspicion that way, without mature deliberation, and clear and full satisfaction about it. Now if he be truly and really God, then it is certain that we may, nay that we must pay him divine honors. But if he be not, then it will be as certain, from the dictates of right reason, and much more so from express and clear revelation, that we ought not to worship him; because we cannot do so, without an open and bold violation of the laws of God, and thereby apparently incurring the guilt of Idolatry.

And if any man shall pretend to be satisfied of the contrary, by those shuffling and ambiguous answers of *Socinus*, and those senseless and arbitrary distinctions which are made use of by him upon this occasion, by which both *Papish* and *Pagan* Idolatry may in great measure be justified; I say he that can re-

ceive satisfaction in this affair by these means, against the solemn and reiterated declarations of God expressed in Scripture; for my part I cannot think any such person, can have any great concern for the *honor of God*, or the *reputation of the Christian religion*, notwithstanding the pretences which may be made to the contrary.

I know it will be here said in behalf of the *English Unitarians*, that they are not concerned in this charge: because as they acknowledge Christ to be only a man, so they believe and declare that divine honors are not due to him. I know they do so, and thereby it is plain that they are more consistent with themselves, and act more agreeably to their principles than *Socinus* and his followers. But yet for all this, they are to be told, that their opinions and practices with relation to our Savior are full of *danger* to themselves, and infinitely *offensive and scandalous* to all others. There being no sect or party of men this day in the world, besides themselves and their partisans, who own *Jesus to be the Messiah*, who do not likewise make him the object of religious invocation and worship: so that hereby they justly come under the same censure which the Apostle passes on the Jews 1 Thes. 2. 15. *that they please not God*, who strictly requires *that all men should honor the Son even as they honor the Father*, Jo. 5. 23. *and are contrary to all men*, that is all who profess the name of Christ.

It is true indeed whilst they are under this persuasion, that Christ is not God, they cannot honestly nor with a good conscience adore and worship him, because it were Idolatry in them so to do. But then they ought to consider that as they are not *Idolaters*, so on the other hand they cannot be styled *Christians*: nay *Socinus* wonders how they can have the impudence to pretend to that name: who by denying divine honors to Christ, at the same time disown him to be the *Messiah*. And withall he affirms¹, that no opinion can be contrived, or thought on, which is more execrable and pernicious to the Christian religion than this of theirs. Upon which account he cautions every body from keeping company, or having

quicquam commercii, cum iis qui tanta blasphemia suspecti sunt.

¹ Loco prius citato, p. 61.

any thing to do with such *blasphemous wretches*; who in his opinion, deserve not only to be excommunicated out of the Church, but likewise (if we may judge of the meaning of that former expression by his behavior towards *Francis David*) to be exterminated out of all Christian states and societies. This may be thought too heavy a censure, but they must thank *Socinus* for it; and therefore if in this, that wise and crafty man, the great promoter of moderation and indifference in the affairs of Religion, did not act agreeably to his own principles, (as such designing men seldom do) let them on the other hand, pass what censure they think fit upon him for it. I shall leave them to debate that matter among themselves at their leisure.

Hitherto we have spoken only of two of Christs offices, *viz.* his *Prophetical and Regal*, and have shewed that they are clear proofs of his Divinity. It remains now in the third place, that we should consider him as a *Priest*; and then we shall find that he could not execute the several parts of his Priestly office except he were God as well as man. And particularly, that the Sacrifice which he was to offer, and the punishment which he was to undergo for the sins of the world did necessarily require it. For he was to stand in *the room* of sinners, and consequently to undergo *the punishment* due to their sins. Which he accordingly underwent, whereby *divine Justice* was so fully satisfied, and so *perfect a compensation* made for the injury done to the honor and authority of God by the transgression of his Laws; that neither his hatred against sin, nor high displeasure against sinners: neither the sanction of his Laws, nor his veracity which might be concerned in the execution of them: lastly, that neither his authority and government, nor his justice which was obliged to take care of it; could now any longer be an obstacle to the pardon of sinners: because our Savior underwent *that punishment* which the Law threatned, and their sins deserved.

When I say that our Savior suffered the punishment due to us; I do not mean strictly *idem*, the same in kind; for *that* he neither did nor could undergo: but *tantundem*, that which was *tantamount*, because of equal value, and therefore every way suf-

ficient for the atonement of justice and expiation of sin. Now no creature, no finite being, either Man or Angel, could suffer a punishment that was *equivalent* to the guilt and demerit of mankind. And therefore if Christ did so, he must be God as well as man. The consequence is unavoidable: We must therefore endeavor to make it out that the sufferings of our Savior were of this sort, which will be abundantly proved from these three following considerations. *1st.* Of the *end and design* of those sufferings. *2dly*, of their own *intrinsic worth and dignity*. *3dly*, of the *event and consequence* of them, whereby it will appear that they did not only *equal* but indeed *preponderate* the guilt of the whole world.

First, if we consider *the end* of those sufferings, we shall find one of the principal designs of God in them was, that he might declare to the whole world, his implacable detestation of sin and his high displeasure against sinners; and thereby deter men effectually from the practice of it. The former he could not more clearly demonstrate, *viz.* his hatred of sin, than by *punishing* it so severely in the person of his own son: as is evident from those places of Scripture, which mention the sufferings of our Savior, as proceeding from a *judicial act* of God, shewing his displeasure against sin, and *condemning* it thereby. Hence it is said that *he would not spare his own son, but delivered him up for us all*, Rom. 8. 32. Giving the world hereby an amazing instance both of his compassion to men, and of his indignation against sin, that he would not *spare, I say, his own son*, when he appeared in our likeness and with our sins. For *God sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh*, v. 3. of that ch. That is, in those sufferings which Christ sustained in his flesh, or body upon the Cross, God *passed sentence* upon sin and *condemned* it, and thereby discovered his justice, and demonstrated his displeasure against it.

This indeed, notwithstanding the plain declarations of Scripture, is denied by the *Socinians*; but is acknowledged by *Episcopus* and his followers, who otherwise in conjunction with the *Socinians* are the violent impugnors of the Doctrine of our Savior's *satisfaction*: I mean a true and plenary satisfaction made

to

to the juſtice of God ; which they do not only diſown, but endeavor likewise to expoſe under the contemptible name of the doctrine of *Equivalents*.

Now let us conſider what God had formerly done in order to ſhew his hatred of ſin, and thereby to diſcourage and affright men from the commiſſion of it. Not to mention the remarkable puniſhments which have overtaken *particular perſons*, or thoſe more publick teſtimonies of his diſpleaſure, againſt *ſocieties and communities*, by ſending among them *fire and ſword, famine and peſtilence, earthquakes and inundations* whereby ſtates and Kingdoms have been overturned, Cities laid waſt, and Countries made deſolate ; I ſhall only inſtance in ſome of thoſe eldeſt and earlieſt diſcoveries of Gods fury and indignation againſt ſinners, which are recorded in Scripture, and deſigned as a warning to all ſucceeding ages of the world.

First, He rained fire and brimſtone out of Heaven, and thereby turning the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into aſhes, he condemned them with an overthrow, who are ſet forth as an example ſuffering the vengeance of eternal fire, 2 Pet. 2. 6. Jude v. 7. *2dly*, As he deſtroyed thoſe Cities by fire, ſo he did the old world by water, bringing a flood upon thoſe ungodly wretches, and thereby extinguished the whole race of mankind, except Noah and his family who were ſaved in the Ark. *3dly*, For the tranſgreſſion of Adam, he curſt the whole Earth, and brought mortality upon him and all his poſterity. For as the violent deſtruction of the old world, ſo the natural death of all mankind, is the puniſhment of ſin, in which we may read Gods high diſpleaſure againſt it. For by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin, and thereby judgment came upon all men to condemnation, Rom. 5. 12. 18. Laſtly, The numerous company of Apoſtate Angels, who revolted from their maker, are thereby become the dreadful inſtances of his implacable vengeance againſt ſin,

1 In eo errant (de Contraremonſtrantibus loquitur) quam maxime, quod velint redemptionis pretium per omnia æquivalens eſſe debere miſerie illi, & qua redemptio fit, Limb. Lib. 3. Theol. Chriſt. Cap. 21. Sect. 8. *Æquivalens hic conſcipi non poteſt niſi juxta acceptationem Dei*, Sect. 8.

for they *who kept not their first state* of integrity, were forced at the same time to quit their *first habitations*: being tumbled down into those lower regions, where *they are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day*, 2 Pet. 2. 4. Jude v. 6. All these are clear and unquestionable indications of Gods high displeasure against obstinate sinners. And yet we must affirm, that no one of these, nor all of them put together, do in so eminent a manner discover Gods hatred of sin, as doth the punishment of our Savior, when he stood in the place, and suffered in the room of sinners.

That God should overthrow the Cities of the plain, destroy the old world, turn *Adam* out of Paradise, and both him and all his posterity afterwards out of the world. That he would not spare those once glorious spirits, who kept not their first estate, are remarkable instances, as we said before, of his justice. Yet that God should *not spare his own son*, is a much clearer and greater demonstration and proof of it. The former instances may justly *awaken our fears*, but the latter must preclude *all hopes* of impunity. For who can be so foolish as to entertain any thoughts of escaping punishment, since it overtook the *son of God* himself.

In short, nothing can so effectually encrease mens horror against sin, and deter them from the practice of it, as the consideration of those sufferings which our Savior underwent upon the account, and for the expiation of it. In them we have the greatest instance of Gods *indignation*, and not only so, but of his *wisdom* likewise, that ever was discovered to the world. Other examples of Gods justice tho very dreadful, yet were such as did not exceed a finite invention: but this was purely the contrivance of Heaven, at which both men and Angels justly stand astonished. They pry and search into this mystery, but the farther they search, the more they admire, and return

1 *Iustitiam suam Deus ostendit, quia sacrificium illud peragi voluit, nisi cruenta ac maledicta morte dilecti atque innocentis filii sui Jesu Christi, tanquam victimæ peculiaris pro peccato. Quo enim clariore documento odium suum erga peccatum demonstrare potuit, quam quod noluerit illud remittere, nisi intercedente tam funesta unigeniti sui filii morte?* Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Sect. 4.

from this enquiry only with wonder and amazement. Here we have the *liveliest Ideas* of the guilt of sin, and of Gods displeasure against it; for after all former, and beyond all future examples of divine vengeance, the justice of God is most conspicuous in the *death of his son*. And therefore his death, must not only *equal*, but *outdoe* the death and sufferings of all mankind; yea and of all the Apostate Angels into the bargain. Here then I think we may set our foot, and rest as upon sure ground, and therefore may safely and warrantably pronounce, *that God could not do more to testify his displeasure against sin, and to discountenance the practice of it, than to make his only son an offering for sin, and to give him up to those sorrows and sufferings which he underwent for our sins, and for our sakes.*

And hereby God hath taken the most effectual care, for to secure his Authority and Government in the world; and to discourage and affright men from the violation of his laws. But this end of Christs sufferings looks only *forwards*, but we must likewise look *backwards*, and consider God as one *highly incensed*, and his *justice provoked* by the sins of men. And therefore before he will be reconciled to them, we may reasonably imagine, that some way was to be found out, to appease his wrath, and pacify his indignation; and this was another end of Christs sufferings, *viz. 2dly, to satisfy the justice of God*, which he did by standing in the place of sinners, undergoing the malediction of the Law, and suffering the punishment which the law threatned, and their sins deserved.

For the proof and confirmation of this, I must be forced in some measure to repeat what hath formerly been delivered upon this occasion. And 1st, I must affirme what I think hath formerly been sufficiently proved, that the sufferings of our Savior were *properly a punishment*. This we must insist upon as upon a matter of great importance, without which we cannot rightly apprehend the nature and design of Christs death, and without which he could not perform the errand upon which he came into the world. For the great end of

his coming, and taking our nature upon him was, that he might dye for sinners, and lay down his life in the room, and in exchange for theirs. This is denyed not only by the Socinians, but likewise by the Remonst. which one might justly wonder at: because they thereby clearly overthrow their own concessions concerning the reason and ends of Christs sufferings.

For first they tell us that he suffered not only upon our account, or for our benefit, as the Socinians express it, but likewise in our stead: That his death was a ² proper Sacrifice, that his life was the price of our redemption, which was paid down for us, that we thereby might be freed from the guilt of sin, and the obligation to suffering: That he was made a Curse by undergoing an accursed death for us: which clearly demonstrates a permutation and exchange of persons: we sinned and deserved punishment, and he underwent that death which we had deserved. None of which can be true, if the death and sufferings of Christ were not properly a punishment.

In expiatory Sacrifices, the guilt of the criminal was transferred upon the Sacrifices, which thereby became accursed and devoted to destruction. If Christ stood in our room, and underwent the sentence of the Law; then he must undergo a punishment; because what the law threatens must be a punishment, or otherwise we can have no notion of it. If there were a permutation of persons, then he must suffer what otherwise would have lighted upon us; which was death, and that

¹ Vid. Limb. Th. Christ Lib. 3. Cap. 22. Sect. 2. *Potest Christus certo sensu dei loco nostro punitus, quatenus penam vicariam, pro beneplacito divino sibi imponendam, hoc est, afflictionem, quae penae vicem sustinuit, in se suscepit.*

² *Nostri sententia hæc est, quod Jesus Christus fuit sacrificium verum ac propriè dictum pro peccatis nostris. Tulit pro nobis ac nostro loco gravissimam afflictionem, atque ita penam meritam à nobis avertit. Idem Ibid. Christus factus maledictio pro nobis, quia maledictam crucis mortem in se suscipiens, maledictionem quæ nobis debebatur à nobis abstulit, & in se quasi derivavit. Sanguis Christi fuit redemptionis pretium, quod pro nobis persolutum est, ut à peccatorum reatu liberemur, Id. eod. Lib. Cap. 20. Sect. 9. Et egregiam hic personarum commutationem denotat vocula & n, quæ Christum loco nostro afflictum docet: nos siquidem peccaveramus, & ira divine reatum contraxeramus; Deus nobis præteritis, filio suo diram ac cruentam mortem imponit, qua nos affici merueramus.*

death was the punishment of sin. His blood was shed instead of ours, his life went in exchange for our lives; and why was all this done, but to satisfy the Law, which threatned and required punishment, and that punishment he underwent in our stead, who were thereby freed from the obligation to it? I am ashamed to use so many words in so plain a case.

And yet for all this, Christ must not be said to be punished for us, but to undergo that which was *vice pœne*, instead of punishment. If so, then Christ was not truly a *sacrifice*, but he was *vice sacrificii*, he served in the room of one; and was not substituted properly *loco nostro* in our place, (as hitherto we have been taught) but *loco sacrificii*, in the place and instead of a Sacrifice. His blood was not the *price* of our redemption, but was given *vice pretii*, instead of a rancome. He dyed for us, and gave *his life a rancome* *ἀντὶ πάντων*, for many or all, *Matth. 20. 28.* where the word *ἀντὶ*, is allowed to denote a *permutation*; but at this rate, it must denote not only an *exchange of persons*, but likewise a *change* of the sufferings: we were to be *punished*, and he was only *afflicted* for our sakes. It is true in such cases the nature and kind of the punishment may be altered, but yet so, as that what one man undergoes in the room of another, must still be a *punishment*, or else the end and design of that permutation is wholly frustrated and defeated.

And so indeed it is too much, (in the case before us) by this account of *Limb.* who tho sometimes ¹ he tells us plainly and roundly that *Christ took all the guilt of sinners upon himself, and suffered the punishment due to them* *eorum loco, in their place and stead*: yet all this is done with a reservation. For when he comes to declare his true sense of this matter, then he affirms that Christ was not truly made a Curse for us, (tho the Scriptures in exprefs termes say so) but *Christus maledictionem que nobis debebatur in se quasi transtulit*. He was not properly punished in our stead, but *pœnam peccatis nostris commeritam quasi in se*

¹ *Ibid. Lib. 3. Cap. 10. Sect. 4. Impromeritum quidem amorem ergo peccatores testatur Dominus Jesus, cum sponsor, quod omnia eorum peccata in se transferat, eorumque pœnas ipsorum loco pendat.* ² *Ibid. Sect. 5. & 9.*

derivavit. Christ shed his blood for us, which was not truly a price, but *tanquam redemptionis pretium*¹. God was well pleased with the obedience which his Son shewed in dying for us, and this he accepted of not as a real satisfaction, but ² *tanquam plenariam satisfactionem pro peccatis nostris*: and so at long run, with these *tanquams* and *quasis* the whole work of our redemption as it is delivered in the Scriptures, and believed by the Catholick Church, may be in danger of being undermined. For at this rate we may be forced at length to say, that Christ did not truly redeem us from guilt, but *quasi redemit*; did not truly reconcile us to God, but *quasi reconciliavit*; was not truly and properly a Savior, but *tanquam servator*.

Again 2dly, They acknowledge that the reason of Christs sufferings for us, was, that thereby God might testify his³ hatred of sin, and his indignation against finners, as was said before. But how could this be discovered I beseech you, if those sufferings were only *afflictions and calamities*, which if considered in themselves, barely as such, are so far from being arguments of Gods *indignation*, that on the other hand they *may be*, nay indeed in that case allways *are* consistent with his *greatest affection* to those persons who are thus rendred calamitous? But on the other hand in *punishment*, the anger of God is very clearly manifested, which thereby becomes a very proper means to discourage men from sinning. The Law that prescribes men their duty, threatens the violation of it with punishment; and when this sentence is executed upon Malefactors, then every man in such execution may read his own doom, which if any thing can, will deterre them from the like practises.

But if we see an innocent person afflicted and rendered miserable; forasmuch as this doth not suppose the transgression of any Law, as the cause of such misery, it can be no argument of Gods *displeasure*; nor consequently any restraint upon

¹ Ibid. Sect. 9. Idem Cap. 19. Sect. 2. ² Peccatum Deo adeo ingratum est, ut illius reatum non nisi hostia adeo eximia tolli voluerit, propriumque filium illius abolitioni impenderit; qui enim adeo detestatus est peccatum, multo gravius gratia sua contentum, fuderique novi violationem vindicaturus est, Id. Cap. 23. Sect. 18.

men, to hinder or deterre them from sinning. Nay on the other hand, this is so far from deterring men, that to wicked minds it often becomes an occasion, and proves an encouragement to sin.

Perhaps it will be said, that these sufferings which Christ underwent, tho they were only afflictions, yet were inflicted on him upon *the account*, and for *the sake* of our sins, which were the meritorious cause of them. For we sinned, and he became miserable in our room. Be it so, but then we must ask, are not calamities, and especially death, when sent *for the sake* and upon *the account* of sin, properly punishments? If not, then we have lost the true signification of words; and those Gentlemen who are of that opinion, must contrive to alter our language, before we can consent to make this alteration in our Religion.

By all this it plainly appears that the sufferings of Christ were *properly a punishment*. And if so, it must as plainly follow in the second place, that these sufferings proceeded from the *justice of God*, and were designed to give satisfaction to it. There being a necessary and an essential relation between these two, *viz. punishment and justice*. This latter being the next and immediate principle and faculty, if I may so say, from whence the former proceeds. For it is not *wisdom*, or *righteousness*, as that bespeaks Gods holyness and the rectitude of his nature; nor yet *bare power* considered in it self, to which punishments are to be ascribed. For tho all these may be concerned and are manifested in the punishment of sinners; yet they are not the next and formal principle to which they are to be attributed. For if they were, then every person endued with wisdom, or virtue, or might and strength, might be supposed empowered to punish a malefactor, which yet we know they are not.

For the better understanding of this matter, we may consider sin under a double respect. *1st*, As being opposite to the immaculate *purity and holiness* of God. *2^{dly}*, As being contrary to his *Laws*, of which sin is the violation or transgression. The first is an opposition to the *nature*, and the second to the *authority* of God. In both cases sin is an *impurity*, and therefore we

may consider the sinner under a double defilement thereby. The first is properly called the *filth and pollution* of his nature, which is really deformed and stained by sin. The second is *guilt*, or an obligation to punishment. Now if we could imagine that God could send a creature endued with reason into the world, and not prescribe him Laws for the government of his actions, but leave him at liberty to act as he pleased: yet in this case, we must suppose that his reason would, tho not *command*, yet *direct him* to act suitably to the dignity and constitution of his nature.

For there are certain decencies which arise from the natures of rational creatures and their relation to each other. And if a man should act contrary to those dictates of his nature, he would contract a defilement thereby, *viz.* from that *natural and essential turpitude* which would be in those immoral actions; as being directly contrary to the rectitude and purity of Gods nature, which is the grand *rule and standard* by which his own actions are governed; and therefore must much more be a *rule* for the actions of all other rational creatures. And the *turpitude* of such actions would render the persons committing them odious and detestable in the sight of God; who by virtue of that *sovereign power* which he hath over his Creatures, might shew his abhorrence of them by suitable actions, as we would our abhorrence of Toads and Serpents. That is, he might tread them under his feet, crush them to pieces, or spurn them out of his presence, as we would the most venomous or loathsome Creatures. And there is nothing in all this but what is very agreeable to that universal and essential justice in God, whereby he not only hates all vice and immorality, but likewise at the same time, and for the same reason detests the persons who practise it. But yet all this would only be an instance of his *abhorrence*, which would be justified by that *absolute dominion* which he hath over his Creatures. And as such a defilement in the present case could not properly be called *guilt*; so neither would those actions of displeasure properly be styled *punishment*: which allways hath relation to the violation of a Law.

And therefore *adly*, we must consider all rational Creatures

as under the *obligation of a Law*, whereby their duty is prescribed to them under certain penalties, which are threatned to all such as shall transgress it. For tho in point of speculation we may, and must sometimes distinguish between Gods *universal righteousness*, and his *Jurisdiction*; yet in fact they can never be separated: because this *righteousness* with relation to rational creatures, will allways and necessarily be joined with *authority and legislation*. It would be an infinite derogation to the wisdom and righteousness of God, to suppose, that he could leave rational creatures without laws for the Government of their actions: because this were to suppose a *God* without a *providence*, which were the next door to *Atheism*, and that thro which it must inevitably enter into the world¹.

And as all rational creatures must necessarily be under the direction and obligation of Laws, so those laws must be enforced by *certain sanctions*, otherwise they would loose their nature, and be no other nor better than wholesome counsel and good advice. And lastly, as the laws must be enforced by threatnings, so we must suppose something in every legislator, that *moves and inclines him* to execute those threatnings upon such as shall transgress his Laws. And this is as necessary as the former: because, as the laws would be ineffectual without *sanctions*, so those sanctions would be equally insignificant, without such an *inclination* in the legislator to put them in execution. The execution it self indeed may be stopped for some very weighty reasons. But the *general disposition* and inclination to execute them must be supposed; otherwise, let the threatnings be never so severe, and the declarations to punish uttered in never such high and peremptory expressions, no man would be under the terror of them, so as to be affrighted thereby from sinning. And these are things that are to be found in all *Laws*, and all *Lawgivers*, whether *Humane* or *Divine*, the reason being the very same and common to them all.

Now that *attribute* whether in God or Men, that is concerned in the execution of threatnings, is not, as I said before, *power*

¹ See the preservative 1st. part. p. 34 &c.

or *wisdome* or *universal righteousness*, (which in men is but another name ¹ for virtue, and comprehends all particular virtues within its compass, which, are but several parts and branches of it;) but *Justice*, which from the effect of it is called *punitive*, because it discovers it self in punishing offenders. And this justice as it constitutes a particular *virtue* in men, so for the same reason, it must be considered by us as a distinct *attribute* in God.

For the farther confirming and clearing of this whole matter, I shall endeavor to make good these following particulars. *1st*, That there is such a thing as *punitive justice* in God. *2dly*, That the punishments which he inflicts procede from that justice, and among other ends, are designed for the discovery and satisfaction of it. Nay sometimes they have no other end but this. *3dly*, That the sufferings of our Savior for the sins of men, did fully and perfectly satisfy this Justice.

1st, That there is such a thing in God as *punitive Justice*; I mean as distinct from that *universal justice* or righteousness of his nature, of which the former is a part. For general justice as *Grotius* ² rightly observes, as it is conversant about different objects, hath different effects, and therefore hath different names. As it is conversant about the moral actions of rational agents, it discovers it selfe in *retribution*, and the effects of it with relation to evil actions are *punishments*. And therefore as this justice in men, is defined by the ancients ³ to be *τιμωρίας ἀναισθητος*, that which requires and demands punishment; so this Justice of God, as is rightly observed by *Grotius* ⁴, is that property which *moves and inclines him to punish sin*, and which is declared and manifested thereby.

When we say God is thereby *moved or inclined* to punish, we must not fancy any such *transient motions or inclinations* in him, as are to be found in men, which are taken up and laid down

¹ Εἰς τὴν ἀναστροφὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πᾶσιν ἀρετὴν ἦν, Theogn. ² Lib. de Satisf. Cap. 1. p. 33. ³ Hierax. apud Stobæum de Just. Serm. 9. ⁴ Illa Dei proprietates quæ Deum movet ad peccata puniendâ, & quæ in ipsa peccatorum punitione demonstratur. Grot. Ibid.

upon occasion. Such indeed are very foolishly and impiously ascribed to God by the *Socinians*; I say impiously, because they are inconsistent with his divine wisdom and perfections. But by that phrase we mean the *anger and displeasure* of God towards sinners, arising from a just and great provocation, which will certainly end in their punishment, except for some weighty reason he shall think fit to suspend it, by which his glory may be more illustrated than in the punishment. And this *inclination* in God is *natural*, arising from his implacable hatred of sin, and is necessarily supposed in the threatnings annexed to his Laws, without which those threatnings, as we before observed, would be insignificant.

Upon which account the light of nature, antecedent to any positive declaration of his purpose, directed men to apprehend this in God, *viz.* that he was highly displeased with them for their sins, and would certainly be revenged upon them, except they could find out some way to appease his anger, and divert his indignation. Indeed if we speak strictly, God is neither *angry* nor *appeased*, neither *provoked* nor *pacified*; his infinite perfections placing him out of the reach of such mean passions as are to be found in men. But when we speak of God we must do it in such a way as is agreeable to our own shallow and imperfect conceptions of his nature (provided that we do not thereby derogate any thing from his perfections) otherwise we must neither think nor speak of him at all. And therefore, in the same sense that we say that God is *angry or provoked*, we must say that God is *moved* to do that which mens sins provoke him to do, (that is to punish them) and which he certainly will do if some great reason doth not interpose, and prevent the punishment. The *inclination to punish sin*, we see, in God is natural, and therefore *punitive justice*, from whence that inclination proceeds, must be so too.

Indeed *universal righteousness*, and this *particular justice* which is called punitive, in God are really one and the same thing. But so are all his other *Attributes* likewise, which are neither distinguished from his nature, nor from each other, by any real distinction. But forasmuch as we cannot fully and at
one

view comprehend his infinite nature and perfections, we must form different conceptions of them in our own minds, and *distinguish* those things there, which are all *united* in God. And thus by his own warrant, (who is pleased in the discoveries of himself in Scripture, to condescend to our imperfect conceptions) we are taught to distinguish his *nature* from his *Attributes*, and his *Attributes* from each other: which are distinguished sometimes, (as they are in the case before us,) by different objects, and those different operations which they are conversant about.

Universal justice, is an absolute Attribute in God, and may be considered in him abstracting from all other considerations of Government, and Laws, and threatnings. But *punitive justice* is a relative Attribute, and supposes God standing in relation to rational creatures, as they are subject to his Authority, and under the direction of his Laws. *Universal righteousness* is visible in the whole creation, and in every thing in a manner, that God doth in it. Every *action of his power*, every *decree of his will*, every external *demonstration of his counsel and purpose* is governed and conducted by it. But *punitive justice* hath for its object sinful Creatures, and is conversant about punishments only.

And as we may warrantably say in general, that God is by the instinct of his own nature, *enclined* to do every thing that is necessary for promoting of his own glory: so in particular, that he is *disposed* to do that, which tends plainly to the discovery of his great hatred of sin, the support of his Authority, and the vindication of his providence, all which are seen in the punishment of sinners. We may call this if we please, *universal justice*, but then by confounding these *principles*, we cannot avoid running into a confusion in discoursing of such *actions* which flow from them, which ought carefully to be distinguished. And without which distinction, we cannot (as I conceive, with submission to better judgments) rightly either state the truth, or vindicate it against the cavils of our adversaries. For Socinus acknowledges that there is such a thing in God as *universal righteousness*, and that it is very agreeable to this

this righteousness, that obstinate and incorrigible sinners should not escape unpunished. But yet so, that this punishment doth not proceed *from the justice, and displeasure of God*, but from *his will*, and is only the result of an arbitrary, and mutable Decree. But enough of this.

But 2dly as there is such a thing as *punitive Justice* in God, so the *punishments* which he inflicts upon sinners, flow from it; and are among other ends designed for the discovery and satisfaction of it. And in certain punishments no other end but this is intended and aimed at. Indeed in humane punishments the preservation of Government, and the benefit of the Commonwealth, which is thereby maintained and supported, is *principally*, and in most cases *only* aimed at. And this is the great rule and standard by which they are to be regulated: So that to equal sins, unequal punishments; and equal punishments, to unequal sins may be assigned, if the publick good so require. Nay not only the *distribution*, but the *suspension* likewise of punishments is to be regulated hereby. So that the most flagitious criminals, at least if the Law of God doth not otherwise interpose, may be suffered to escape unpunished, if their punishment be adjudged inconsistent with the *publick safety*.

And in these punishments, as we before intimated, Magistrates and Governors principally aim at the security of their Government, and therefore do not inflict them so much for *compensation* of what is past, (except it be in case of *injury and damage*, strictly so called, which either the publick or private persons sustain thereby, in which cases, common reason and equity will allow a recompense to be made to the injured party) as to prevent the like crimes for the future. But in divine punish-

I Interim haudquaquam negamus, Dei justitiam ac rectitudinem, ut in ceteris omnibus ipsius operibus, ita etiam in punis cerni, earumque modum gubernare; deinde nec illud negamus, rectitudinem ac justitiam Dei nonnunquam eum ad peccata puni-enda movere: eorum nempe, quibus veniam non concedere non modo aequitati per se est admodum consentaneum, verum etiam decretis divinis, ut ita loquar, debitum; quales sunt homines non respicientes atque in peccatis contumaciter perseverantes, quemadmodum Socinus ipse eo loco, quem Grotius notavit, (Lib. scil. 1. de Christo Serv. & Cap. 1.) docuerat. Cress. Resp. ad Cap. 1. Lib. Hug. Grot. de Satisf.

ments, nothing is so much to be considered as the violation of the divine authority; nor any thing so much aimed at by God, as the *satisfaction of his justice*, and a *compensation* to be made it, for the wrongs and injuries which he sustains, by the transgression of his Laws.

It is true such punishments in this world do likewise *look forward*, and are designed to deter others from the like violations of the Law; and very often are joined with a merciful intention to the sinner himself, in order to bring him to repentance and amendment of life. But besides these, it is certain, in some punishments God principally aims at the vindication of his Authority, and a compensation to his justice for what is past; and is not moved to punish by the consideration of any thing, *extra Deum*, without himself, but *ideo punit, ut puniat*; that is, that thereby he may manifest his hatred of sin, and indignation against sinners, and execute his vengeance upon his enemies. So ¹ *Grotius* hath rightly stated this matter, with whom agrees ² *Puffendorf*.

And without allowing this, we cannot give any satisfactory account either of the punishments of the *fallen Angels*, or of those which overtake incorrigible sinners, sometimes *in this life*, but especially of those which will be inflicted on them *in the next*.

First as to the *Apostate Angels*, we know that upon their Apostacy and revolt from their maker, they were by an *irrevocable sentence* doomed to eternal misery, without hopes of pardon, or possibility of escape. Now what ends, I beseech you, can we assign of this *terrible sentence*? was it joined with any *merciful intentions* to them, in order to move them to repentance, and thereby render them capable of pardon. No,

¹ *Grot. de Jure belli & pacis Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Sect. 4.* ² *Element. Jurisprud. Lib. 1. Defin. 21.* In which Chapter he assigns the ends and reasons of humane punishments, viz. the preservation of publick order and mens private interests: But yet at the same time declares, that he doth not intend thereby to limit and determine the measures of divine justice. *Quid circa utrumque in foro humano observari, stat & debeat, nobis hic dispicere labor est; nam Tribunalis divini edicta uti excutere non est nostrum, ita isthæc ea trahi nolumus.*

here was no mixture of compassion, no place left for repentance, no room for mercy, no intentions in God to pardon, no inclinations in them to desire or procure it. They are doomed to eternal obduration as well as torment. No spark of goodness being left, but all dispositions to it being totally and eternally extinguished.

Well, but tho these punishments can work no good upon themselves, were they not designed as *examples* thereby to deterre others? no they were not. Not to deterre men; for tho now their punishment is proposed in Scripture as a good means to affright men from disobedience, yet forasmuch as both their *sin and punishment* was antecedent to the *Creation of man*, that could not be any reason or design of their misery and torments. Nor are they proposed as *examples* to the good Angels, who kept their *first estate*, and with it are immutably fixed in their *first habitations*, and the happiness which they enjoy in them. As a reward of their obedience, they were immediatly confirmed in their integrity, and are placed out of the reach of all temptation and possibility of sinning. Some indeed have thought otherwise, but their opinion in this matter, hath been censured and condemned by the generality of Divines both ancient and modern.

Either then we must say that their punishment is unjust, as being without any *good reason* to warrant it: or else we must allow that it was inflicted on them for the *discovery of Gods justice*, and the satisfaction of it; no other can be tolerably assigned or imagined but this.

2dly, The secret and *invisible punishments* of some obstinate sinners in this life, who by the righteous judgment of God, are delivered up to final obduration and impenitence, are a farther proof of our assertion. For they are not hereby made *examples* to deterre others, because this cannot be accomplished, but by *visible* at least, if not publick inflictions. Whereas in this case, that final obduration to which they are doomed, is not discernible by any humane eye, but is known only to God himself.

Lastly as such invisible punishments in this life, so the *eternal*

nal punishment of incorrigible sinners in the next, will be an irrefragable proof and demonstration of this matter: which will not be inflicted on them to prevent the violations of the Law for the future, but by way of compensation for what is past. *Here* indeed, in this life, in punishing God aims at the *support* of his Authority and Government; but there, in the next, he designs only to *revenge* the contempt of it. That is, as *Grotius* before expressed it, *ideo punit ut puniat*; he punishes for the sake of punishment. Not as that punishment is subservient to any external ends of Government, but only that thereby he may display the glories of his *holyness and power*, and particularly of his *justice*, which then will most eminently be conspicuous in the eternal miseries of the wicked.

Neither are the *ends and reasons* of those future punishments, to be taken, from the *threatnings and monitions* which are given men in this life. For tho this will be one greater aggravation of their guilt and misery than that of the *Apostate Angels*, viz. that they brought all this mischief upon themselves, by going on in a course of sinning, notwithstanding so many warnings, and the hopes of pardon joined to them, upon condition of their repentance and return; yet, tho hereby they will be found infinitely to have *deserved* punishment, we must farther enquire for *what reasons* God will inflict it. For if no *good end* can be served by it, to be sure, notwithstanding their deserts, God will not in the conclusion impose that punishment. It is true God hath annexed threatnings to his Laws, and the end of those threats is to prevent the violation of them. But since the Law is violated, and the transgressors therefore to be punished, we must now enquire after the *end of the execution* as well as the *reason of the sanction*. For except not only a just, but some great end were to be served by these punishments, to be sure, as we intimated before, the God of all compassion, would never execute them in so terrible a manner upon his Creatures, as we are assured he will.

Now what ends I beseech you, can we assign of them *extra Deum*, as *Grotius* rightly states this matter. They cannot be designed for the *security of his Government*, or the *reformation of the*

the parties suffering, as was said before. Those reasons will then be at an end. We must therefore find a reason taken from somewhat in God himself. And this must be chiefly and principally his *Punitive Justice*, which will be then made illustrious, and he thereby be honored in the condemnation and execution of his enemies. Perhaps it may be said, that this will be done to discover and vindicate his *veracity*, he having often and peremptorily declared that he would thus punish all obstinate offenders.

It must be acknowledged indeed, that his *truth* is concerned in the execution of his threatnings. But this cannot be the *principal end*, nor strictly speaking any *end* at all. For tho God who hath annexed threatnings to his Laws, hath likewise annexed a declaration to those threatnings, of his *immutable resolution* to put them in execution: yet the reason of the execution it self is not barely to verify his word; for we cannot think that the merciful Creator of the world would make his creatures eternally miserable only, or chiefly because he hath declared he will do so: But he hath signified his *irrevocable purpose* of so doing; because his own glory, and particularly that of his justice will thereby be rendered illustrious to eternal Ages.

And in this is the remarkable difference between humane and divine vengeance, as we have intimated before; which latter will not be conducted, as we find it oftentimes is in men, by any *furios and ungovernable passions*; or proceed from *sudden and rash resentments* of real or pretended injuries: but from fixt and immovable resolutions in God to manifest and promote his own glory, which will be rendered illustrious in the condemnation of the wicked, as well as the rewards of the righteous. In the former God himself will take delight and pleasure; as well as in the latter: not because it is the misery of his *Creatures as such*, (far be it from us from entertaining any such thoughts as that of the merciful Creator, and righteous Judge of the world) but of *guilty and incorrigible creatures*, who would go on in an obstinate course of sinning without remorse, and against all monitions to the contrary. The justice of which

A Preservative

which proceedings will be acknowledged by the parties themselves who are to suffer, and accompanied not only with the *approbation* but the *applauses* and *acclamations* likewise of Saints and Angels. For the time will come when the meek and most innocent Savior of mankind will ascend his Tribunal, before whom all Nations shall be assembled, and then he, whose bowels so often yearned over these sinners, will with a stern countenance and inflexible rigor pass sentence upon them. In which all the Saints, who shall then sit as *Assessors* with him on his Throne, shall join with him, together with his holy Angels, in whose sight as we said before, and with whose approbation all this shall be transacted.

This indeed is a *sad*, but a very *great truth*; and this we must insist upon, as a matter of great importance, without which we cannot give a satisfactory account of the justice and righteousness of Gods dealing with sinners at the great day. Besides, hereby we shall lay the most effectual restraint upon wicked men, and affright them from going on in an evil course; because if they do so, they hereby find that they must inevitably and eternally be miserable, without *hopes of mercy* or *possibility of escape*. For as the *certainty* of the sinners punishment doth appear from the threatening, which is peremptorily denounced by God, with an express declaration of his irrevocable purpose to execute it: so the *righteousness* of it will appear, from the consideration that *Gods glory* will be thereby manifested: the glory (as I said before) of his *holyness*, *power*, and particularly of his *justice* which will then take place, (the day of mercy, together with all hopes of it being now utterly ended) and will then be displayed in the eternal *perdition*, joined with the eternal *confusion* of all his enemies.

To proceed: in the third place we are to shew that the sufferings of our Savior did fully and perfectly satisfy the justice of God. The sufferings of Christ being a *punishment*, must as hath been already shewn, have relation to the *justice of God*, which did inflict it, and was plainly manifested and discovered by it. And that hereby a *full and plenary satisfaction* was made to that Justice, appears from the effect and consequence of his

his sufferings, *viz.* that God who before was angry with sinners, is now pacified and appeased. He is willing to enter into a Covenant of grace and mercy, whereby he engages himself to admit them into favor, and to be reconciled to them: provided they will perform such easy conditions as he shall require on their parts, *viz.* *faith and repentance*, which are no other than such as are absolutely necessary to qualify them for his favor. So that there is now nothing further required on *Gods part*, to move and dispose him to pardon sinners. All the obstacle of reconciliation is on *mans side*.

The Law threatened 'tis true, and men by sinning deserved punishment; but Christ stood in their roome, and underwent what otherwise must have fallen upon their Heads. So that now a *sufficient compensation* being made to the honor of God, for those injuries which he sustained by the violation of his Laws; his justice doth now no longer interpose, to demand their punishment or hinder their pardon.

Perhaps it will be said, it is true indeed Gods justice is hereby *satisfied*, but this *satisfaction* doth not arise from the *sufferings of Christ*, considered in themselves, but from *divine grace and acceptance*. To which I answer, that the *divine acceptance* in this case is absolutely requisite, without which the death of Christ, tho it were of much greater value than it really is (if that were possible) could have no influence upon the pardon of sin: because God the Father who is considered as the principal party injured, might have demanded the lives of the criminals themselves, and have refused *any commutation* tho never so valuable. But supposing that God was willing so far to relax his Laws, as to accept of *an exchange* (as he did in this case) whereby his honor might be vindicated and his justice satisfied; I say the satisfaction thus made, doth depend upon the *worth and value* of the punishment it self which our Savior underwent in our stead, which *sua vi & efficacia*, by its own force and efficacy did expiate the sins of the world.

And wherein I pray you did its efficacy consist, but in this, that his life which he laid down was of *equal value* to the lives of all men which were forfeited to justice; and his death conse-

consequently *equivalent* to their death; because hereby Gods hatred of sin and his indignation against sinners was as conspicuous as if all mankind had suffered and dyed? The *Socinians* indeed deny that God was angry with sinners: but the *Rem.* who are in part adversaries to this truth, do plainly own it: and do farther acknowledge, that Christ by the sacrifice of himself, did pacify and appeale the wrath of his Father, *ex irato placatum reddere*. But how is he appeased? Is it only because he was pleased to lay aside his resentments, and did graciously accept of a *small punishment* instead of a *much greater* which we deserved? This indeed may be an argument of his *liberality*, and may magnify *his grace*; but is a great diminution to the worth and dignity of our *Savior's sufferings*, which appear in their inward virtue and efficacy, and to which the Scriptures do very plainly and emphatically ascribe the expiation of sin.

'Tis his blood ¹ that cleanseth us from all sin; that ² purges the conscience from dead works. 'Tis by the ³ sacrifice of himself that he hath put away sin, and obtained eternal redemption for us, and hath ⁴ perfected forever them that are sanctified, Could this be affirmed of the sacrifices of the Law? No, the Apostle assures us that it neither was, nor could possibly be affirmed of them: *adwamw* ⁵ *yd*, it was impossible that the blood of Bulls and Goats could take away sin. How impossible? if the virtue of all sacrifices did depend upon *divine acceptance*, was it not possible that God might have appointed, and have accepted of the life of a Beast instead of that of the greatest Malefactor in any case, who thereby might be freed not only from a temporal, but likewise from the obligation to an eternal death; I mean *accedente fide & penitentia*, upon condition of faith and repentance, without which the sacrifice of Christ himself will not be effectual to procure actual pardon.

The *Socinians* and *Remonstr.* I am sure will teach us another lesson, *viz.* that God if he pleased might ¹ have pardoned the inward

1 1 Jo. 1. 7. 2 Heb. 9. 14. 3 Heb. 9. 26. v. 12. 4 ch. 10. 14. v. 4.
5 Deo autem jus absolutum est declarandi, quo pretio sibi satisfieri velit. Sane si ex voluntate Dei Vet. Testam. victima sufficere potuerunt ad expianda minora populi delicta, pro

inward guilt, as well as the outward pollution, by any sacrifices, or by any other means and conditions such as he should freely and graciously appoint. Wherein then lies the difference in point of expiation, between the *sacrifices of the Law*, and the *oblation of Christ*; that one could *purge the Conscience and take away sin*, but the other could not? If all be resolved into divine appointment and pleasure; then I say it might equally be affirmed of the *blood of Christ*, (if considered in it self) as well as of that of *Calves and Goats*, that it could not *take away sin*, that it could not *make the comers to God perfect as pertaining to the Conscience*: nay that it was impossible it should do so. And on the other hand, upon the same supposition, it might be affirmed of the legal Sacrifices as well as of that of the Gospel, *viz.* if God had appointed them to that purpose (as they say he might) that *they did obtain eternal redemption for us*, that they did *take away sin*, that they did *sanctify, not only to the purifying of the flesh, but likewise to the purging of the Conscience from dead works*; and lastly that they *perfected for ever them that were sanctified and cleansed* thereby. And therefore that they needed not be reiterated year by year, *because the worshippers being thus once thoroughly purged, would have no more Conscience of sin*. These are things that would sound very oddly to any Christian ear. But yet these must be the unavoidable consequences of that opinion, which makes the efficacy of Christs death like that of the sacrifices under the law, to depend upon divine approbation and consent; for by this account they are put upon the same level as it were.

You will say, there is a vast difference still between them, which arises from the dignity and worth of *the person* of our Savior. As to what concerns the person of our Savior, the *Soci-nians* we know, do account him to be but a meer man as to his

pro quorum expiatione Deus illo tempore sacrificia admisit. Quidni & ex eadem voluntate Dei, sanguis Christi peccatis expiandis sufficiat? Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 22. Sect. 5. Ostendimus, ad redemptionem non requiri pretium per omnia aequale malo ac miseriae, qua redemptio fit: sed tantum juxta aestimationem illius cui pretium persolvendum est. Ille autem acquiescere potest quocunque pretio, quod ipse exigere potest, persoluto, Id. Cap. 21. Sect. 9.

nature; and withal assure us, that whatever strokes are laid upon a man, have no more force and virtue than if they were inflicted *bestiæ alicui*, upon any beast, *Ox or Ass, Horse or Camel*. So that whatever difference there may be otherwise between them, yet in this case, one hath no superiority or advantage above the other.

The *Remonstrants* indeed do say that he is *the son of God*, and *God blessed for ever*, (Tho I am afraid they call him so only in the *Arian* sense, *viz.* that he is a divine person, but inferior to his Father, both in *duration, power, and dignity*, which it is certain he cannot be, if he be *true God*, and *Consubstantial* with his Father,) and therefore that the dignity of his person doth add *pondus* ³ *immensum*, a great weight to his sufferings. But then the question farther will be: whether the *dignity of his nature* did add any such *dignity to his sufferings*, so as, *sua vi & efficacia*, that by their own force and efficacy they could, and did expiate sin? no, they say it did not; the sacrifice which Christ offered was indeed *sufficient* for this purpose, but *this sufficiencie*, notwithstanding the great worth and excellence of his nature, is to be resolved into the divine will and pleasure. God required no other nor greater price for the redemption of mankind, *sed in hac unica victima acquievit*; he did rest satisfied with this one oblation which Christ made of himself.

But if this be all that is to be owned concerning the satisfaction of Christ, we are but where we were before. And then the sacrifice of Christ, whatever other worth it might

1 *Socin. de Christo Serv. par. 3. Cap. 4.* See the second part of the Preserv. p. 119.

2 *Curcellæus* his opinion is very well known in this matter; which is approved of and vindicated by *Limb.* in his Preface to his works, whose sense of this matter may be farther seen in his Institutions, *Lib. 2. Cap. 17. Sect. 25, 26.* Where he asserts not only a subordination between the Father and the Son, which we likewise grant; but that the Son is inferior to his Father, and the Father consequently superior to the Son: *avo, potentia, dignitate.* This he saith was the opinion of the Fathers of the first three Centuries: for proof of which he cites the Testimony and Confession of *Dionysius Petavius* which he mentions with approbation; who among other things tells us, that the aforesaid Fathers did believe the Son of God, *non minus quam ceteras creaturas initium habuisse; hoc est, minime ex æterno distinctam hypostasin habuisse, putarunt.* 3 *Limb. Lib. 3. Cap. 22. Sect. 5.*

acquire from the dignity of his nature, acquired no proper force and virtue to expiate sin; and therefore, (if so) we must say again, that in point of efficacy it did not exceed the sacrifices under the Law; and that his blood, if considered in it self, did not any more than that of Calves and Goats, take away sin; nay *ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀσπασίμω*, it was impossible it should do so. Which must needs be a harsh and unpleasing doctrine to any Christians ears, as we said before, which have been accustomed to another sort of sound.

On the other hand we think our selves obliged to affirm, that the death and sufferings of our Savior by their own efficacy, arising indeed from the infinite worth of his person, did take away sin, and purge the Conscience which was sensible of the guilt, and in great dread of punishment. And if you enquire wherein this efficacy did consist; we answer as we did before, it did consist in this, viz. That his sufferings for us, did bear a just proportion, and were equivalent to the sufferings and punishment of all mankind, and thereby he made a full, perfect and sufficient oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. And this is that which the Fathers of old constantly affirmed; so that it is no new doctrine, but that which was always believed and maintained by the Catholic Church: as will appear by the following Testimonies, which, among a great many other that might be produced to this purpose, I have made choice of, as being very plain and full, and coming up to the point.

Among the works of St. Cyprian, are some treatises inserted, which are now generally acknowledged to be written by Arnoldus Abbot of Bonneval, styled Carnotensis from the Diocese in which that Abby was situated, wherein he speaks very fully on this Subject. Particularly in his Treatise *de septem verbis Novissimis à Christo in Cruce prolatis*, Cap. I. He asserts, that our Savior substituted himself in our room, and voluntarily undertook that debt which he owed: And accordingly that God the Father who

¹ Pro debitoribus debitorem se objectis. & quod ex se non debebat, ultro debere non abnuis; ideoque totius debiti summam ab eo qui pro omnibus se tradebat, exactor exegit.

required payment, exacted of him totius debiti summam, the whole debt, which he fully discharged. It was not the whole debt in kind, but it was the whole in a just construction of Law, because it was an equal value. But in his Treatise *De Ascensione Christi*, he expresses himself more plainly. It is not to be doubted (saith he) but that the price which he laid down for us was so great, ut superaret negotium, that it exceeded what we owed: and the punishment which we were condemned to, and justly deserved, was not equal to the obedience and sufferings of Christ; which were therefore not only a sufficient, but a superabundant compensation for the damage sustained by our disobedience.

Anselme who lived for some time in the same Century with him expresses himself to the same purpose, That since no man can redeem his own Soul, by a full payment of what he owes, therefore Christ discharged that debt, & reddidit plus quam debetur, paid more then was owing.

Perhaps it will be said, that it is no great matter what these, and the like Authors affirm of this matter, because they lived in that Age, when the foundations of *Scholastick Divinity* were laid in the *Latin Church*, whereby a great many *Metaphysical subtleties* were introduced into our Religion with which the ancient Church was unacquainted. It is true *Arnoldus* lived in the same Century with *Lombard*, and *Anselm* flourished in that preceding, viz. the 11th, and succeeded *Lanfranc* in the See of *Canterbury*, who is said to be the first that began this way of writing in the *Western Church*, in imitation of what had been three ages before attempted by *John Damascen* in the *Greek*.

But this can be no prejudice to their opinion in this particular, because they hereby did not introduce any novel doctrine,

1 Tanto pretio damnatas redemit, ut dubium esse non possit, quin pretii magnitudo superaret negotium: nec æquari potest damnum, quod omnino damnatio nostra meruerat, obedientie Christi quæ gratis usque ad mortem progressa est. & ultro solvit quod non debebat.

2 De Concept. Virgin. & peccato Origin. Cap. 11. Deus non exigit ab ullo peccatore plus quam debet: sed quoniam nullus potest reddere quantum debet, solus Christus reddidit pro omnibus qui salvantur, plus quam debetur.

which the former and better ages were not acquainted with: but did tread in the steps of their forefathers, and delivered what they found generally embraced by the whole Church, and which made up part of the faith of all sound Christians in these and former ages. And accordingly we find *Grotius* citing them among the other authorities which he produces from the Ancients, in defence of the *Catholick Faith* concerning the satisfaction of Christ. By which it appears that *Grotius* in his excellent Book on that subject, did not rest in the general notion concerning the expiation of sin, but intended such an expiation as was performed by a *plenary and ample satisfaction* made to the justice of God; such as these Authors owned, whose words he cites in confirmation of his own opinion. For we cannot imagine that *Grotius* could be so devoid of judgment, as to produce any testimonies that were *impertinent*, and much less such as were *inconsistent* with his own doctrine.

But to rise higher, and proceed to other testimonies which are more authentick. The great *Athanasius* hath written several Treatises concerning the *Incarnation and sufferings of our Savior*, in which he expresses himself plainly and fully upon this Subject. 'All men saith he, having 'sinned, all must dye, 'or else the Law which threatned death could not be fulfilled. 'But for as much as the greatness of the sin exceeded all the 'punishment which they could suffer; all mankind being unable and unsufficient for this purpose: our Savior did voluntarily undergo *πύτην* ² *πμωρίαν*, that very punishment, *κ' τὰ ἡμῶν* ¹ *πρωτόγονοι* τῷ πατρὶ, and suffered what we deserved, and what 'otherwise must have lighted upon our Heads.

1 Ἰδὲν (de Christo Dei verbo loquitur) τὸ λογικὸν ἀπολαύμενον ἡμῶν. καὶ δ' ἀνάστατον καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι καὶ ἀπειλήν τ' παραβάσεως ἀφαιρούμενος τ' καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκδιδόν. καὶ ὅτι ἄποτον ὡς οὗτος τ' πικρὸν δίδωμι τ' γλυκὺν κοδώνω. Ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκφράττειν κακίαν. Ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι τὸ ἀπολύθαι πάντων οὗτος ἀνθρώπων οὗτος δ' ἀνάστατος, ἐκείνος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, καὶ τ' ἀδύνατον οὐκ ἐκείνου ἡμῶν, λαμβάνει ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα, &c. Athan. de Incarn. p. 60. Edit. Par.

2 Id. De Passione & Cruce Dom. p. 1002.

How could he undergo our punishment, or offer up those sufferings to his Father which otherwise would have overtaken us? were they the same in kind? no that they could not be. But they were the same in *worth*; and that not only by a gracious and favorable acceptation, but in a strict and proper valuation. For by standing in our stead and dying for us, he ¹ did τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐλογον, *quod æquum & rationi consentaneum erat patri prestare*, undergoe what was *just* for his father to demand, and *reasonable* for him to accept. What? was this a punishment *less* than what our sins had deserved, and what we otherwise should have suffered? how then could it be εὐλογον, agreeable to reason and justice. It is certain it could not be so in the opinion of *Athanasius*. For not to lay too great a stress on that word: it appears by the other expressions which he makes use of upon this occasion, that he thought the death of Christ, was not only of *equal value*, but *far exceeded* the sufferings and punishment of all mankind. ² For *they* could not do that which was sufficient to satisfy the justice of God; but *He*, ³ and *He alone* was able to suffer for us; *He* only sufficient to mediate between God and man. Being to suffer in our stead, ⁴ it was necessary that he should take upon him a body that in it he might be capable of dying; but that this Body might prove *a sufficient Sacrifice* ⁵ ἵνα αὐτὶ πάντων ἱκανὸν γένηται τῷ θανάτῳ, it was united to the divine λόγος: and thereby became abundantly or if you please superabundantly sufficient for this purpose.

If the *sufficiency* of Christs death in order to expiate sin, were to be resolved into divine pleasure and acceptation: *Athanasius* his way of reasoning upon this subject would have been extremely impertinent. For upon that account, the death of a Beast (as the *Socinians* and *Remonstrants* tell us, as we heard be-

1 Id. de Incarn. p. 60.

2 Μόνος ὡς θύματος καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων παθεῖν, καὶ ἀριστοτέλει σὺν πάντων ἱκανὸς ποιεῖν & παρῆναι. De Incarn. p. 60.

3 Σωτῆρὲν γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν λυθεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ φθαρῶ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀποθανεῖν, ὅς οἱόν τι διὰ ὡς & λόγος ἀποθανεῖν, ἀθάνατον οὐτα καὶ τὸ παρὲς ἡμῶν, τί τε ἐρί-
ζειν τὸ θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν ἑαυτῷ λαμβάνει σῶμα, ibid. p. 61.

4 Ibid.

fore) and much more the sufferings of any eminent man, or glorious Angel, might have sufficed to have procured pardon for sinners. 'No, saith *Athanasius*, 'ἐκ ἄλλου ἦν, it was not in 'the power of any other, either Man or Angel, to redeem men 'from punishment, but only τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, of that divine word 'which *first made*, he only did, and only could *restore them*. He 'saw and had compassion upon the forlorn condition of fallen, 'sinful man; and therefore he undertook to do that which was 'impossible else to be performed; and what was that? was it only to submit to *punishment*; no sure that could not be all; for others were capable of being *punished* as well as he. But he was farther to suffer a punishment that was *equal* to the guilt of men, and thereby to satisfy divine justice. 'For ἡ τῆς 'κακίας ὑπερβολὴ πῶτον πτωχείαν ὑπερῆρε, the greatness of our guilt 'was such that it exceeded all finite punishments: But the son of 'God knowing τὴν αὐτοῦ ἰκανότητα καὶ δύναμιν, his own strength and 'sufficiency; he submitted to death, and thereby 'consummated 'the death of all men: and by offering his own body, ἀντιψυχον, 'as a sacrifice in their room, ἐπλήρωσεν τὸ ὀφειλόμενον, ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ: 'fully discharged their debt, whereby they become acquitted 'and free from that obligation.

Nay he did not only pay what was due, but by offering up his own life, gave that in exchange which far exceeded it: & μικρὰ 'μεγάλους, *parva magnis compensavit*. How *parva*? what were those small things which were thus to be recompensed? why they were

1 Οὐκ ἄλλου ἢ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ γενόμενος φθορᾶς τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἀντιψυχόν, ὃ τὸ θεῷ λόγῳ τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πτωχικὸς αὐτός. *ibid.* p. 62. ἔκιν' ἑτέρου τοῦ πτωχικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου. *ibid.* p. 66.

2 Ὅρων τὸ μὲν τὴν κακίαν ἀφάρτησεν, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν γένος ἔχον ἰκανὸν ἀντιψύχου τοῦ θεοῦ θανάτου. ἔδ' ἡ πτωχείαν τῆς κακίας δυνατὸν ἀποδοῦναι. *Id. de passione & cruce Domini* p. 1002.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Τὸν διδόμενον θάνατον ὡς τὸ πάντων σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ πτωχικόν, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἔλθ' πτωχικόν ὁ σωτὴρ. *De Incarn.* p. 75.

5 Ὅτι περὶ ὁ πάντων θάνατος ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ σώματι ἐκπλήρωται. θανάτου γὰρ ἡ κακία. καὶ θάνατος ὡς πάντων ἑδ' ἡ γένεσις, ἵνα τὸ θεῷ πάντων ἀποκρίμενον γέν' *ibid.* p. 73.

6 *De Passione Domini* p. 1002.

no less than the sins of mankind, and the obligation to punishment which they had thereby contracted: But all that was but a small matter in comparison of what he gave in exchange, which was his own death and sufferings.

And with him agrees ¹ St. *Austin*, who in a devout contemplation of the greatness of his Savior's sufferings for him, cries out, *Magna est iniquitas mea, sed major est redemptio tua*: the punishment which my sins deserved is great, but what thou didst and sufferedst for my redemption is much greater. And so may every sinner truly say; which will not be a complement to his Savior; but a pious confession of his own demerit, and a grateful acknowledgment of the worth and dignity of his Redeemers passion. And of the same opinion with them both was ² St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, who affirms that the death of *one*, viz. of the *divine word*, who assumed our nature that in it he might dye for us; *omnium hominum vita præponderavit*, did not only equal but far excel the lives of all mankind.

I shall instance but in one Father more, and that is St. *Chrysostome*, who in his Exposition on the 5th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans* v. 17. affirms, that Christ did not only discharge *our debt*, but πολλὰ πλείονα ὥν ὀφείλομεν κατεβαλεν, paid more than we owed: nay, πᾶσι πλείονα, ὅσῳ πρὸς πανίδα μικρὰν πύλας ἀπειρον, so much the more, as that our whole debt bore no greater a proportion to it, than a drop of water doth to the immense Ocean. Here is the doctrine, not only of *equivalents*, but even of *exsuperants* delivered with a witness. And I believe neither *Anselm* nor *Lombard*, nor *Thomas*, nor *Bonaventure*, nor any other the most subtil and Metaphysical Schoolman, could deliver himself more fully, or as some perhaps may think, hyperbolically upon this occasion.

By all which it plainly appears what the opinion of the *Ancients* was, concerning the end and design of Christ's dying for us, which was that he might thereby satisfy the justice of his Father for our sins. And whatever other ways the infinite

¹ Serm. de Temp. 122. ² Exegeti ad Valerianum de verbi Incarn. citat. à Gror. Lib. de Satisf. inter Testim. Vet.

wisdom of God might have found out for the redemption and salvation of mankind, yet the reason why he contrived and pitched upon this method in their opinion was, because it was the fittest way for the vindicating his authority, and giving satisfaction to his justice, I mean a *full and plenary satisfaction*.

And with these expressions of the Father, agree the declarations of our Church, frequently made by her in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies: particularly in the first Sermon concerning the Salvation of mankind; where we are told, *that God sent his only son our Savior Christ into the world, to fulfill the Law for us, and by shedding his most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or (as it may be called) amends to his Father for our sins, to assuage his wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same.* And in the Conclusion of that discourse. *That whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their Ransome: It pleased our Heavenly Father of his infinite mercy to prepare for us the most precious Jewels of Christs Body and Blood, whereby our ransome might be fully paid, the Law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied.* By all that hath been said upon this head, I think we have made it sufficiently to appear, that the *end and reasons* of Christs sufferings do clearly demonstrate, that they were *equivalent* to the punishment of all mankind.

This will be farther evident in the second place from the consideration of their inward worth and dignity, arising indeed from the superlative eminence and dignity of the person suffering; who was the eternal son of God, and God blessed for ever. 'Twas he who purchased and redeemed *his Church with his own blood*. Indeed the sufferings of our Savior if considered in themselves, abstracting from the divinity of his person, could not be of such extraordinary excellence and value as we now contend for. The *pains* that he endured in his body it is true were very acute and grievous. The *fear and horror* which he was under from the apprehensions of his Fathers wrath, and indignation against sin, (of which to be sure he had a clear, and sensible view when he stood in the

room of sinners;) and the *anguish and agonies* of his Soul which were consequent thereunto, tho exquisitely and unexpressibly great; so that he might cry out, *was ever any sorrow like unto my sorrow, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in* ⁱⁿ *view* *of his fierce anger?* yet for all this they were but finite, because terminated in his humane nature which was so.

For this reason, as his sufferings before, and upon the Cross, were *extensively* and in their duration finite, it was impossible that *intensively* and with respect to any degrees of pain, they should be infinite; and consequently they could not be equal to the punishment of all mankind. But then we are farther to consider, that this humane nature, made up of that body, and soul in which he suffered, was united to the Divine word: and this gave them *pondus immensum* saith *Limb.* nay *valorem infinitum* say other Protestants, and so say the Ancients: whereby they did not only *procure*, but strictly and properly *merit pardon*. For which reason the Church teaches us to recommend our selves to the mercy of God, thro the *merits*, nay the *allsufficient merits* of his son. I hope here I need not be put upon the proof either first, that in all true merit there is *dati & accepti aequalitas*, a just proportion and equality between the thing given and received, the action and the reward; and consequently that if the sufferings of our Savior are *meritorious* of pardon, they must be equivalent *malo & miserie à qua redempti sumus*; to that guilt and misery from which we are redeemed. This is agreed on on all hands, as every body knows, who pretends to know any thing of these matters, and the disputes between us and the *Papists* upon this Subject.

Nor in the second place is it needful, I hope, to prove, that the sufferings of our Savior were *truly and properly* meritorious. This is owned by all good Christians, both *Papists* and Protestants being at perfect agreement in this matter. And the declarations of our own Church about it are so frequently made, and so fully expressed, that she hath left no room for doubt or scruple concerning her sense of it. Nay she doth not only believe this doctrine concerning the merits of Christ to

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be true. but likewise so important a truth, that she hath declared, that to deny it is in effect to renounce the Christian Religion. And for any man to pretend to be a member of this Church, and yet to make any doubt of the truth of that, which she so often affirms, and which she requires all her devout Children in their solemn addresses to Heaven to make mention of, as the only ground of their confidence, and the true bottom upon which they can place their hopes of pardon and acceptance: I say after all this for any to pretend to be of her Communion, and yet either deny, or indeed doubt of it: is such a degree of prevarication. that we cannot easily find words to express the scandal and impiety of it. Now from both these things it must plainly follow, that the doctrine of *Christ's merits*, and the doctrine of *Equivalents*, must either both be received or both be rejected, and must stand or fall together.

But perhaps for all this it will be said, that *Calvin* and some other *Protestant Divines*, deny the *merits* of Christ strictly so called, and say his sufferings are only meritorious by divine acceptance. To which I answer, that tho the Divine acceptance (as we have allways affirmed) is absolutely necessary to render them effectually such to us; yet their merit is originally founded in their internal worth and dignity, and that *equality* and *proportion* which is to be found between them and the reward, to which they are ordained and appointed. And this their immense value and dignity is acknowledged by *Calvin* and all other *Protestants* in as ample manner as can be desired. But for the Readers farther satisfaction, and that he may not be led into any mistakes by the suggestions either of *Papists* or *Rem.* in this matter; He must know that there was a controversy which did arise

I This faith the holy Scripture teacheth us. (*viz.* concerning the merits of Christ's precious blood as the true cause of our justification) this is the strong rock and foundation of the Christian Religion: this doctrine all old and ancient Authors of Christ's Church do approve: this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain glory of man: this whosoever denieth is not to be accounted for a Christian man &c. *The third part of the Homily of Salvation.*

betwixt the *reformed* and some of the *Schoolmen*, occasioned by a very nice and overcurious question started by these latter; who according to their custom, after they have rightly stated, and by clear arguments confirmed the truth; do then proceed to propose several vain and curious questions about it; which they as vainly and confidently venture to determine, without any good warrant from reason, and less from divine authority and revelation, which is generally silent in those matters. This being generally the great fault of those writers, whose writings otherwise are of excellent use. And so it hath happened in the case before us. For having rightly and in agreement with the *Ancient Church* asserted and vindicated the dignity and efficacy of our Saviors sufferings: they then proceed farther, and propose this nice and impertinent question, whether, if the Son of God, without the consent, and antecedent to any agreement between him and his Father, had taken our nature upon him, and in it had suffered for the sins of men; whether I say in this case, his death and sufferings would have procured and *merited* pardon for sinners; and which God the Father must in point of strict justice have accepted, tho he had entered into no such covenant and agreement with his Son.

Here the reformed divines, and particularly *Calvin*, (who is railed at by ² *Vasquez*, and mentioned by ³ *Limb.* with commendation for so doing) upon good reason dissents from these Schoolmen; and rightly states this matter, as we formerly observed: *viz.* ⁴ that the sufferings of Christ, tho of *infinite value*

¹ Vide *Vasq. disput. 5. in tertiam partem Divi Thomæ.* ² Loco jam cit. ³ *Th. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 21.* ⁴ And with them agrees *Suarez* (for the Schoolmen themselves are divided upon this subject) who very clearly and judiciously hath stated this matter in the following words. *De ratione meriti perfecti est, ut opus ipsum habeat sufficientem proportionem, & condignum valorem respectu illius præmi ad quod ordinatur: quia alias non servaretur æqualitas quam justitia postulat. Præter hanc autem operis proportionem & dignitatem, existimo necessariam esse promissionem sub conditione operis, in qua tale opus nitatur. Est enim meritum (ut omnes Theologi fatentur) actus cui debetur ex justitia merces; unde non satis est ut de se sit condignus & proportionatus præmio, sed etiam oportet ut habeat vim inducendi obligationem ex justitia, ex qua illi debeatur præmium. Nullus enim actus meritorius apud Deum potest respectu illius habere hanc vim, nisi in illius promissione vel pacto fundatur: quia cum Deus sit absolutus & supremus Dominus, nullus alius potest per se obligare illum.*

his, could not have obliged God the Father to grant remission of sin, without his own free consent. Because he might (if he had so thought fit) have refused any *Exchange* tho of never so great value; and have demanded the punishment of the *criminals themselves*. But upon supposition of such agreement, none can speak in more lofty and sublime termes of the dignity and virtue of their Saviors sufferings than the *reformed* generally do: who acknowledge them to be of infinite worth and value, and *strictly meritorious* of pardon. . . And particularly *Chamier* in his disputation on this subject, tells *Vasquez* (who had raised some groundless and unreasonable complaints against *Calvin* upon this occasion) that he did but lose his time, and abuse the patience of his Readers by such loud but fruitless exclamations. *you magnify the merits, saith he, of Christ, and tell us that the price which he laid down for our redemption, equalled, nay exceeded our guilt; but you are so far from meeting with any opposition from us upon this account, that we own and contend for it as well as you. It is the subject of our sermons and catechetical discourses: our children are taught and instructed to acknowledge it, and it is reputed by us among the first principles of the Oracles of God.*

Which Testimony of his ought the more to be regarded, because he speaks not only his own sense, but likewise in the name of the *Gallican* and other *Churches*; whose judgment and authority ought to be of the greater value and weight with us, than the Heterodox and new fangled Opinions of *Episcopus* and his disciples: who in this, as well as some other matters, have forsaken the common faith of the *reformed Churches*, & *in castra Socini transivere*, giving too great countenance to the bold and pernicious tenets of *Socinus*.

illum ex iustitia, seclusa promissione ejus. Comment. in tertiam partem Thom. Tom. 1. quest. 19. Art. 3. Sect. 1. Vide illum fute ac nervose disputantem de hac re, quest. 1. Art. 2. Disp. 4 eod. lib.

1 *Abutimini, ob Sophista, otio vestro, nostra patientia, cum hac nunc ingeritis tam importune. Probatis scil. immensam esse dignitatem pretii pro nobis oblatis: probatis aequasse peccatum, probatis longe superasse peccatum. Egregiam vero laudem! quasi ea non sit vel puerorum apud nos institutio,* Cham. de merito Christi, cap. 3.

This.

This is a truth therefore that we must stand by, and which ought stilly to be maintained by us, in opposition to any innovations that may be attempted in this matter, either as to words or sense. It is true the words *merit*, and *satisfaction* are not to be found in Scripture, for which reason they are quarrel'd at and rejected by ¹ *Curcellæus* and ² *Limb.* But this matters not, as long as the sense and meaning couched under them is to be found there. And this is acknowledged by ³ *Socinus* himself in another case. The words are now adopted by the Church, inserted into her *Homilies* and *Liturgies*; they are part of the *Catholic Faith* and become the common Language of all Christians. So that we cannot lay them aside, without giving infinite offence and scandal to all our friends of the Reformation, and at the same time of affording matter of boasting and triumph to our adversaries of the Church of *Rome*, who have long since told the world, that we are grown weary of our old Religion, and are all ready to turn *Socinians*. Besides all this, it will justify in great measure the Calumnies of our Modern *Unitarians*, who will exceedingly triumph to find their suspicions made good, *viz.* that we secretly favor their impious Opinions: and that if it were not for the *Bias* that is given to our minds by the awe of our superiors, and the love of our preferments, we would soon take off the mask and discover our true sentiments in their favor.

Lastly; as the worth and dignity of our Saviors sufferings prove them to be equivalent to the punishment of all mankind; so the effect and consequence of them are a clear demonstration of it likewise. For he underwent what the Law threatned, and our guilt rendered us obnoxious to: and we are thereby for ever freed from the obligation to punishment. I mean *ex parte Dei*, whose anger is pacified, and his justice is fully sa-

¹ Dissert. de vocibus Trinitatis, Personæ, &c. Sect. 30. 31. ² Theolog. Christ. Lib. 3. Cap. 21.

³ Rejiciuntur à nostris hominibus nomina Trinitatis & personarum in Deo, non ob id præcipue, quod ipsa nomina in sacris literis non legantur; sed quod res ipse quas significant ibidem nulla modo contineantur, Socin. Defens. animadver. adversus Europ. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 635.

tified; so that he requires no new sacrifice, exacts no new sufferings from us to entitle us to pardon: because our Savior by that one oblation of himself made upon the Cross, having obtained eternal redemption for us, and having thereby perfected for ever them that are sanctified; all that he now expects from us, are as we said before, *repentance from dead works, and faith in his son*, without which the redemption purchased will not be available to us; because without those conditions, as God in honor and justice cannot bestow, so neither are we capable of receiving those benefits, which Christ by dying in our stead hath merited for us.

But otherwise, all that was necessary to appease the anger of God, and to purchase pardon for sinners, hath been abundantly performed by our Savior; who having undergone the sentence, and submitted to the punishment of the Law, in our room and stead, hath discharged us from the obligation to it. For hereby as the Apostle tells us, *He hath blotted out the hand-writing of Ordinances that was against us, and which was contrary to us*, Col. 2. v. 14.

By *Ordinances* there are meant, both the *Ceremonial* and the *Moral Law*, from the obligation to which we (both Jews and Gentiles) are delivered by the Cross, that is the death of Christ; but not in the same way and manner. By his death we are entirely freed from any obligation to the observance of the *Ceremonial*, and from the curse and condemnation of the *Moral Law*; which therefore might be said to be against us, because it being not fulfilled and obeyed by any in that latitude and perfection which was required, it subjected all mankind to the Curse annexed to the violation of it. The Law then was a *Chirographum*, a written testimony, sufficient to convince us before God, and render us obnoxious to his justice, as a bond doth a debtor. But the force of this even the *Moral Law*, as to its condemning part, was evacuated and disannulled by the death of Christ.

And this is fully and emphatically expressed by the Apostle by three phrases, which denote the total abolition and extinction of the power and obligation of this hand-writing, or written

written Law, I mean as to what concerns the punishment threatned by it. 1st. *It was blotted out and cancelled as men do a Bond when it is discharged.* 2^{dly}, *He took it out of the way, so that it should never after be produced, or be forth coming to accuse or convince us* Lastly, *He nailed it to his Cross, rending it as it were with the nails of his Cross, and thereby tearing it to pieces, as men do a bond after it is cancelled, which is then done, cum omne quod debebatur solutum est;* our Savior hereby discovering and declaring to the world, that he had undertaken and suffered the penalty and condemnation due to the forfeiters of that Bond.

Neither can all this be resolved into divine acceptation and pleasure; because the intention and design of the Apostle was to set forth and declare to the world both Jews and Gentiles, not only the *riches of Gods grace* in the forgiveness of sin, but likewise the *mighty power and efficacy* of Christs death, whereby it was procured and purchased. Which appears by what follows; when in the next verse he tells us, that by thus disannulling the condemning force of the Law, he *spoiled the powers* of darkness, and *those principalities* of evil Spirits, who hereby were devided of that power and jurisdiction whereby they ruled over us as their Slaves and Captives; nay he *made a shew of them*, leading them as it were in triumph as the Conquerors of old were wont to do, and made them attend the wheels of his Chariot, *viz.* his Cross, in which he rested himself and sate as it were in state, after he had thereby vanquished all his and the enemies of our salvation.

Now if the death of Christ had no other dignity and efficacy but what was owing purely to divine estimation and acceptance; Then I say it could not bear such a loftiness and sublimity of expression, with which it is set forth by the Apostles: neither could our Savior with any regard to fitness and decency, be represented, as he here is, sitting as it were in state, adorned with the glorious and magnificent titles of *conquest and triumph*, encompassed with the spoils of his adversa-

1 See the *Oxford Paraphrase* upon this Text.

as so many trophies of his victories over them: Because according to this opinion, if we consider things impartially, we shall find that what he did was very little and inconsiderable to this purpose.

He dyed for us indeed, but his death if considered in it self, was but a very feeble impotent business: it had no power to effect, no worth and dignity to procure and merit our redemption. The Devil, it is true, the great enemy of our salvation, is now vanquished, and he who bruised the heel of our Savior is now placed under his and our feet; but this is owing not to the passion of Christ, but to the power of God, and our deliverance from his tyranny is to be ascribed solely to divine grace and favor. And if it had not been for that, we must still have continued under the guilt of our sins and the dominion of the Devil, notwithstanding any efficacy that we may imagine was in the death of Christ; whose cross would only have been a monument of the injustice and cruelty of the Jews and Romans, but no trophy of his power and conquest over sin and Hell; as the Christian world hath hitherto vainly fancied. But I shall forbear enlarging any farther on this subject.

By what hath been said, I think it plainly appears that the death of our Savior, whereby as a priest he offered up himself a sacrifice to divine justice, was equivalent to the death and punishment of all mankind: and therefore (that we may bring both parts of our argument together) that it was a clear proof of his Divinity. And for such it was allways acknowledged and urged by the Fathers when they discoursed of this matter. For when the question at any time was put, how the sufferings of Christ could suffice to purchase pardon and mercy for the whole world, they allways resolved the efficacy of them into the divine nature which was united to the humane in which he suffered. He only did, and he only could redeem us.

Now this must not be so understood, as if any restraints
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Eos itaque qui dicunt, Itane desuit Deo alius modus, quo liberaret hominem à miseria mortalitatis hujus ut unigenitum filium hominem fieri vellet, mortalemque factum mortem perpeti? parum est sic refellere, ut istum modum asseramus bonum & divine congruum dignitati, verum etiam ut ostendamus, non alium modum possibilem

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were designed thereby to be laid on the *power of God*, or such limits assigned to his *wisdom*, as if he could not have found out any other way, or effected our salvation by any other means than this: But when they spake of the reasons of our Saviors Incarnation and sufferings, they place the necessity of them in the *divine appointment and decree*. That is, since God had so ordered this matter, that the redemption of mankind was to be accomplished by a *plenary satisfaction* made to his justice; it was therefore necessary that a *divine person* should suffer, otherwise those sufferings could not have been of sufficient value, nor have afforded that perfect satisfaction which the Law required, and divine justice demanded.

‘How could Christ who was but a part of the world, save the whole world? it was the objection of the *Apollinarians* mentioned by *Athanasius*: which the holy Father styles a *deceitful and blasphemous suggestion*, because he who wrought our Salvation for us *was God as well as man*. If he had been only a man, it would have been a very proper question, and would have carried a difficulty with it, such as could not have been solved. But when we consider that he *was the Son of God* who dyed for us, the objection immediately vanishes. *ἐκ ἄλλου ἤ, &* faith the same Father as we heard before; ‘it was not in the power of any other either man or Angel, to purchase this redemption for us; he who first made, he only could restore us.

bilis Deo defuisse, cujus potestas nullis equaliter subjacent: sed sananda nostra infirmitas convenientiorem modum alium non fuisse, non esse oportuisse. Aug. Lib. 13. de Trinit. Cap. 10. *Verax namque misericordia Dei; cum ad reparandum humanum genus ineffabiliter ei multa suppeterent, hanc potissimum consulendi viam elegit, quo ad destruendum opus diaboli, non virtute uteretur potentia, sed rationis justitia.* Leo Mag. Serm. de Nativ. Christi.

ἢ ἄλλα πάλιν λέγει, εἰ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστός, μίκρος ἔσαι τῷ κόσμῳ, μέγας δὲ κόσμῳ κόσμον ὅλον ἢ δυνάμει, ὃ δύνει ἀπάντης, καὶ δυνάμει βλαστημίας. ἐν ᾧ οὖτοι ἐπεσχυθὲν ἡ ἀμαρτία, ἐν αὐτῇ γέγονεν ἡ πείραστος καὶ χάρις. τίς δὲ πείραστος καὶ χάρις, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, καὶ οὖτως ἐκείνῳ. ἰταχὶ ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς πτωδῇ. Athan. de salutari Christi adventu, p. 111 Edit. Colon.

a LXXI. p. 103.

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‘It was not a meer man; but the God man Christ Jesus, faith St. Basil: who could be a propitiation for the sins of the world. For what is there of that value, that was possible for a man to give for the redemption of his own Soul; but the infinite wisdom of God contrived and found out a price of equal value to the sins of mankind, viz. the holy and precious blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Proclus Bishop of Cyzicum and afterwards of Constantinople, in the Homily which he spoke in the great Church at Constantinople in the presence of Nestorius then Patriarch there; declares himself very clearly and fully upon this subject. For in giving an account of the end and reasons of Christ’s Incarnation, he tells us, ‘that mankind were much indebted to the justice of God by reason of their sins, which debts they themselves were not able to discharge: The Devil in the mean time was not wanting upon all occasions to put them in mind of their demerit, and to demand their punishment. Now one of these two things was absolutely necessary, either that all must undergo the death to which they were condemned, because all had sinned; or else that some such price for their redemption should be laid down as might fully satisfy the demands of justice. But this neither Man nor Angel could do :

1 Μὴτε ἔν ἀνθρώπον μόνον ζῆται εἰς ἀπολύτωσησιν, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρώπου Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, διὰ καὶ μόνος δύναται δοῦναι ἑξήρασμα τῶν ὁμῶν πάντων ἡμῶν, &c postea : τί γὰρ δύναται ἀνθρώπος εὐρεῖν πλημῆτιν, ἵνα δώῃ ὑπὲρ λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς, αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ εὐρέθη ἐν ὁμῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀντάξιον, ὃ ἐδόθη εἰς πληρὴν λυτρώσεως ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τὸ ἄριστον καὶ πολυτίμιον αἶμα καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔτεχε πάντων, Basil. Homil. in pf. 48. v. 7.

2 Μάθετε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς παρουσίας καὶ ἔξωσιν τῆς διώξεως καὶ σκελεθέντης. πολλὰ ἄρεσιν ἐξ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμεῶν ἀνθρώπων φάσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ χρεῖον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἄδαν μόνον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐχρηστέωσιν. δόκω ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Διόκλητος. τὰς ἀνάγκας ἡμῶν σκελεθῆναι, κατὰ κατὰ τὴν πολυτιμίαν ἡμῶν σώματι. εἰς τὴν ἐκ τῶν πατρῶν πλεονεξία, ἐπιστῆναι ἡμῶν τὸ χρεῖον, καὶ ἀπαιτῶν ἡμῶν τὸ δίκαιον. εἶδε τῶν δυνάμεων δάπτειν, ἡ πᾶσαν ἐπαχθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς καταδίκης δάναν, ἐπὶ τὴν καὶ πάντες ἡμεῶν, ἡ τῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν τμήμα, καὶ πᾶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου πρὸς παραίτησιν. ἀνθρώπος μὲν ἔν σῶσιν ἐκ ἡδύαται. ὑπὲρ τῶν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ἀγγέλους ἐξαγορεύσασθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ ἰσχύος. ἡπὶ τῶν γὰρ τῶν λύσει. λοιπὸν ἔν ὃ ἀναμάρτους δὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν λυτρώσιν ἁγίων. αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μόνον καὶ ἡ λύσις. Concil. Eph. Edit. Labb. cap. 1. p. 14.

'it remained therefore that he who was God should dye in
'the room of sinners; this being the only way left whereby
'they could escape that misery to which otherwise they must
'unavoidably be exposed. *Again,* 'He only was able to re-
'deem us; because being God as well as man, he did lay down
'a price which was not only *equal* or *equiponderant* to our Guilt,
'but which did by many degrees *exceed* it.

A very proper question is put by ² *Theodorus* Bishop of *An-
cyræ* in the *Homily* which he spoke upon the day of our *Saviors*
Nativity, and which was publickly read in the Council of
Ephesus; 'If it were not God who suffered for the sins of men,
'from whence could those sufferings acquire that mighty force
'and efficacy which is ascribed to them? How could death be
'destroyed by death, except it were God that dyed for us? But
'forasmuch as those sufferings were undergone by him that was
'God as well as man, it is no wonder that such mighty things
'should be accomplished by them; since they received their
'virtue and power from his Divinity.

The like question is put by ³ *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria* more than
once. 'If our Savior was but a common man, how could his
'life be equal to the lives of all men which were forfeited to

1 Τοῦτος γὰρ ἄλλος κατ'οικονομίαν ἔτι γέγονεν, ἔτι ὡς, ἔτι ἔσαι ποτὲ, ἢ μόνον ὁ ἐκ
παρθένης τεχθεὶς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος· ἐκ ἀντιπαλαρτοδύουσι μόνον ἔχον ἢ ἀξίαν τῇ πᾶσι τῶν
ὑποδίκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσις ψυχῆς ὑπερέχουσα. *ibid.* p. 15.

2 Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ ὀκειώσατο τὰ πάθη Θεός, πόθεν τοῖς πάθεσι τῷ Χριστῷ τὰ πᾶντα κατεδύ-
ματα; πῶς ἐβύοντο διωγμοί; πῶς ἀναιρέϊται θάνατος ὁ θάνατος, εἰ μὴ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἴδιον
ἐποίησατο; ἀλλὰ τὰυτὰ τὰ πάθη οἰκειωθέντα Θεῷ, ἢ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς τοσούτων κατεδωμάτων ἐκ
θανάτου ἐλάσιν, ὡς Θεὸς ἴδια γενηθῆναι, τοῖαν δὲ θανάτου ἐπαβίβλασεν, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀει-
μνήσαν ἀπαθείᾳ. πῶς γὰρ περιελάβη τῷ ξύλῳ τὸ κατ' ἡμῶν ἢ ἁμαρτίας χειρὶ ἔργον, ἀνδρά-
σι φίλῳ ἢ σαμερὲν ὑπομένειν; πῶς ἢ σαμερὲς ἁμαρτίαν ἐσαύρασαν, ἢ θάνατος θανάτου
ἢ τυραννίδα δέλυσεν, εἰ μὴ τὰυτὰ γέγονε Θεὸς, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ἢ δυνάμειν ἐλάβειν, οἰκειωσα-
μένης τὰ ἡμέτερα; *ibid.* part. 3. cap. 9. p. 993.

3 Πῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ὁ πάντων ἀντάξιον, εἰ ἀπὸς πνέοντος ἀνδρώπε
ροῦται τὸ πάθος; εἰ δὲ πέπεισεν ἀνδρωπῶς, ὡς τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς οἰκειώματος πάθος
τότε διὰ τότε φαμὲν, καὶ μάλα εὐλόγως, ὡς τῆς ἀπάντων ζωῆς ἀντάξιον ὁ ἔνθ' ὑπάρχει κα-
τὰ σάρκα θάνατος. ἔχ' ὡς ἐνός ὄντος τῷ κατ' ἡμᾶς, εἰ δὲ γέγονε κατ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι Θεὸς
ὡς φησὶ, σεσάρκωται τε καὶ ἐνσωθεύσθη καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἰμολογία. *De Verbi In-
carnat. Exegefi ad Valerian, ibid.* part. 3. cap. 40. 1161.

'divine

'divine justice? To which he gives the very same answer: He 'was God incarnate who dyed, and then it is no wonder that 'he could lay down such a price as was sufficient for the re- 'demption of the whole world. This he repeats again 'and a- gain, and both he and the other *Fathers* assembled in the great *Council of Ephesus* still resolve the dignity and efficacy of our Sa- viors sufferings into the *Divinity of his person*. And with this Argument they combat the Herefy of *Nestorius*, the impiety and danger of whose opinion chiefly consisted in this, *viz.* that by dividing Christ into *two persons*, and consequently cutting off all *communication of properties* between them; he plainly evacu- ated the force and energy of our Saviors sufferings, and there- by clearly subverted the doctrine concerning the redemption of the world by his death, as it was stated in the *Scriptures*, and believed by the *Catholick Church*.

If *Nestorius* had lived in our days, he might have answered for himself, as some now do: It is true by asserting *two persons* as well as *two natures* in Christ, I must acknowledge that he was a meer man that dyed for us, and consequently that the suffer- ings of an *Humane person*, could receive no virtue or dignity from the *Divine person* to which he was united, and which did co- habit and dwell in him². Neither is there any need that this should be done; for their efficacy doth not arise either from the *worthyness of the person*, or the *dignity of those sufferings*: They may without this, be still allsufficient, because their sufficiency

1 Εἰ μὲν ἀνθρώπος νοείται κοινός, πῶς ἀντιτίθεται τῇ ἀπάντων ζωῇ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ; εἰ δὲ θεὸς ὡς ἐν σαρκὶ ὁ πάντων ἀξιώπτερος, ἀξιοχρεὺς ἢ λύτρωσις τῷ κόσμῳ πάντες ἀλλήλοις αἵματος ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ μάλα εὐκότως. Id. *ibid.* part. 1. cap. 4. p. 186. ὅτι ποίῳ καὶ πῶς ἐν τῷ σώματι λέλυκεν ἅπαν ὁ Χριστὸς θάνατος, ἐκ ἀνθρώπου κοινὸν νοοῦν ἂν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ. περὶ τοῦ δὲ προσκεῖται μάλλον, ὅτι σὰρξ γεγονὸς ὁ λόγος, σαρκὶ πέποιθεν ὑπὲρ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ γέγονεν ἡμερὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσι εἰς τὴν τῷ κόσμῳ λύτρωσιν. Id. *ibid.* pag. 187. & alibi passim.

2 In this cohabitation or indwelling consisted the great mystery of the *Hypostatic union*, as it was explained by *Nestorius*; which explication of his was censured and condemned in the before mentioned Council of *Ephesus*. *Vide* *Cyrill. Exeg. ad Valerian. Concil. Eph. Par. 3. Cap. 40. p. 1160. Et Nestorii Anathematismus Cyrilli A- nath. oppositus par. 1. Cap. 29. p. 421.*

depends only on the divine pleasure and acceptation. But those Fathers were strangers to this sort of *Divinity*; who always believed that no less a recompense would be accepted of by God, than that which was equal to the guilt and demerit of mankind, and that none therefore could make it but he who was God as well as man.

I should tire the Reader if I should cite all the Testimonies of the other Fathers, which might be produced to this purpose. And indeed I have been the longer upon this subject, in citing and insisting on the former authorities from the *Ancients*, that I might rescue this doctrine concerning our Saviors satisfaction from the reflections cast upon it, as if it were only a *Metaphysical nicety*, and the invention of the *Schoolmen*: which now by some is thought to be so great a disparagement to any opinion, that you need not add any thing farther to expose it to contempt, and indeed to the detestation of the readers. But by what hath been produced I hope it sufficiently appears that this was the doctrine of the *Church of Christ*, always professed and maintained by the Fathers long before any such persons as the *Schoolmen* were ever heard of in the world. And what they say upon this subject may be reduced to these four Heads.

1st, That whatever methods the divine wisdom might have contrived for the Salvation of Mankind, yet the way that he pitched upon was, by demanding a *plenary, adequate satisfaction* for those wrongs and injuries that were done to his authority by the violation of his Laws. 2^{dly}, That it was not in the power of Man or Angel, or any other creature, to afford any such compensation to divine justice. Because, *ex perfecta justitia*, the expiation of Sin could not be accomplished but by such sufferings as were of infinite value. 3^{dly}, That our Savior by dying for us did make a *sufficient recompence* to that justice. The honor and authority of God being fully and in a more eminent manner vindicated by his death, than injured by our disobedience. So that his punishment did not only equal, but indeed preponderate our guilt. Lastly, That this was a clear proof of his Divinity. The Church of God was redeemed by his blood; the price therefore which he paid was of unspeakable value: the sacrifice which

which he offered was of *immense*, nay *infinite* virtue; the *punishment* which he underwent was *equivalent* to the sufferings of all mankind. This shews him to be God, because none less than God could lay down *such a price*, offer *such a sacrifice*, undergo *such sufferings* as were of this immense worth, this infinite force and efficacy.

And thus at length I have finished what I had to say upon this Head: and I hope have hereby made it sufficiently to appear that *Faith* as it is terminated upon *the person* of Christ is a necessary indispensable duty; and that the contrary opinion of *Socinus*, and *Episcop.* (which by confounding faith and obedience, makes the *former*, as it bespeaks the *persuasion* of the mind concerning the truths of the Gospel, and particularly that great truth, that Christ is the natural and eternal son of God, an useless and indifferent matter) is *highly dishonorable* to our Savior. And this was the first mischievous consequence which we affirmed, necessarily attends this opinion; because, without this persuasion concerning *the nature* of Christ, we cannot have that *inward* esteem and reverence for him as becomes us; we cannot make him those *outward acknowledgments*, nor pay him those external actions of Homage and worship which the Scriptures require of us. Nor lastly, can we truly and rightly own him to be *the Messiah*; because he could not execute the offices, nor perform the functions which belonged to him as *the Messiah*, except he were *God*, as well as man. And if so, then this persuasion of the mind concerning the Divine nature or Godhead of our Savior, is, *fatentibus adversariis*, absolutely necessary to Salvation, and that without which we cannot be Christians. The Primitive Christians could not conceive how it was possible for any person to be our Savior, who was not likewise our God. Therefore if it be necessary to believe Christ to be our Savior, it must at the same time (according to them) be necessary to believe him to be God.

And so I come to consider the second pernicious consequence which flows from it, *viz.* that it is highly pernicious to the *Christian Religion*, and the *Christian Church* which is established upon it,
and

and tends plainly to undermine and overturn them both. And this I shall endeavor to make out, with relation first to the Doctrine, and then secondly to the practice of Christianity.

1st Then, as to what concerns the doctrine, I say that Socinus and his followers, by confounding *faith and obedience*, and accounting the former, as it bespeaks *the persuasion of the mind* concerning the truths of the Gospel, an useless or at best an indifferent matter; plainly lay the foundations of infidelity, and thereby betray the Christian Religion, and deliver up the Doctrines of it into the hands of its enemies, both those *within*, and those *without* the pale of the Church.

1st As to the former, such I mean, who take upon them the name and profession of Christians, (and therefore in a large general sense may be said to be within the Pale of the Church) and yet hold several pernicious and impious opinions, such as have been vended and published both in former and latter ages by divers bold and presumptuous persons, (such as were the *Cerinthians*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionites* of old; *Unitarians*, *Anabaptists* (especially the *Munsterian* and *Flandrian* sorts) *Familists*, *Muggletonians*, *Quakers*, &c. of later times) to the great detriment and scandal of the Christian Religion, whereby the peace of the Church hath been disturbed, and the purity of its doctrines corrupted and depraved: 'Tis certain all these, together with the opinions published by them, (whether they are owing to *rapture and enthusiasme*, or are the product of a more *calm and deliberate contrivance*, in this case it matters not) receive too great countenance and encouragement from this notion. For since a good life is not only the principal end of all Religion, but consists *solely*, as they tell us, in the *Practice of Piety* and virtue; what need any man be concerned about his *Faith*, and the persuasion of his mind, concerning the *doctrines* of the Gospel, provided he yields obedience to the *precepts* of it; which obedience they say, is the summe and substance of Christianity.

Now it is certain, that *probity*, which is the main thing required and recommended by Socinus, consisting in the exercise

¹ See the assertions of Socin. to this purpose before produced, p. 34, 35.

Justice, Charity, and Temperance, &c. and other moral vertues, may be, and hath been consistent with divers false and erroneous persuasions concerning the mysteries of Religion and the Articles of our Faith: and if so, from hence it must follow (I mean according to this notion advanced by *Socinus*) that it matters not what apprehensions you have of these *latter*; nor particularly what opinions you entertain of the *person and nature* of Christ: whether you conceive him to be *God or Man*; the son of *God*, or the son of *Joseph*: whether you think he existed from all eternity, or think he had no existence antecedent to his being born of the Virgin; whether you believe him to be *one person*, or divided *into two*: whether you think he consists of *two natures*, or after the union of both, whether they are so blended and confounded, as to make up *but one*: That is, whether you are an *Ebionite, Cerinthian, Arian, Samosatene, Photinian, Nestorian, or Eutychian*; it is not much material: *modo vitæ sanctimoniam salva sit*: provided you retain a due regard for holiness and live a good life.

For supposing the opinions before mentioned, or others of the like nature, to be opposite to the truth, yet forasmuch as they are not inconsistent with Piety, there can be no harm or danger in them. The persons who maintained them might be *men of probity*, and if so, the holiness of their Lives makes a sufficient atonement for the errors of their understanding, which at most are inconsiderable, and therefore very pardonable mistakes. For *among all Sects, and in all Ages*, as one of them saith, *God hath preserved a Body of Morality, which is the great and only design of the Gospel*. For which reason, not only the *Socinians*, (who publicly profess themselves to be of

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1 *An Exhort. to an impartial enquiry into Rel. p. 15.*

2 We know the *Unitarians* both of this and the last Age, are so far from being ashamed of the above mentioned names. and others of the like nature, so as to look upon them to be terms of obloquy and reproach, that they rather Glory in them, and own divers of the Authors and Founders of those Sects to be of their Party. Nay upon this account they vye with the Orthodox for superiority in point of numbers, even in the Primitive times. So that of all those Heroes transmitted to us in the Catalogue of Hereticks, down from *Simon Magus* to *Arius*, there

the same party, and own the opinions of divers of them who in the first and purest ages, were branded with the name of *Hereticks*) but *Episcopus* and his followers acted by the same principle, speak very favorably in general both of *Heresy* and

there are few which they do not claim to be theirs. For whereas we cannot produce above twenty Authors, they say, in defence of our Doctrines concerning the Divinity of Christ; they can Cite near two hundred, who are clearly on their side, viz. *Theodotion, Symmachus, Cerinthus, &c.* and much good may their numbers do them. See the Book Entitled the *Judgment of the Fathers opposed to Dr. Bull's Defence*. Whereas there are now lost about 200. for about 20 Antient writers which are preserved, we are to impute this loss, to the Errors contained in their Books; that is more plainly, he saith, to their too manifest agreement with the *Arian* and *Minian*, now called the *Socinian Heresies*, p. 5. See the *Brief Hist. of the Unitarians*, p. 10.

I Tanti est Remonstrantibus manifesta veritas, ut susque habeant, seu Socini, seu Serveti, seu Arii, seu Pelagii seu alterius exosissimi hominis nomen praescribatur, aut genium ejus aut spiritum redolere dicatur. Manifesta veritas non depreciatur inoffenso naminibus, prudentes non terrentur vocibus Hereticorum, Episcop. Resp. ad Specimen. Calumni. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 287. In these words there is craftily pretended a reservation for truth; but then at the same time there is an insinuation, as if the Opinions of *Socinus, Servetus, Arius, Pelagius*, in those points in which they differ from the common and generally received doctrines of the Catholick Church, are true, which I think is a scandalous suggestion. *Affirmare non dubitamus, fieri posse, ut error aliquis qui non tantum in Doctrinam Jesu Christi impingit, sed etiam etiam impingit, ut etiam in natura sua, & in seipso consideratus cultui & obsequio Jesu Christi, honorique & majestati ejus omnino contrarius sit, cum fide vera, qua creditur Jesum esse Christum, consistat, ac proinde errans talis, vere filius Dei, membrum Jesu Christi, & frater noster sit atque habeatur, Id. Lect. Sacrae. i Cap. 5. primae Epist. Joh. v. 1. Viduas crebro id accidere ut qui Haeretici judicantur, vita sunt castigationis & disciplina exactioris, atque ita exemplo suo non modo nulli non noceant, sed aliis ad accuratius vivendum occasionem simul ac stimulum praebeant. Qua res innocentiam eorum adeo illustrat, ut merito dubites, majusne malum ab eorum Haeresi metuumendum sit, an ab exemplo vitae bonum sperandum: profecto vita innocentia admirabiles vires habet, & qui per errorem vel cum errore in ea adeo proficit, ut aliis exemplo sit & pene miraculo, ejus errori nescio quid non à nobis condonari possit ac debeat. Perdidit aculeum suum error qui vitae emendationis studium non potest extinguere. Id. in Vid. Rhap. p. 351. Hic limes, hic terminus eorum est, (Scil. Remonstr.) neminem pium à se excludere, nec profanum admittere, dissentientes omnes ferre & amplecti. Quos Deus Caelo ac glorioso suo throno dignatur, eos cur illi non dignentur societate sua? Atqui certa res est, omnes & solos pios ac fideles Dei cultores, omnes pacificos Christi filii sui imitatores, Deus caelo & domo sua dignari vult. Dissentientes ac errantes à se separare, aut se ab illis segregare, missam sibi mandatum legunt. Nec referre putant Remonstr. in quocunque dogmate sit dissensio, modo dogma istud Deum & pietatem non laedit, & qui istud profiteretur pacem cum dissentientibus colere ex animo paratus sit. Id. Apol. pro Conf. Remonstr. p. 118. His consentanea passim in illius scriptis, videntes scire, usque ad fastidium ne dicam nauscam Lectoris repetita, reperiri possunt.*

Hereticks,

Hereticks, and profess a high respect nay a kind of veneration for some of them, especially for those of this and the last Age, who are the bold and implacable enemies of the blessed Trinity. They disown their doctrines in some measure it's true, but yet maintain a friendship and correspondence with the Authors of them, and give them the right hand of fellowship.

They complement their persons, extol their piety, excuse, extenuate, make apologies for their mistakes, and proclaim to the world, that they know no harm nor malignity that is in them. Thus like *Judas* they *betray their Savior with a kiss*, and at the same time that they pretend to salute and reverence his person, and embrace his doctrines, they do really deliver up both into the hands of his professed enemies.

I know it will be here said, in behalf of both these before-mentioned *Socinians* and *Remonstrants*, that they are so far from disowning the *usefulness*, that they preach up the *necessity of Faith*, and upon all occasions declare, that to believe *Jesus to be the Messiah*, is a duty of absolute and indispensable obligation, and without which we cannot be Christians. To which I answer, that this very belief, which is all that they require of us, may be, and hath been consistent with divers, and those very dangerous errors, which plainly subvert the foundations of Christianity. And particularly in the primitive Church, sundry persons there were, who tho they did not totally revolt from the profession of the Christian Religion, but openly professed and believed *Jesus to be the Messiah*, yet for all this fell into many wild and desperate opinions, for which they were then, and still have been justly reputed *Hereticks*.

Thus the *Corpocratians* and *Cerinthians*, against whom St. *Jude* and St. *Peter* are supposed to write their Epistles, are styled by them *ungodly men*, and their errors, *damnable heresies*, 2 Pet. 2. 1. for by denying the divine nature of Christ, and accounting him to be only a man, tho at the same time they owned him to be *the Messiah*; they are said by those inspired writers, *to deny the Lord that bought them*, Jude 2. 4.

And the *Judaizing Christians*, against whom St. *Paul* wrote especially in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, come under the like

Censure and Condemnation. For tho they did in general believe in *Christ*, yet forasmuch as at the same time they did likewise believe that they were under a necessary obligation to observe the *Ceremonial Law*; they did thereby evacuate the force, and destroy the excellency of their former Faith; and reduced themselves into a condition as bad as that of Infidels. For by this perswasion, *they did fall from Grace*, Gal. 5. 4. And while they continued in it, the Apostle assures them that *Christ would be of no effect to them*, or which is the same in other words, *would profit them nothing*, v. 2. That is, they should receive no advantage by any thing that Christ either did or suffered for their sakes. For which reason the Apostle chides them severely; upbraids them with their Levity and inconstancy in the profession of the Faith, charges them with folly and stupidity, that they should so soon be removed from the grace of Christ, and the obedience of the truth, which was so plainly preached, and so fully and evidently set forth before their Eyes, that except they were blinded or bewitched they must be forced to acknowledge it.

I confess if we were to be governed by the opinions of *Socinus* and his friends, (formerly published, and which do of late too much prevail) we might justly wonder why the Apostle should be so positive and so severe, and draw up so heavy a charge against the *Judaizing Christians*, upon the account of their mistakes in this matter. Did they renounce the Christian Religion, and by a total revolt to *Judaisme* plainly deny him, whom formerly they owned to be the *Messiah*? No they did not. How then could they be said to introduce a *new Gospel* who professed and maintained the great, nay the *only fundamental* article of it? Why should it be said that *Christ would profit them nothing*, who revered his person, submitted to his authority, obeyed his precepts; and in short, according to the opinion of these men, acknowledged all that was necessary *to be believed*, and performed all that was necessary *to be practised*? For the observation of the *Ceremonial* was not inconsistent with obedience to the *Moral Law*. For both *Christ* himself and his *Apostles*, those great
and holyness, for some
time

time shewed themselves conformable to both. Wherein then did the malignity of this error of theirs consist, which should bring them under so great and heavy a Censure? Why it consisted in this, that tho they acknowledged *Jesus to be the Messiah*, or the Christ, (otherwise they could not have been esteemed Christians) yet they did not own him to be so in the full import and signification of that word. They would acknowledge him to be *their King*, and as such were ready to obey his Laws: but they would not accept of, and own him to be *their Savior*, I mean a complete and perfect Savior. They expected justification *by the works of the Law* but not *by the Faith of Christ*, or at least partly *by the Law*, and partly *by Christ*; and thereby they clearly evacuated the force and efficacy of Christs death, and overthrew the end and reason of it, which was to purchase pardon of sin, and eternal Salvation for us.

In short, they did hereby *frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the Law, then Christ is dead in vain*, Gal. 2. 21. Now this was plainly to undermine the *Gospel of Christ*, and to introduce a *new one* in its room; and whoever attempts to do so, whether he be *Man or Angel*, deserves to be censured with an *Anathema*, Gal. 1. 7. From whence it must follow, that there are more Articles than that one concerning *the Messiah* which are necessary to be believed; and more errors consequently destructive of Salvation, besides that one of denying *Jesus to be the Christ*, if we believe St. Paul. But he perhaps may be thought to be a hot-headed fiery zealot, who out of a contentious humor, and a concern for I know not what opinions of his own, disturbed the peace of the world, and *turned it upside down*. Socinus was a person of more wisdom and temper; he hath brought down Religion out of the Clouds, and hath reduced it, as *Socrates* did of old, all from speculation to practice. There is but one thing necessary, and that is obedience.

But doth not the Scripture say we are to *believe in Christ*? Yes, but that is only another word for *obedience*, if we believe *Socinus*, as was formerly observed. I pray you let us examine this matter a little more particularly, lest hereby we may
be

be led into some great and dangerous mistake before we are well aware.

If we look into the *Gospels* we shall find the holy Pen-men of them very careful in giving us an exact account of the *birth* of our Savior, the manner and circumstances of his *life*, *death*, *resurrection*, and *ascension into Heaven*. The matter of fact is delivered by the *Evangelists*; the grounds, ends, and reasons of this whole dispensation, are more fully declared and explained by the *Apostles* in their *Sermons*, and the *Epistles* which they wrote, directed indeed to some particular Persons or Churches, but designed for the lasting benefit of all Christians, in all succeeding ages of the world. Now these things are faithfully recorded, frequently inculcated, and insisted upon by them, as matters of great importance, in the knowledge of which we are nearly concerned; and therefore they take all this pains sufficiently to instruct us, that we might thereby be fully perswaded of the truth of them. These things are written, saith St. John, *That yee may believe that Jesus is the son of God, and that believing ye might have life thro his name*, Jo. 20. 31.

Is it not then from hence evident, that these things which concern the *birth*, *death*, *resurrection*, &c. of our Savior, are properly Articles of our Faith, and that they ought therefore to be *distinctly known* (I speak still of those who have capacities of knowing, together with sufficient means of information) and *firmly believed* by us; and consequently that our *ignorance*, and much more our *denyal* of these truths is extremely dangerous? No saith *Socinus*, your *ignorance* of these matters cannot be dangerous, because your *belief* of them is not necessary. How not necessary? doth not the Scripture in exprefs terms, and under the highest penaltys require it? Yes it doth indeed, but 'then you must know by *Faith* in those places where it is required of us as a necessary duty, is not meant the *assent of the understanding* to the truths of the Gospel, but a *confident persuasion*

1 Arbitror ante ea quæ à me hætenus dicta sunt, satis esse ad demonstrandum, cur cum de Christi fide verba fiunt, fiduciam potissimum intelligam quæ in ipso Christo collocetur. Atque affirmem hanc fidem esse illam Christi fidem qua revera justificamur,

‘*persuasion* and assurance, that if you obey the precepts of Christ, you shall be pardoned and saved by him. Now this *Faith*, you must know, as it signifies *fiducia*, hath no retrospect, doth not look backward to what is past, but always forward to what is to come. So that that Faith which is required to our justification, is not conversant about the birth, death, and resurrection of our Savior; all these things are past and gone; but you must look forward, and view Christ now in Heaven, sitting on the right hand of his Father, endued with power to save us, if we obey his Laws.

It is true indeed Christ now in Heaven is the noble object of our Faith, and the great support of it: But is it not requisite likewise to believe that he *died for our Sins, and rose again for our Justification*? No: for tho our Salvation may in some measure be owing to Christs death and resurrection, yet for all that, it is of no great consequence, to be persuaded of them, because our justification doth not depend on any such knowledge or persuasion. For since to *believe in Christ* is to *confide* in him, *quis non videt*, saith Socin. who is so blind as not to see, that this Faith doth not consist in a firm persuasion, beneficii jam accepti, sed aliquando accipiendi; of any thing that Christ hath done, or of any benefits which by dying and suffering he hath procured for us; but of what hereafter we shall receive from him, viz. Remission of our sins, if we be obedient to his Laws.

cemur, non autem persuasionem illam quod Jesus sit Messias, Socin. Libello de fide & operibus, Tom. 2. Op. p. 205. Ex scripto igitur tuo (Covetum alloquitur) aperte colligitur, fidem illam in Christum qua nos justificari sacre literae passim docent, nihil aliud esse quam firmiter credere, per ea qua passus est Christus peccata nostra deleta fuisse. Sed enunciationem istam à veritate quam longissime abesse, vel id satis ostendit, quod fides in Christum Dei promissione nititur. Verum promissio futurum tempus respicit. Itaque necesse est, fidem in Christum persuasione seu firma opinione alienius rei, qua futura sit, contineri. At vestra istac in Christum fides præteritum tempus omnino respicit, & firma opinione ejus rei qua jam peracta sit, tota continetur, Id. de Christo Serv. par. 4. Cap. 9. Cum de fide qua nos Deo gratos efficiat, sermo est, qualis certe fides in Christum censeri debet, vix invenias de re credenda agi qua jam peracta est, sed semper de futura, Id. ibid. p. 230.

I Jam vera si fides in Christum est ipsi confidere, quis non videt, fidem in Christum non præteritum tempus sed futurum respicere; & non firma opinione beneficii jam accepti, sed aliquando accipiendi contineri? Id. ibid. p. 231.

Now

Now this we must needs say is a very mischievous position, advanced in direct opposition to the whole tenor of the Gospel, and to the express declarations of what Christ and his Apostles have so often made upon this occasion. For doth not the Angel who appeared to *Joseph* in a dream, give him this as the reason why the Child which was conceived by the *Virgin Mary* his wife, should be called *Jesus*, viz. *because he should save his people from their Sins*? Math. 1. 21. and doth not that same *Jesus* acquaint his Disciples with the way and manner how that Salvation was to be accomplished, viz. by the shedding of his blood? *This is my blood which is shed for the remission of Sins*, Mat. 26. 28. And doth not he in another place inform them that this was the principal end of his coming into the world, that he might *give his life a Ransome for many, or for all*? Mark 10. 45.

Is it not fit therefore that the ground and reason of our Saviors coming into the world, and the way whereby he purchased remission of sins for us, should be known and believed by us? No, saith *Socinus*, 'there is no necessity that this should be known, as in fact it was actually known but by very few. And therefore saith he, 'I do not remember that ever our Savior acquainted the *multitude* with this, or ever Preached any such doctrine in publick to them. It was a secret which he privately whispered to his Disciples when they were alone, and there it rested and went no farther. How? declared only to his Disciples? doth not our Savior in a publick discourse and in the hearing of

1 Tale quidpiam populo nunquam dixit. Tantum discipulis suis seorsim semel dixisse eum legimus, sanguinem suum jamjam fusu iri pro multis in remissionem peccatorum, Math. 26. 28. Idem etiam solis discipulis affirmavit, se venisse, ut animam suam daret redemptionis pretium pro multis, Mar. 10. 45. Populo autem, seu potius Phariseis & populi primoribus, nihil apertius quod huc pertinere videri possit, eum dixisse memini, quam se bonum pastorem esse, qui animam suam pro ovibus ponat, Jo 10. 15. Quae verba idem sibi volunt, ac si Christus dixisset, se in vita discrimen seipsum adducere, ut suos à morte servaret. Quod cum ita sit, non dicam plebi & populo universo ex professo, sed ne populi quidem primoribus obiter quodammodo, iis quae ipse passurus erat peccata eorum deletum iri, dixit Christus. Quomodo igitur id propterea credi aut debet, aut etiam potest, quia Christi verbis fides sit adhibenda? Id. ibid.

all the People tell them, that *he was the living bread which came down from Heaven* and that *this bread was his flesh which he would give for the life of the world*, Jo. 6. 51. And at another time, that *he was the good Shepherd, who would lay down his life for his sheep*? Jo. 10. 15.

It must be confessed that he did say all this; but as to the former of these two Texts, *Socinus* did not think fit to take any notice of it; whether out of forgetfulness or design, let the Reader judge. And as for the latter, they contain only, as he tells us, a general declaration of Christs love to his people, which was so great, that he could be content, if there were occasion for it, to lay down his life in order to save theirs. And nothing more can be collected from Christs words in that place. But as for that main point, *viz.* that pardon of sins was to be purchased by the *death of Christ*, and the *shedding of his blood for us*, this was not known either by the common people among the Jews, nor by their Elders or Rulers; nay nor by the Disciples of Christ himself; and therefore it cannot be necessary that it should be known and believed by us, nor can the knowledge and belief of it have any influence upon our justification. So *Socinus*.

It is true indeed, as to what concerns the Death and Resurrection of Christ, those things either as to the matter of fact, or the ends and reasons of them, were not so plainly understood and believed by the Jews in general, or by his own Disciples in particular, as might reasonably be expected from such who were conversant in the writings of the old Testament, where these matters were plainly enough delivered. And therefore we find our Savior upbraiding his Disciples with their *folly and slowness of heart to believe all that the Prophets had spoken* on this subject. Afterwards he drew the vail away that was before their eyes, removed the prejudices which they lay under, and opened their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures: and shewed them plainly that *thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day*, Luke 24. 46. And what he thus informed them of, he commanded them afterwards to publish to the world: for he appointed them to be

his witnesses of these things v. 48. Jo. 15. 27. And accordingly we find them in pursuance of their Commission, every where and upon all occasions testifying these things, and with great power giving witness of his Resurrection, and consequently of his death, both these being necessarily joined together. I shall not trouble the Reader with multiplicity of examples in this matter. Let it suffice to instance in what St. Paul declares upon this occasion to the *Corinthians*, *Epist. 1. ch. 15. viz.* That the summe of the Gospel which he Preached to them was, *that Christ dyed for our sins, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures*, v. 3, 4. This was that Gospel which they had received, and by which alone they could be Saved; this they are required to keep in memory, i. e. frequently to meditate upon and firmly to believe it, otherwise whatever else they had believed, would be altogether vain and insignificant, v. 2. and v. 14. *If Christ be not risen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain.*

Well? but tho it should be allowed, that it is not necessary to believe the Birth, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, because this brings us backward, and engages us to look after what is past; yet ought we not to have a firm belief, of the *Ascension* of Christ into Heaven, and that he there lives, ever making intercession for us? because this may and doth respect *Tempus futurum*, (as Socinus before stated this matter) not only what Christ hath done, but what he continues still to do, and will be doing to the end of the World. If you put this question to Socinus, he will tell you ' you need not trouble your selves

1 Cum de justificatione nostra disputatur, unde ea proficiatur, vis præcipua questionis, si hinc fructus aliquis percipiendus sit, non circa illa versatur quæ extra nos sunt, sed quæ in nobis. Nam quod ad illa attinet quæ extra nos sunt, & tamen justificationis nostræ sunt causæ, quamvis digniora & nobiliora iis quæ sunt in nobis, non est ut de iis solliciti admodum simus, quatenus querimus ut justifiedemur. Etenim aut ista sunt & erunt sine ulla nostra cura & industria, nec necesse est ut prius in nobis aliquid certum sit: & quid opus est de eis sollicitum esse? aut nec sunt nec erunt, sine nostra cura & industria, & nisi prius in nobis aliquid certum sit, & sane opus est curare ut istud in nobis habeamus. Et postea: Quod enim ad misericordiam Dei attinet Christique personam, unacum iis omnibus quæ idem Christus pro nobis fecit & facturus est, quamvis hæc sunt veræ ac præcipuæ causæ justificationis nostræ; tamen

elves much about that, any more than about those other matters. For if you desire to be satisfied in that important question concerning your justification, and the remission of sin; and if you would reap any benefit and advantage by that enquiry, then you must not be much concerned about the *external causes* of it, *ea quæ extra nos sunt*, for *vis præcipua questionis non circa illa versatur*; the stress of the enquiry must not ly there, *viz.* upon those things which are without us, such as are the *mercy of God, the person of Christ, together with all those things which the same Christ either already hath, or hereafter shall do for us.* These are extrinsecal and forreign to the purpose; and not only *quæ supra, sed quæ extra nos, nihil ad nos*; and therefore there is no reason, *cur de iis admodum solliciti simus*, that we should trouble our heads or disturb our rest, by any fruitless and anxious thoughts about them.

As if he should say, recal your wandring thoughts from gadding abroad, and gazing upon those things which are either *above or about you*; and turn them *all inward*; see if you have repentance and a reformation wrought within you, and for other things which are without you, *viz. the mercy of God and the merits of Christ*, you need not be solicitous or much concerned about them.

This is the resolution of this great *Casuit*, in that important case about our *Justification*; which if it were to be put into the words and language of the *Quakers* it would amount to this, that we should not so much look after a *Christ without*, as a *Christ within us*; and that the true mystery of Godlyness, is *Christ manifested in his Children.* For what the one expresses in more plain and common termes, the other choose to deliver in their enthusiastick unintelligible Cant; but the design of both is the same, *viz.* to take us off from our Faith and relyance upon the *incarnation and*

men aut jam illarum sumus criminisve participes, antequam in nobis aliquid certum sit, & sic supervacaneum est de illis cogitare quatenus per ea justificari velimus. Aut illorum nec jam sumus nec futuri sumus participes, antequam intra nos certum aliquid sit, Et sic curiose de hoc quarere debemus. Socin. Script. de fide & operibus p. 251.

sufferings of our Savior, which the whole Christian world have as they say, too long and lazily depended upon.

These indeed we are taught to acknowledge to be the only foundation of our hopes, I mean as to the procuring and meritorious cause of mercy and pardon: and here we think we are safe; but from this confidence these seducers would fain withdraw us; and would persuade us to build upon a more slippery and unstable bottom, to rely upon *a reed that will be shaken with every wind*; viz. those virtuous¹ dispositions of mind, which the *Socinians* comprehend under the general name of *probity* and the *Quakers* call the *inward and spiritual appearance of Christ in the Conscience*.

But to return to *Socinus*. By what we have produced out of him one would think, if what he saith be true, that it should not be so necessary as is generally imagined, to believe *Jesus to be the Messiah*; for if it be not necessary to believe that he was born, that he dyed and rose again, ascended into Heaven, &c. I cannot imagine why it should be necessary that we should have any knowledge of him at all. It is true this is said to be necessary, but if men may speak freely and impartially, we may venture to affirm, that it is not such an Article as we are under any indispensable obligation of believing. No? how comes *Socinus* then so often and so peremptorily to affirm it.

It is true he doth so, but it is with a just reservation. It is necessary this should be acknowledged; that is generally speaking, and with regard to men, but not so absolutely necessary if you consider things in themselves. I mean thus: a good life consisting in a conformity to the precepts of the Gospel is the only thing that is acceptable to God, and desirable in it self: but forasmuch as you cannot, or rather forasmuch as it may be presumed that generally speaking, men will

¹ For tho' when we speak of the application of pardon, those good dispositions, are conditions absolutely requisite to render us capable of it; yet the true, proper procuring cause of remission of sins are the passion and merits of our Savior, which we must fly to, and rely upon; otherwise all that we can do, will be useless and insignificant to this purpose.

not obey the Laws of Christ who do not own his authority; therefore it becomes necessary to believe him to be the *Messiah* or King: that is, it is *accidentally* ¹ *necessary* only, as being a good motive and consideration to persuade us to obey him. But if it were possible for men to arrive at holiness of life, which consists in a compliance with the Laws of the Gospel, only from the consideration of the *decency, usefulness, excellency* of those Laws in themselves (as I know not why this may not be done) then it would be so far from being necessary, to believe in Christ, that it were no great matter whether ever you knew, or heard any thing of him at all.

But is it not a point of respect due to our Savior to have just and honorable conceptions of his person, and that indeed which is the foundation of all other external expressions of Homage and duty? No. All respect is shewed by *obedience*, and if that be secured, it is no great matter what your apprehensions of him as to his nature and person may be. Right perhaps it may be said by some, it is not much material to know, and therefore we need not trouble our selves to enquire, whether he be the *Eternal son of God*, who in time took upon him our nature, whereby the *two natures* humane and divine came to be united in *one person*; these are Metaphysical niceties not much to be regarded. But is it not necessary to believe that he was a *true real man*, made up as all other men are of a *true proper material Body* and a rational Soul?

This indeed one would reasonably think should be absolutely necessary, if it be at all necessary to believe any thing concerning him; because if he were not a *true man* at least, one might imagine that it were impossible for him to be the *true*

¹ *Secunda questio est, utrum censeam, cum scriptura jubet ut in Christum, aut Christo, aut per Christum credamus, debere hic præcipue rationem haberi doctrinæ de operibus & vitæ innocentia, cum prima ac præcipua pars doctrinæ Christi & Apostolorum sit fidem prædicare, id est, quod Jesus est Messias, Dei filius, &c. Cui questioni sic respondet Socin. Nullus ex prædictis tribus loquendi modis præcipue aut per seipsum significat iudicio meo, credere Jesum esse Messiam. Id tamen significant, seu potius complectuntur accessorie, ut dicitur, & per accidens: quatenus videlicet accidit, ut nemo possit Christo confidere, aut ejus verbis credere, nisi prius credat Jesum esse Christum. Id. Ibid. p. 249. 250.*

Messiah. But for all this, saith Socinus, *fieri nihilominus potest*, it may so come to pass, that those two persuasions, viz. that Jesus was not a true man, and yet that he was true Christ or Messiah, may be consistent. For which reason, that opinion which denies the humane nature of Christ, tho it be false and dangerous, yet there is no such harm or malignity in it, as should exclude any such person who holds it, from the communion of the faithful, (provided that he doth acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah) or hinder us from giving him the right hand of fellowship, and owning him for a good Christian, and a true brother in Christ. I doubt not but the pious reader, will be struck with surprize and horror at this strange determination, made by Socinus.

Let us a little consider it. To this purpose we must know, that very early, even in the Apostles days, there arose certain Hereticks, the disciples and followers of Simon, who denyed the truth and reality of Christs humane nature, or that he came in the flesh. These (against whom St. John plainly directed part of his first and second Epistle,) because they affirmed that Christ did not assume a true natural body, in reality, but *ἐν δοκίμασι*, in appearance, in aftertimes were called *δοκίμοι*, and *Φαντισιασται*. And these by St. John are stiled deceivers and Antichrists, 1 Jo. 4. v. 2, 3. 2 Epist. 7. And by Ignatius² who wrote a little after him, *θηρία*, and *κύνες λυσσῶντες*, beasts and mad dogs, whom every body should avoid, and get out of their way, if they had any regard to their own safety.

1 Quod ad illas opiniones attinet, quæ pertinent ad ejus naturam sive essentiam, vix ullæ sunt ex quibus, quantumvis falsis, consequatur, eum qui illas tenet, non credere Jesum esse Christum. Sed tamen si ulla est ejusmodi, alia esse non potest, quam quod Jesus Christus verus homo non fuerit. Nam cum ex divinis testimoniis evinci possit, Christum Dei qui promissus fuerat, verum hominem esse debuisse, si Jesus non credatur fuisse verus homo, videtur hinc omnino consequi, ut non credatur etiam esse Christus Dei. Verum fieri nihilominus potest, ut quis sibi persuadeat, ista duo simul consistere posse: & propterea si aliqui appareat, eum qui neget Christum fuisse verum hominem, habere illum pro vero Christo Dei; crediderim opinionem istam, quamvis plane falsam & periculi plenissimam, non debere censi ejusmodi, quæ istum excludat à numero fidelium ipsius Jesu, sive efficiat, quo minus iste pro vero fratre in Christo agnosci debeat. Id. Comment. in Cap. 1. Epist. 1. Johan.

2 Εἰσδύοντες γὰρ νῦν ὁδὸν πονηρῶν τὸ ὄνομα, (scil. Christianorum) ἀπαρτίζετε, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πεισθόντες ἀνὰ ψῆλιν Θεοῦ, ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ δικαίως ἐκτρέφονται. εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λα-
σπόμεναι, ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ υἱῶν φαλαστίδων ὄντες διδιχαπύματοι. Ign. Epist. ad Eph. p. 21.

And there was great reason for this caution and advice : because this opinion of theirs is so pernicious and execrable, that no words can sufficiently express the danger and impiety of it. It doth not only undermine the authority, but directly overthrows the truth of the holy Scriptures. It is infinitely dishonorable to Christ and his Apostles ; and plainly overturns the whole frame and design of the Christian Religion, which, if this opinion be true, must be a *downright falsehood* from first to last, and the *greatest cheat* that ever was imposed on the world.

The Apostles and Evangelists give us an account of his Mother who conceived and brought him forth, as also of all his and her Ancestors from whom he *as to the flesh* was descended. They say he *took upon him the seed of Abraham*, and was *partaker of flesh and blood* as the rest of his brethren ; to whom he was in all points like, sin only excepted. For he was liable to the same natural infirmitys of hunger and thirst and wearyness as we all are ; eating and drinking, and sleeping as other men are wont to do.

It is true indeed, say the Disciples of *Saturninus, Basilides*, and the rest of that Antichristian crew, he did *seem* to do so, but it was only *in appearance* ; the senses of the spectators were imposed upon, and it was all juggle and deception. But do not the Scriptures tell us that he took an human body on purpose that he might *dye for us*, and accordingly that he was *Crucified, dead, and buried, and that the third day he rose from the dead* ? They do, it must be confessed, inform us of such matters ; but yet none of all this was done in truth and reality, but only *in show*, in appearance as we said before. Well ! but are not the Apostles then hereby found *false witnesses of God*, because they have testified of God that he raised up Christ ; who really never dyed or was laid in the Grave, and consequently could not rise from thence ? And if so, is there not an end of the Christian Religion ; because by this account 1 Cor. 15. *Their Preaching must be in vain, and our Faith vain ; we must still be in our sins, liable to death, and under the dominion of him that had the power of it, that is the Devil* ?

All this must undoubtedly be true, and must necessarily follow.

low from this opinion, which denies that Christ *came in the flesh* or took our nature upon him. But can they therefore who maintain it, be justly esteemed our friends *and brethren in Christ*? yes saith Socin. they may, as long as they hold to that fundamental Article, that *Jesus is the Messiah*: for these persuasions, as we heard before, may be consistent; and the latter of these is so powerfull an antidote against any the most pestilent heresies, that it certainly destroys the venom and malignity of them. This must be very good news to some persons if it be true, and the great Socinus hath assured us of the truth of it. He hath told us so indeed, but I must beg his pardon if I do not presently take things upon his bare word: for tho hereby he hath shewn a great charity, and concern for his *Heretical brethren*: yet upon examination I am afraid it will be found, that he hath had no great regard either for the *honor of our Savior*, or the *welfare of the Christian Religion*. The former perhaps he thought did deserve his compassion and might want his help: whilst the latter possibly might be able to shift well enough for themselves: And so indeed they must in the present case, or else they will be left in a very deplorable, helpless condition, for any assistance that Socinus is willing to afford them.

The question then returns concerning the Messiah, which denoting *an office*, suppose, that of a *King and Sovereign*: it must certainly be lodged in some subject; there must be some *substratum* in which this authority resides, because it cannot subsist by it self. In short it must be vested in some person or nature, and what should that be? was this *Jesus*, this *Messiah* that we speak of, possessed of a *divine nature*? no saith Socinus that was impossible. Did he take upon him, or did he exercise this office in an angelical nature? no saith the Apostle, if we may believe him, *he took not upon him the nature of Angels*, 2. Heb. Well, did he then take upon him the *nature of a man*? no say the abovenamed Hereticks, the *δοκῆται*, he appeared in the *shape*, but did not assume the true *real nature of a man*. No? Then he must be a cheat and Impostor, and the greatest that ever was in the world.

He

He allways declared that he *was a man, and the son of man*. After his Resurrection he appealed to the senses of his Disciples, even to that which is least liable to mistake, *viz. their feeling*, for he did not only ¹ eat and drink in their sight, but in order to cure their doubting, he did both shew them his *hands and his feet*, and required them to ² *handle and feel his flesh and his bones*, to convince them that he was not a spirit or a spectre. And indeed after this proof and confirmation which he hath given us of the *truth and reality* of his humane nature: it is not possible for any man to conceive him to be a *spirit*, but he must at the same time believe that he was an *Evil spirit*. For the whole course and series of his pretended life, according to this opinion, must be nothing else but delusion and imposture. His actions must be all *phantastical*, his miracles *illusions*; or if they were real, they must be performed by a diabolical force and power, *and he must cast out Devils by Beelzebub the prince of them*. For no good *Angel* could be engaged in so wicked a design, as to animate I know not what *phantome* and *spectre*, and by so doing, to contrive and carry on such a cheat as this must be, so lasting and so pernicious to mankind.

And now is it possible for such a person to be *the Messiah*? Perhaps it will be answered, no, it was not possible for him to be any thing but what he pretended to be, *viz. a true real man*: but however some well meaning men might be under an error and misperswasion, and might *think otherwise*. But can they *who think so*, deserve the name of Christians and Brethren? For can any thing be thought of that could tend more to the defamation of our Holy Religion and the blessed Author of it, than such an opinion, which would beyond all contradiction, justify the charge of *Celsus* against our Savior, who saith he was *a Magician and a Conjuror*? And *Hierocles* could not be blamed for comparing and preferring *Apollonius* before him.

And thus we see what the consequences of that notion are;

¹ *Luke*. 24. 42. 43. ² *Ibid. Verses* 39. 40.

which reduces all faith in Christ, to this single perswasion, that *he is the Messiah*; for this will *either justify*, or at least *excuse* all other apprehensions of him, tho never so false and scandalous. For whether you conceive him God, or only a Man; a Spirit, or as having a Body, and that either real or phantastical; a righteous person or a deceiver, a true Prophet or a Magician; it is not much material: for in all the forementioned cases, provided you *hold to this foundation*, you still continue a *true Disciple and brother in Christ*. So that you may deal with your Savior as the *Jews and Romans* did at his arraignment; *you may spit in his face, blindfold and buffet him*; provided at the same time, *you bow the knee and cry Hail O King*. But then you must be sure wisely and well to distinguish between his *personal and political capacity*; if you reverence him in the one, tho you despise, or do ay act of despiht to him in the other, there is no great harm in all that.

By all which we see, how by excluding faith out of our schemes and systems of Divinity, the *Christian Religion*, as to what concerns *the doctrines of it*, is in danger of being destroyed, and betrayed into the hands of those infidels, which for distinction sake, we said might be reckoned within the pale of the Church. For hereby we are made to believe, that all the *errors of the understanding* if they are not inconsistent with piety,¹ tho otherwise never so repugnant to the truths of the Gospel, are innocent, or at least very pardonable mistakes. For in one word, *obedience is the true Evangelical Faith, and an ill life the only Heresy*.

What remains therefore, but that we should explode the distinction between *Orthodox and Heretick, Believer and Infidel*? For tho these latter thro a superstitious custome which hath too long prevailed, are among some men become names of obloquy and reproach; yet really and truly they are but *bruta fulmina*, Theological scarecrows, mear bugbears invented to fright fools

¹ All things that are necessary to be believed or known, in the opinion of Socin. respect only the precepts or prohibitions of the Gospel. *Id enim iter, quod ad salutem aeternam sacra designant litera cognoscendum sufficit. In reliquis si quis occur- rat Error, nemo ob eam caelo excludetur.* Socin. Epist. 3. ad Dudith. p. 52.

and Children, into the belief of I know not what incomprehensible doctrines and mysteries, which *wise men* laugh at, and only *weak men* reverence and admire.

But 2dly, As this notion gives too great encouragement to our Enemies within the Church, so it affords too great advantage to those who are without it, I mean *Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans*, all which will find their account in this notion that confounds *faith with obedience*. And indeed it seems to be but too plainly calculated to undermine all *revealed*, and particularly the authority of the *Christian Religion*, which is chiefly distinguished from all others, by the discovery of certain supernatural truths, and some other duties which are peculiar to the *Christian Religion* but which are consequent to, and necessarily dependent upon those truths. For take away the Articles and Mysteries of our Faith; and then tell me what there is in the *Christian Religion* that doth absolutely distinguish it from other Religions, either *Jewish, Mahometan, or Pagan*; I mean any other-wise than as they stand distinguished from natural Religion. It is true indeed it hath laid aside what (now since our Saviors coming) is superfluous in the *Jewish*, or what was superstitious and impious in the Religion of the *Pagans*; but when those excrescencies are cut off, it seems only (according to this notion) to have reduced things to their primitive state, and that *ancient natural Religion*, which without the assistance of a *supernatural revelation* was at first professed and practised in the world.

And if so, what such cogent reason can be offered to us, which should necessarily induce us to believe, that our blessed Savior was a messenger sent immediately from God, and his Apostles were divinely inspired, or that the Religion which they published had its Original by a revelation from Heaven; and was not rather the product of bare, but true, right reason? For at this rate, they who first published this doctrine, might seem not to need the extraordinary direction of the *spirit of God*, but only of that *spirit within them*, which is the *Candle of the Lord*, which some tell us, is that *light which enlightens every man that cometh into the world*.

Perhaps it will be said, that it is true, the Christian Re-

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is nothing else but a *systeme of Morality*, but however, a *more noble systeme of Moral precepts*, and those required of men in higher degrees, directed by more sublime principles, and enforced with more cogent arguments and motives, than ever yet were offered to the world. Be it so, yet this will not distinguish it in *nature and kind* from natural Religion; it only gives it the preference in point of *degrees of perfection*: which account must necessarily abate much of that reverence and esteem which men hitherto have had for it; who will unavoidably be hereby induced to account it but a *mean institution* in comparison; as being but the same exactly as to its whole frame and design with *natural religion*, only in some measure more perfect than it. And if so, it can by no means answer the *Elogies and Commendations* which have been given, nor consequently rise up to the height of that *Character* which hath been made, or those *noble Ideas* which have thence been framed of it.

For that such things should be so long foretold, and such universal hopes thereby be raised in the minds of men; the whole world in a manner, but particularly the nation of the *Jews*, being strangely alarumed with the predictions, and by them with the expectation of a mighty person, who was to be sent immediately from God; either as having *Originally been in Heaven*, as we say, as the *Socinians* tell us, who *was to be summoned up thither*, in order to receive particular information from God of what he was afterwards to publish to the world: And then that all this information, of which so great, so unusual, so universal an expectation was raised, should dwindle into the discovery only of that in which *right reason* had before instructed mankind; or at most of a few additional to the *great pandect of the Law of nature*; this I say, must needs prove a great disappointment; and consequently create a disdain and contempt, rather than raise a reverence and esteem for the Faith and the great author and finisher of it.

It is certain by this account, our blessed Savior will be put only upon the *same level*; or at best, with some degrees of preference,

preference, he will hereby be placed only in the same rank and order of men, with *Confucius* and *Mongo-Capae*, the two great Apostles of *China* and *Peru*. To whom, their Disciples will think it no great presumption, to adde *Mahomet* and *Socinus*; who as they tell us, were raised up on purpose, to restore the worship of the one true God, and to reform those abuses and errors which had corrupted the purity, and defaced the beauty of the ancient and true Religion.

In short, if *natural reason*, I mean, when it is not stained and sullied with any false and corrupt notions, by its own brightness and splendor is sufficient to inform and instruct us in the *precepts of moral virtue*, and that our happiness depends entirely upon our obedience to them; that is, *independently*, as one *Socinian* expresses it, or *exclusively of Faith*, as another phrases it; then there is an end of all *revealed Religion* strictly so called: for whatever is superadded to those necessary and fundamental dictates of reason are to be esteemed but frivolous matters, *speculative niceties*, *Metaphysical dreams* and *whym-sies*.

I know the *Unitarians* sometimes tell us, that sundry of the *precepts of Christ*, but especially the *promises* which are annexed as an encouragement to the practice of them, are of that sublime nature, that they surpass the invention of reason; and consequently the *Christian Religion* in that respect is sufficiently distinguished from *natural*, and the revelation of it is so far useful and necessary.

1 Let us conclude here and seriously think, that we shall all be judged by Christ at the last day only according to this rule. (*viz.* that body of Christian morality, which he had said just before, makes up the great and whole design of the Gospel) independently on those opinions which make up the subject of our disputes. *An exhort. to a free inquiry into the Doctrines of Rel.* p. 15. The essential part of Religion consists not in Theory, but in practice. And it is undoubtedly in consequence of this principle, that the whole tenor of the Gospel declares to us, that we shall be judged, not according to our belief, but according to our works. *Discourse of human reason* p. 9. The Philosophers (*whose authorities he cites and approves*) have unanimously agreed in teaching, not only that right reason was capable to guide us in the practice of virtue, but also that our happiness depends entirely upon our obedience to its lessons. p. 25.

First as to what concerns the *precepts of the Gospel*; it must be acknowledged that sundry of them do indeed exceed the discourses of bare reason tho never so bright and defecate: but then I say they are such as depend upon the knowledge of the necessary and fundamental articles of our faith, (such as are the *Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption of the world* by the sufferings of our Savior) and without which knowledge they cannot be performed; as I shall shew by and by. But for these duties our adversaries are not concerned; and indeed it is impossible they should: except at the same time they would acknowledge the doctrine of *our Saviors Mediation* as it is stated and received in the *Catholick Church*, which is the great and fundamental principle of our *Christian duty*.

The *precepts* therefore which they contend for (except it be that one which concerns the *invocation and worship of Christ*, about which they themselves are divided) are only those which concern *charity, truth, righteousness, temperance*, together with those other *moral virtues*, which as I said before, they comprehend under the general name of *probity*. Now as to these and all other the duties of Religion, which have no relation to the articles and mysteries of our faith, it may reasonably be doubted, whether there be any precept of the Gospel, which hath not been discovered by the *light of nature* and approved and recommended as *agreeable to reason*, tho perhaps not strictly and peremptorily prescribed under the *notion and obligation of a law*. I say perhaps: tho some of our *modern Unitarians* have expressed themselves without that caution and reservedness, and have been positive in it; telling us that *whatever additions have been made by our Savior to the first law, were only by way of remembrance and reinforcement*: and that they do not so much contain a discovery of new duties, as a recognition of old ones, by time indeed and evil customs antiquated and forgotten.

1 *Id. ibid* p. 78. The laws and rules of true Christianity are in substance the very same with the laws of nature. p. 72. The ancient Philolophers were real instances and examples of that very light which shone in them, and directed them without extraordinary revelation to the same duties which have been farther enjoyned us by revelation. p. 35. p. 30.

And 2dly, As to what concerns the *promiſes of the Goſpel*, and particularly the promiſe of eternal life, we know the belief of this in general hath prevailed among men of all Sects and Religions, tho in point of clearneſs and manifeſtation, the *Chriſtian Religion* hath the advantage above all other inſtitutions: not only above the *Mahometan and Pagan*, where the knowledge of a future life hath been depraved by many profane and impious mixtures; but likewise above *pure natural*, and even the *Jewiſh Religion*.

But tho this ſhews us *the excellence*, it doth not prove *the neceſſity* of the Chriſtian Religion, according to the *Socinians*. For the only things which the Goſpel diſcovers worthy our notice, are *the precepts* and the *promiſes* which it contains. *The precepts*, they ſay, are the ſame with thoſe of natural religion. And as to what concerns the *promiſes*, we need only be convinced ' *of that which is the ſum and ſubſtance of them*, viz. *that there is ſuch a thing as eternal life after this; which ſhall be the reward of all virtuous actions*. But this as I ſaid before is more or leſs to be found in all Religions, and hath been the motive to a virtuous life even among the wiſer *Pagans*¹.

And thus this account of *Socinus*, inſtead of advancing the reputation, and convincing us of the neceſſity of the Chriſtian doctrine, plainly encourages *an indifference* in all religions: upon which account we find him and his diſciples in their writings ſpeaking very favorably of *Mahometans, Jews, and Pagans*.

Concerning *Mahomet*, they tell us, ² that it is affirmed of him by divers Hiſtorians, (of very good credit and authority I

¹ Let it not be ſaid that the happineſs which theſe Philoſophers ſpeak of (*viz. Juvenal, Ariſt. Sen. Cic. &c.*) relates only to this life, and that they had not that proſpect of a future felicity which animates us Chriſtians to our duty. I know not what can be ſaid more ſtrong or ſound, both concerning that future ſtate and the way that leads to it, than ſome paſſages of theirs. *Diſcourſe of Reaſ.* p. 27. Tis that light which ſhines forth in their diſcourſes, who had not the advantage of ſupernatural revelation. They ſaw the being of a God: the duty of adoring him: the immortality of the ſoul; and the neceſſity of leading a virtuous life here, in order to the obtaining of a happy ſtate hereafter, with theſe thoughts they were inflamed, and by the direction of theſe truths they ſteered the courſe of their actions. p. 30.

² *Letter of reſolution.* p. 18.

presume, otherwise their account of him would be insignificant, and therefore not fit to be produced) *that he had no other design in pretending to be a Prophet, but to restore the belief of the unity of God, which at the same time was extirpated among the Christians of the East, by the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. And that Mahomet intended not that his Religion should be esteemed a new Religion, but only the restitution of the Christian Religion; and therefore that the Learned men among the Mahometans call themselves the true Disciples of the Messias.* Whilst we in the mean time who believe the Trinity, and other parts of the Christian Doctrine, are in their esteem no better than Pagans and Heathens. It is true some mixtures ¹ of folly there are in the Religion of Mahomet, but alas what Religion, say they, is without them?

2dly, For the Pagans, they tell us, that if they would but stand true to those *stable principles of eternal truth*, which right reason dictates, and which all wise men, of all persuasions agree in, we should find no reason to quarrel with, or disapprove of their Religion. It is true there are certain foolish, superstitious and Idolatrous rites introduced among them: but that is the fault of the men, not of their Religion. Besides, these errors may prevail among the *rude and illiterate vulgar*; but the *wise men and Philosophers* among them, both of former and latter times, believe and practise better things. And in short their belief and practice was the very same with ours. *Christianity*, say they, ² *is nothing else but the law of right reason*; and ³ *the laws and rules of true Christianity are in substance the very same with the laws of nature, which were formerly writ in the heart of the* ⁴ *Heathens.* The ⁵ *corruption indeed into which mankind had fallen made them stand in need of some farther admonition, to remind them of their duty, and the Gospel was of this sort, accompanied with some circumstances more advantageous to mankind than the bare light of nature.* But ⁶ *after all these advantages we must return to our first principles; and the law of nature is the foundation of all Christs instructions, so that nothing is revealed in the Gospel but what arises from that law and*

¹ *Discourse of Humane Reason* p. 32. There is more or less of such mixture in every profession. ² *Discourse of reason* p. 54. ³ p. 72. ⁴ p. 38. ⁵ p. 72, 73. ⁶ p. 75.

is built upon it. Agreeable to what is thus affirmed by this Author, we find another Unitarian, in his *Impartial account of the word Mystery*, assigning the ends and reasons why any Religion was revealed to mankind; and what the intent of the Holy Ghost was in that revelation, which he reduces to these two heads. 1st, It was given us, he saith, to excite and preserve among men the natural principles of Morality and Religion, which nature or the universal Tradition had engrafted in their hearts. 2dly, It was given to abridge our studies and enquiries, by making easy to us the knowledge of our happiness, and the means whereby we may be fitted to attain it. Philosophers might have clearer notions about this point than simple men, but they must arrive at it by long reasoning. Thus by the light of nature and the art of reasoning, men might arrive at the knowledge of the goodness, justice, and power of God in rewarding just men: nay from Gods general promises, one might infer by several consequences the particular reward of the resurrection of the dead. But since revelation hath made those truths common to those who cannot reach to an exact reasoning, the meanest men have as much knowledge about this matter, as the most learned can have. p. 22.

So that in the Revelation which the Gospel affords us of the truths which concern our Salvation, God seems principally to have consulted the benefit of the weak and illiterate, of which the bulk of mankind is composed, who may now by the help of that *clear Revelation* afforded them, at first view behold those great truths, which otherwise would require Learning and Philosophy to inform them of; and all men are not fitted for such learned and laborious deductions. But when all is done, according to his opinion, *Revelation* instructs us in no new truths, which *reason* could not inform us of: only the former brings us in a more compendious way to the knowledge of our duty, and our happiness; which the latter conducts men to, as certainly, but with more leisure, and by going farther about.

Lastly as to the *Jews* tho' there may be some difficulties which attend the case of these men, above that of the before-named *Mahometans* and *Pagans*; because they are not ignorant of Christ, as the *Heathens* are; nor do they only deny him

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to be the Son of God, with the *Mahometans*; but account him to be a *false Prophet and an Impostor*, whilst the former make an honorable mention of him as of a *great Prophet, and the word and breath of God*: yet for all this there is no reason why we should renounce their fellowship and communion. For as long as they embrace and practise the precepts of the Gospel, which as we observed before, are but the same in substance with the Laws of the two Tables; and believe the promises of eternal life, and are animated to obedience by that faith; they know and do, all that is necessary either for belief or practice. And therefore, for all their disowning and denial of our Savior, they may still be accounted *true believers*, and the *Disciples of the Messiah*, as well as the *Mahometans*, who are sometime willing to be esteemed such, as we heard before. For *ad verum* ¹ *Christum amplectendum* saith Socinus, to embrace Christ, it is not necessary that you should know his nature, but that you should comply with his will: nay tho you blaspheme his person, yet if you obey his commands, there is no great harm in all that. In short to believe Christ to be the Messiah, is only to submit to his authority, and the best way of doing that is by observing his precepts; and they who do so, have a title to our fellowship, and should therefore be taken by us *pro veris in Christo fratribus*, true friends and brethren in Christ. For what concerns our duty and morality, that only is intelligible, useful and solid; all the rest are but mysteries, allegories, and useless speculations. Discourse of Hum. Reas. p. 51.

¹ Ut quis verum amplectatur Christum, non alia re opus est, quam ut præcepta & promissa illius recte cognita habeat: immo ne promissa quidem adeo exquisitè peruestigata habere necesse est, modo summam eorum vitam eternam & beatam esse constet, dummodo præcepta recte intelligantur. Socin. Epist. ad And. Dudith. op. Tom. 1. p. 500. Ubique Jesu Christi doctrina, quod ad ejus præcepta attinet, illibata conservata fuit, ibi sine dubio ipse Jesus Christus fuisse vere dici potest. Id. Ep. 1. ad Radec. p. 373. Ad Christi aspectabilem Ecclesiam constituendam nihil aliud requiritur, quam vera cognitio præceptorum Christi. Est quidem Deus & Christus fundamentum salutis nostræ: sed non quatenus eorum essentiam & substantiam recte novimus, sed quatenus dei voluntatem per Christum patefactam tenemus. In sacris literis Christum cognoscere, non significat illius essentiam vel substantiam novisse, sed voluntatem, eique se obedientem præstare. Ibid. 374. 375.

And thus we see how at long run this notion of *Socinus* hath plainly subverted the Christian Church, which our Savior saith he would build, not only upon *obedience to his Laws*, but likewise upon the *belief of his truths*, and particularly that great truth, that he was *the son of the living God*. Withal we see that this account effectually overthrows the distinction between the *Christian* and *natural Religion*, except as we said before, in point of perfection and degree; which one would think should be an insuperable objection against it, among any who pretend to have any reverence for their Savior; or any regard for that Religion which is called by his name.

But to this our men of Morals, as they would be accounted, the great pretended *admirers of probity*, but *underminers of Christianity*, have contrived a ready answer, *viz.* that the world hath been too long gulled with the conceit of I know not what regard that ought to be had, for opinions which have been universally received among Christians: but in order to find out the truth, we ought to lay aside all those prejudices which we have entertain'd for the *Church, Antiquity, Fathers, Councils*: nay you must go farther, for that alone will not do your business, except you likewise shake off all superstitious reverence¹ for the *Christian name* and religion, for which its true men generally, through the prejudice of their Education *entertain a great*, but it is, as one of them tells us, *a mistaken respect; which either casts a mist before the understanding, and hinders us from discerning the truth; or else so overawes the minds*

¹ What is it then that can frighten us from making use of that light which God hath given us to direct us in the conduct of our lives? I see nothing but that empty phantome of the pretended authority of the Church, which still presents it self to the troubling of weak minds, tho reason and common sense have long since chased it away from their habitation. But what is then that so venerable a Church for which I am bound to have so great a deference, that I must blindly receive her decisions? *Id. p. 75. (vide Episcop. Th. Inst. lib. 1. cap. 1.)*

² But however if a mistaken respect for the name of a Christian do so overawe any mens minds, that they are afraid to admit the universality of this light I consent for *etc. viz. the light of reason and the law of nature which he affirms is sufficient to guide men to virtue and happiness*. And to bring into question the sufficiency of this light and knowledge is, *he saith*, to renounce even Christianity it self. *Id. p. 81. 82.*

of men, that they are afraid to admit the universality of that light, which is designed to conduct men to virtue and happiness.

There hath indeed for many Ages been a wide and unreasonable distance kept among men upon the account of some different persuasions in the affairs of Religion. But now we must know, and we are chiefly beholding to the Unitarians¹ for the discovery, that the *partition-wall is broken down*, and all the world is become but one fold under the great Shepherd, that *invisible spirit* that animates and governs the universe, whom the *wise Chinese*, as we are told, the Disciples of the great *Confucius*, worship as becomes wise men, *sine longo & operoso superstitionis apparatu*, that is, without Temples, Priests, and Altars. The general Assembly and congregation of men throughout the world, is the only true *Catholick*¹ Church: whatever *other pale* you may think fit to set up, if it be not wide and comprehensive enough to enclose all the Children of *Adam*, ought to be pulled down, as being contrary to that true spirit of Love, that universal charity which Religion and right reason recommend to the world. There is now no difference to be made between *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Christian* and *Mahometan*, *Catholick* and *Heretick*. All these names of distinction, by which the peace of the world, and the quiet of mankind have been so long, and so unreasonably disturbed, ought to be laid aside. For tho' they may differ about matters of less consequence, of Opinion and Speculation; yet amidst this variety of judgements, there should be no breach of affection between them, who all agree in the practice of the necessary and fundamental duties of piety and virtue.

What now remains, but that according to the wise advice

¹ Is it the universality of a Church that denotes it to be a true one? All other professions are confined within the narrow limits of some Countrey &c. But this universal Law of right reason is spread over the face of the whole Earth; and so far from excluding any from the hopes of salvation upon such frivolous accounts, that the followers of it embrace all persons that are truly virtuous with an equal affection, and do by no means exclude any man from the communion of the Church, for a meer contrariety of opinion p. 77. That is true comprehension which comprehends all mankind. *Id. in the Preface. p. 3.*

that is given us, we should at length rouse up our spirits, & chase away those vain terrors which have so long surrounded us, and shake off the tyranny of those prejudices, with which we have been so long, and so unhappily possessed. We have for many ages been kept in awe, under the apprehension and dread of I know not what frightful doctrines and mysteries; Socinus was a messenger sent from Heaven, like the angel to St. Peter, and hath knocked off those chains and fetters wherewith our apprehensions and judgments have been shackled, and hath set us at liberty: for hereby we have got rid of the troublesome and difficult task of believing; and that not only of what relates to the person and natures of Christ, but if you please, of what concerns the Existence and Providence of God likewise, if you find those notions irksome and fit uneasie upon your understanding.

For since the end of all Religion is to regulate and govern our actions, if it be possible to arrive at the knowledge, and to be persuaded to practise those Moral virtues which perfect and adorn our nature, by the meer consideration of their usefulness and decency; why should it be thought necessary to have a belief, or to make the acknowledgement of one true God? At this rate, as far as I can perceive, it will be but an indifferent matter, (*modo vita sanctimonia salva sit*) whether a man deny the Existence of God, or acknowledge his Infinite perfections: whether he believes his Providence, or derides the conceit of it as a vain and superstitious opinion, fit to fright Children and weak Women, or weaker men: but not to move wise Men who will choose virtue for it self, as being agreeable to the dignity of their natures, and serviceable to the great ends of Government, viz. the preservation of humane Society, and to keep up good order in the world. For so long as you can arrive at the End, there is no great matter what means you make use of to attain it.

Epicurus was one of them of old who denied the providence of God; and yet in the mean time, if we believe the character which his friends have given of him, was a man of a strict

¹ Humane Reason. p. 8. ² Vid. Diog. Laert. Lib. 10. De vita & moribus Epic. & Petri Gassendi apologiam pro eodem.

Life and severe Morals: recommending to his disciples temperance and chastity, justice and fortitude, not only in *his discourses*, but likewise by *his example*. And in short, he was, as they tell us, a person of great justice, virtue and probity. It is true, he did not seem so much concerned for that branch of Religion which consisted in the *External worship of the Deity*; but his forementioned virtues made a sufficient recompence for that defect: and the excellent *Seneca* hath very wisely, as some think, observed, *satis Deum¹ coluit quisquis imitatus est*. Obedience is the best sort of worship, and he who complys with the Laws of his Creator, doth sufficiently own his authority, and thereby makes an abundant recompence for his care and government of the world. ‘What need you lift up your hands or your eyes to Heaven, and look up unto God: look into your selves, saith *the same² Divine Author*, Contemplate and Adore the mighty Deity that inhabits and resides there.

And then, as to what concerns *the Being and Existence of God*, *Socinus* hath allready stated that matter, *viz.* That as faith in Christ consists in the obedience to his Commands; *so the knowledge of God consists in a good life*, and a performance of those duties which the Law of nature and right reason prescribe. And therefore, he that doth so, may be said to *know God*, and to perform those things that are acceptable to him, tho’ otherwise he be totally ignorant of his Nature and Being. Nay, this is a notion that *Socinus* is so fond of, that he repeats it once and again. In his *Preflections Chap. 2d.* and his *Commentaries upon the fourth Chapter of the first Epistle of St. John, ver. 6.* where he hath a long discourse on this subject, and thinks he hath plainly made it out, beyond all contradiction, “That by the knowledge of God in that place, nothing else is meant but
“*animi*

¹ *Epist. 95. Vis Deos propitiare? bonus esto, satis. Sec.* ² *Non sunt ad cælum elevandæ manus, nec exorandus Edituus ut nos ad aures simulachri admittat, prope est ad te Deus, tecum est, intus est. Id. Ep. 41.*

³ *Cum igitur ex Deo esse, in ista Christi sententia (cap. 8. scil. Evang. Joh. v. 47.) Et consequenter in ipsa quam præ manibus habemus Apostoli sententia, nihil aliud sit quam esse probum & cupidum ea faciendi quæ Deo placent, hinc concludendum est per ea quæ modo dicebamus, Dei cognitionem de qua hic Apostolus loquitur, illud idem esse.*

"*animi probitas, & studium ea faciendi quæ Deo probantur*, An honest disposition and endeavour to do those things, *i. e.* those Moral actions, which God approves of. And that every such person who is *probitatis studiosus*, possessed of those virtuous dispositions, may be said to have *Dei cognitionem*, the knowledge of God, *posito quod nullam certam notitiam habeat quod Deus sit*; tho' otherwise he hath no certain knowledge or belief that there is such a thing as a God. And in his *Prelections*, Chap. 2. he repeats the same thing, in the like words. *Qui rationi obedit*, (which he calls *verbum Dei interius*) *Deo obedit etiam si alioqui ipsum Deum non esse quidem aut sciat aut cogitet*". That is in short, tho' a man be an *Atheist*, there is no great harm in it, provided that otherwise he be a person of probity.

It is true, this probity he saith is not a perfect knowledge of God, and indeed it would be a miracle if it should: tho' I am apt to think, that most other people are of opinion, that any the lowest degrees of knowing God, are inconsistent with the total ignorance of him, such as is supposed in this case; but however he is content it should pass under the name of *cognitio Dei imperfecta*, an imperfect knowledge of God. But yet as imperfect as

esse. Et sane nemo potest cupidus esse ea faciendi quæ Deo placeant; sed neque etiam ullo alio pacto probitatis studiosus, quin aliquam Dei cognitionem habeat; quandoquidem is qui animi probi est, & id quod rectum est amantis, posito etiam quod nullam certam notitiam habeat quod Deus sit, tamen potest iste suo modo dici Deum cognoscere, quatenus ea approbat quæ Deo placeant, & sic ipsum Deum quamvis ignorans approbat. Socin. Comment. in 4. Cap. Epist. Joh. v. 6.

Cum considero eum locum præcipue quem supra citavimus, in Christi verbis Joh. 8. cum quo hic noster consentit, & ad illum prorsus respicere videtur, iis præterea junctis quæ superius hac de re diximus, in ea potius sententia acquiesco, ut hic Apostolus de imperfecta Dei cognitione loquatur, non autem de perfectiore. Cum nihil impediat, quando alioquin phrasim ista ad utrumque sensum accommodari potest, quo minus, licet Johannes alibi in hac Epistola, idque fortasse semper, cognoscendi Deum nomine perfectiorem hujus generis Dei cognitionem intelligat, nihilominus tamen hic iisdem verbis de imperfecta loquatur. Nam certe nullo pacto negari posse videtur, quin Christus in verbis illis suis, phrasim esse ex Deo ita accipi velit, ut non de perfectiore, sed de imperfecta tali Dei cognitione eum loqui statuendum sit. Atque jam ostendimus & pro contraria sententia modo ursumus, Idem hic esse cognoscere Deum, quod esse ex Deo. Id. Ibid. We see how fond he is of this notion, in that he ventures to strain and wrest the words of the Apostle, quite contrary to the plain, and as he himself acknowledges, to the constant sense and meaning of them every where in this Epistle, to give countenance to it.

it is, it is highly commendable in it self, and helps to recommend men to the favor of God, and to constitute them his Children. For these three phrases, *esse ex Deo*, *esse Dei filium*, *notum esse ex Deo*, signify the same thing. Again, *cognoscere Deum*, & *ex Deo esse*, are likewise equipollent termes. Lastly whoever is *vir probus*, & *cupidus ea faciendi quæ Deo probantur*, is, saith he, *ex Deo est*, & *cognoscit Deum*.

And now what hinders but that we should give the right hand of fellowship to those inhabitants of *Brasil*, *Soldania*, and *Paraguaría*, among whom they say there is found no notion of a God? For tho they have no Religion, and some of them are bereft in a manner of common sense, yet there may be found among them such who are *probitatis studiosi*; and if so, then they may be said to know God, and consequently to be of God, and to be born of God; and then who can forbid us to own them, *pro veris fratribus in Deo*, true friends and brethren in God; as the followers of *Saturninus* and *Basilides*, and the rest of that Antichristian tribe, were to be accounted and acknowledged by us for true brethren in Christ, as we heard before. And I think the former have as good a title to our friendship in one respect, as the latter have in the other. And thus we see where this popular and seemingly inoffensive, but really pernicious opinion, hath led these men, who have pursued this argument I confess, with a very bold and extraordinary strain; but what commendations they deserve for so doing, must be left to God, and all Honest men to judge.

In the next place I am to shew, that this position is not only destructive of the *Christian doctrine*, but likewise of the *Christian practice*, having a very malignant influence even upon that, which our adversaries seem to be so much concerned for, *viz. piety and a good life*. In order to make this out, I must rise a little higher, and lay down certain general propositions, which carry their own evidence along with them, and cannot well be denied by such who own any, or at least the Christian Religion.

And here first I think, I may take it for granted, that the great end which God proposed to himself in the first creating,

as he hath ever since done in the government of the world, *is his own glory*: and that all other ends are but *subordinate* as being *subservient* to this. *2dly*, And consequently, that the design of all Religion whether natural or revealed, is to enable and instruct us how we may best *bring glory to our great Creator*, which to do, as I now intimated, is the principal end of our Creation. *3dly*, That the first act of Religion, and indeed the foundation of all the rest, consists in our *acknowledgment of his being*, and in having just and honorable conceptions of his infinite nature, and adorable perfections. And this will necessarily produce such actions in our minds, as are suitable and agreeable thereunto. That is, the consideration of *his infinite power, wisdom, truth, goodness and justice, &c.* will dispose us *to love, reverence and adore him*; *to believe him, to place our hopes, trust, and confidence in him*; to submit to his authority, to fear his displeasure, and in every thing to comply with his will, by what way soever that comes to be made known to us, whether by natural reason, or supernatural revelation.

4thly, That the exercise of Religion consists not only in the *internal acts of hope, love, faith, and admiration*; but likewise in the *external expressions* of those inward motions and dispositions of the mind, and particularly in those actions which make up that which is properly called *the worship of God*, such as are *prayer, and praise, &c.* which have him immediately for their object; and thereby are distinguished from those other acts of Religion, which more directly relate to, and are conversant about *our neighbors or our selves*. *5thly*, That God almighty best knows what kind of *service and worship* is most agreeable to his own nature and perfections; what most conduces to promote the great ends of his own glory, and the happiness of mankind, and consequently is most acceptable to him. For this reason it is highly fitting that we should observe *his prescriptions*, and govern our selves by *his directions* in this affair.

Ι Τὰς περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐσεβείας ἰδοὶ ὅτι κυριώτατον ἐκείνῳ ἐστίν, ὁ Θεὸς ὑποτάξας περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ὡς ὄντων καὶ διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως. Epict. Enchir. cap. 38. *Vide Simplicii Comment. in hunc locum.*

And for want of this observation and regard had to the directions of God almighty, with relation to his worship, men have run into innumerable, and endless extravagancies. For when they once put their *own reason* in opposition to his *infinite wisdom*, or their own *humors and fancies*, to the plain and open declarations of his *will and pleasure*; no man can tell how far, and whither they may wander; and into what desperate errors and mistakes they may plunge, and out of which it will be no easy matter to recover themselves; as the experience of all ages informs us.

Now in this is founded the reasonableness and necessity of observing the *positive institutions of Christ*, as well as those *moral precepts* of the Gospel, in the obedience to which our *Unitarians* would have all religion to consist. *The light of nature* hath directed mankind, and informed them of certain duties which are of *universal, necessary and indispensable obligation*. But besides these, *revelation* hath discovered, and superadded some new ones, to the observance of which (since we are assured that they are the results of the divine will and pleasure) we should, in all reason, and in all good Conscience (if we make any Conscience of the service of God) think our selves strictly obliged. And therefore they who place all Religion, as we intimated before, in the practice of the *moral and natural*, and neglect the *positive duties of Religion*, instead of bringing *glory to God*, which is as we said, the great design of Religion, they *really dishonor him*, by despising and affronting his authority, and therefore may justly expect to find the effects of his displeasure for so doing.

We see how God of old guarded his own institutions (his positive ones I mean) with very *severe sanctions*, which were as *severely executed*, upon such who presumed to violate them. Witness the punishment that overtook *Adam*, and which still pursues all his posterity for his disobedience to *one positive precept given him in Paradise*. And in the *Jewish Oeconomy*, we find the violations of the Law, even in some small and inconsiderable instances, as we may imagin, were punished with unrelenting rigor. As in the case of the man who gathered a few sticks on
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the Sabbath day; who, for so doing was by the particular command of God, *stoned to death*, Numb. 15. 35. *And Nadab and Abihu, only for offering strange fire, i. e.* such as was not taken from the Altar, *were themselves consumed by fire from Heaven*, Lev. 10 2. To omit other instances.

By which it appears, *how jealous God is of his honor*, how *tender of his authority*, whatever slight apprehensions we may have of them. And if this were duely thought on and weighed as it ought, it would be a good means to stop the mouths, and silence the cavils of those gainfayers, who in former and later times, with most detestable pride and presumption, have arraigned the wisdom of God, have censured and condemned his proceedings with men in relation to his *positive Laws and Institutions*. For did they but seriously consider the *supereminent and incomprehensible greatness of God*, and their own *despicable meanness*, and thereupon reflect upon the infinite distance between both, sure they durst not propose so many bold and impious questions, relating to his dispensations with men, as have sometimes dropped from the mouths and pens of these impertinent and profane Scoffers,

They ought to believe, that all his actions and dispensations are conducted by *an infinite and unerring wisdom*, tho he doth not always think fit to acquaint us with the *ends and reasons* of them. And as they ought to *admire his wisdom*, so ought they likewise to have a *due regard to his authority*; which is seen in all his commands, all his orders and appointments. Of which when we are once assured that they have him for their author, *nobis solum obsequii gloria relicta est*, we have nothing to do but to shew our subjection by a dutiful compliance. For tho the *particular matter* to which our obedience is required should be really small and inconsiderable; yet the *authority* of God is no such *despicable thing*, nor consequently is the obedience which we are to pay to it an *indifferent matter*: As God by many and terrible examples hath declared, especially in his dealings with the *Jews*, threatening *death and excision* to the violaters even of the ritual and Ceremonial part of his Religion. And the like consideration ought to extend it self

to the *institutions of the Gospel*, such as are the *Ministry, Sacraments, Church Assemblies, and Discipline, the observation of the Lords day &c.* All which ought to be regarded by us with that respect and reverence, which is due to the authority of him, from whom they had their Original.

It is not enough therefore for any man to say that he will serve God, but it shall *be in his own way*. That he is content indeed to pray to God, and praise him; but he will take his own time, and make use of his own methods, and in short in all the acts of religion he will govern himself by his own *humor or judgment* call it which you will. No, say I, if he will serve God, he must do it in *Gods way*, if he expects that that service should be acceptable to him. It is true if a man hath no *other light* to conduct him but his *own reason*, he must follow that and be governed by it. But on the other hand he who hath a better and brighter light afforded him, to wit, that of *prophecy and revelation*, must give himself up to the guidance and direction of it: and this he is obliged to do both in point of gratitude and prudence. otherwise if any man shall pretend to follow the *dictates of his fancy or his reason*, in opposition to the *mind and pleasure of God* discovered and revealed to him: all that service which proceeds from thence, tho' it may carry the appearance of piety and probity and I know not what, yet will really be no better than a sort of *will-worship*, and such obedience will be no *reasonable service*, whatever other appearance of sobriety and wisdom it may carry along with it.

For is it not highly reasonable to allow, that he who is the Author and fountain of all graces and blessings should make choice of *his own way* of dispensing them? If therefore he hath appointed the *preaching of the word and administration of the Sacraments* to be the way and means of conveying grace: ought we then to attend those ordinances to which the grace and blessing is annexed? And tho as the case stands we are able to give a good account of the end and reasons of these institutions: yet if we knew of no other than the bare command of God, that of it self should be a sufficient reason to engage our compliance. He can accomplish the *greatest things*

things by the most *unlikely means*, and oftentimes makes choice of such, to manifest his *own power and wisdom* thereby: that he may have all the glory, to whom of right it belongs; and that we may be taught to live in an absolute submission to, and an entire dependance upon him.

As to some particular circumstances relating to the administration of these holy offices, my present design doth not lead me to speak any thing of them: my business being principally with such who reject, or undervalue all established *order, ministry, institutions*, and make it their employment to bring the priesthood together with all those other offices which belong to that holy function into contempt; chiefly influenced hereunto by that pernicious principle, that all Religion consists only in *the practice of virtue and morality*; which is a prevailing notion among too many, and the great occasion of so many disorders in the lives of men, which at this day are too visible, and by which at long run, all Religion, even natural, may be in danger of being overturned, and all morality extinguished likewise into the bargain; notwithstanding the professions and pretences that may be made to advance it.

6ly. That God hath not only informed us of the *material* but likewise of the *formal parts* of our duty; that is, not only of the *substance*, but likewise of those *principles and motives* which must be the main springs of our actions; and likewise of *the end* to which they are to be directed. And these are as necessary to be regarded as the former; because if we should practise the duty as to the matter of it, and yet omit the right manner of the performance, such actions tho' they might be esteemed moral virtues, yet would not be acts of Religion. For every action of Religion must be done with respect to Gods authority, and must be directed to his glory. This is essential to the notion of Religion.

Hitherto I have proceeded by such steps, in which we may reasonably expect the concurrence of all who own a revealed Religion. But I must rise one degree higher, and therefore must affirm in the 7th place that as some of the duties of the Christian Religion indispensably required of us, even as to
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the substance and matter of them cannot be performed without the knowledge of the doctrines of it: (such as are the invocation and worship of Christ, either as to the *internal acts* of hope, love, dependance, submission to him, or as to the *external expressions* of those acts by prayer, praise, &c. all which do necessarily suppose his Divinity, as was said and proved before, and need not to be repeated again) so none of them can be practised in a *right manner* without the like knowledge of the abovenamed doctrines and mysteries; *the belief* of which is absolutely necessary to influence a Christians life and practice. And this will appear from a consideration of those circumstances which are requisite to *constitute and specify* the acts of Religion, so as to make them truly *Christian duties*.

For 1st. as to the *efficient cause*, they must proceed from a higher principle than *bare nature and reason*, to wit, from the *grace of God*, and the operations of his blessed Spirit; without whose assistance we cannot perform any *saving good*. The reason of this is plain, because our natures in themselves are corrupted, and all our faculties depraved: so that no good thing, I mean that is perfectly so, can proceed from them, till they are sanctified and renewed: *for who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* In short whatever actions do not flow from a love of God, a reverential deference to his authority, a firm lively faith and reliance upon his wisdom, power, and goodness: however good and laudable they may otherwise as to the substance and matter of them be, they cannot be pleasing to God, nor will be accepted of, or rewarded by him. For *without faith*, and the like we may say of the love, and fear of God, *it is impossible to please him*.

Now these and all other the like divine dispositions, being above the power of nature, (and therefore by the Christian Church have always been accounted *supernatural*, not only with respect to *the end* to which they are ordained and directed, but likewise with respect to *the principle* from whence they proceed) must be implanted in us by the *Spirit of God*, who is the fountain of all holyness: and without whose special aid we cannot perform any such good, as I said before, as will entitle

us to the favor of God and eternal life. For *whatever is born of the flesh is flesh*, 3. Jo. 6. what hath no higher principle than bare nature, tho' never so much exalted by the improvements of reason and philosophy, is but *natural*; but *what is born of the spirit is spirit*. A divine seed there must be before we can be *born of God*, and none that is not thus *born of water and the spirit of God, can enter into the Kingdom of God*. In a word, *they who are led by the spirit of God, they only are the sons of God*, 8. Rom. 14. And *they who have not the spirit of Christ, are none of his*, 9. v.

Now this circumstance of Christian duty, and without which it cannot be *Christian*, doth necessarily suppose the belief and acknowledgment of this important article concerning the nature and office of the third person in the blessed Trinity, whose grace and blessing we are taught to implore in all the actions of Religion: and without which, whatever other appearances of piety those actions may carry with them, they will not be available to purchase for us eternal life, as we said before.

I know the case of some *virtuous Heathens* and others, will be brought in opposition to what is thus said, who tho' they had no knowledge of this holy spirit, yet were renowned for their probity, justice, and other virtues, which did adorn their natures, and shine forth in their conversations. But yet for all this we must say, that in all their most celebrated actions, there were certain not only *gradual*, but *essential defects*; and particularly they were deficient in the *cause and principle* from whence they did proceed; as not flowing from that perfect love and that *faith without which it is impossible to please God*. For which reason their brightest virtues, and the actions which flowed from them were by St. *Austin* stiled *splendida peccata*: which tho' by many hath been judged too harsh and uncharitable an expression: yet upon due enquiry it will be found such as may be justified both from scripture and reason.

For, since *bonum est ex integra causa, malum ex quolibet defectu*; there being in all the most laudable actions of such infidels as we are now speaking of, a deficiency as to the *principle* from whence they flow: they cannot therefore but be destitute of that

that *essential perfection*, which is necessary to render them acceptable to God. They do not proceed from *that faith*, which alone can enable us to *overcome the world*. And this is fully acknowledged by *Episcopus* himself: who tho otherwise he had as little favor for the doctrines of *St. Austin* as most men, and as favorable an opinion of the virtuous Heathens as their case would bear; yet by the plain declarations of Scripture, and the evidence of truth arising from thence, he was forced to acknowledge as much in this case as *St. Austin* or any of the *other Fathers* did who were concerned in opposing and condemning the errors of *Pelagius*; among which the principal was, that men by the strength of nature could perform *bonum salutare*, that which is a saving good, *without the assistance of the spirit of God*: which together with the other opinions of *Pelagius* have been picked up by *Socinus* and incorporated into his divinity.

1 Quis est qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit Jesum esse Christum? quasi dicat Apostolus: circumspectite & lustrate unversum mundum, & ostendite mihi vel unum de quo vere affirmari possit, quod mundum vincat vel vicerit qui Christianus & fide hac præditus non sit. Nuspiam reperietis alios, quam Christianos & fideles, qui de mundo vel rebus mundanis triumphent. Soli hi unius fidei beneficio victores evadunt, & evaserunt hactenus. Reliqui omnes mundi huius illocebris veluti torrente quodam vel abripiuntur vel obruuntur. Et utut aliquando præstare se aliis mortalibus castigatore quodam vitæ genere videantur, & nonnunquam etiam præsent, tamen interim semper manent mundani, & ultra terrenas cogitationes non adsurgunt. Ex quo colligitur, ineptos admodum esse eos, qui adfirmare non dubitant, fieri posse, & non raro factum esse, ut Gentiles expertes promissionum fœderis, solius legis naturalis beneficio, absque ulla Christi & Evangelii illius notitia, non minus sanctè pique vixerint, quam Christiani vixerunt. Et horsum varia exempla proferrunt eorum, qui & sanctissima bene vivendi præcepta sibi aliisque dederunt, & juxta ea etiam se suaque composuisse leguntur: quæ propterea consue etiam extollunt ut non dubitent eis in catalogo sanctorum beatorumque reponere & collocare: magno profecto cum præjudicio religionis Christianæ & fidei, cui soli cam vim, id est victoriam assignat hoc loco atque aliis infinitis sanctus Dei Spiritus qui optime de rerum virtutibus & personarum actionibus judicare potest. Nostrium est calculum divinum potius sequi, quam ex proprio ingenio de illa re quicquam statuere. Etsi enim lubens fateor, non contemnenda, imo stupenda quædam virtutis opera à Gentilibus præstita esse, taliaque cum quibus Christianorum multorum vita conferenda nentiquam est; tamen ea talia fuisse ut victores mundi propterea dici potuerint, persuadere mihi non possum. Mundanos enim, id est, mundani alicujus boni amore, vel spe vel sensu, vel imaginatione motos illos fuisse necesse est, quamdiu melioris, id est, cælestis boni notitia, quæ per solum *f. Christi Evangelium* obtinetur, destituti fuerunt. Episcop. Lect. sacr. in primam Epist. Joh. v. 15.

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But whatsoever may be the case of those *virtuous Heathens*, and others, who have no knowledge of the spirit of God; and whatever allowances the God of all compassion may make them, *besides and beyond any promise or covenant*, (of which we have no information in the Scriptures, and therefore to *the extraordinary and uncovenanted mercy* of him we must leave them, whose goodness is beyond our conceptions and over all his works;) yet I know no excuse can be framed for those who after plain and clear information, are so far from making their addresses to God for assistance, that they only fall down before that Divinity which is in them, their *reason* forsooth; to whom all their applications are made. This is the *light that enlightens*, this the *spirit that animates them*. But as for any grace or help from above, this they neither want, nor are concerned for.

The Apostle tells us as we heard before; *that as many as are led by the spirit of God, they only are the Sons of God*. But that this spirit, should direct, counsel, govern such who are so far from imploring his aid, (which yet is the necessary condition of obtaining it, as our Savior hath assured us) that they reject and deride it; cannot reasonably be imagined. I wish things may be found otherwise in the conclusion, and that this blessed spirit may by his mighty power sanctify and save these men, if it be possible, whether they will or no. But I am sure they have great reason to think themselves in extream danger; and to suspect that piety and probity for which they have been so much celebrated and admired. For if it do not proceed from the *true cause*, it will be deficient in one of those circumstances which are necessary to render it acceptable to God. For in short; *If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his*, 8. Rom. 9. and

See the discourse concerning *human reason*, before cited, together with that called the *Trinitarian scheme of religion*, with the notes upon it, where the Author, with his usual buffoonry endeavors to expose the Catholick doctrine concerning the impotence of mans nature, (in this degenerate state) to perform any saving good, without the help and assistance of Gods grace. This he represents as an impious, and withall as a foolish, absurd, ridiculous opinion. And upon the head concerning the *Sacraments*, he not only denies, that grace, which all good Christians lay is annexed to the due use of them, but in a blasphemous manner he accounts it no better than *charm and incantation*. p. 27. 28.

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whether they can be *led by that spirit*, who blaspheme his person, and not only refuse his assistance, but scoff at, ridicule and deride it, will become them seriously and timely to consider.

A second circumstance requisite to constitute an action of religion a Christian duty, *is the end* to which it is to be referred, which is now not only the glory of God in general; but the glory of *the blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. For it is not the *Godhead* barely considered in it self, or as residing in one single person, but as subsisting in the before-mentioned *three glorious persons*, which to us Christians is the true object of Religious adoration and worship. By the profession and faith of *this Trinity* are we admitted members of Christs Church; to their service are we solemnly devoted by baptism, and to their honor all our actions should be referred; otherwise they are not actions of *Christian duty*, nor consequently will they be accepted of or rewarded as such. *He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father*, let his pretensions be what they will, Jo. 5. 23. nay all men are to *honor the Son even as they honor the Father*, with the *same religious worship*; which yet they cannot, they must not exhibit to him, if he be *not God* as well as *man*. Otherwise that worship would be *plain Idolatry*, as we have shewn before, so that the belief of the *holy Trinity*, is absolutely necessary, to influence a Christians practice.

Lastly *the manner* after which our duties are to be performed, requires the like knowledge and belief. For they are all to have a necessary relation to *the mediation* of our Savior, which is the great and fundamental principle of a Christian life and practice. It is not enough for us to offer up our praises to God for the works of *creation and providence*, but we must do it chiefly for that stupendous contrivance of his wisdom, in *the redemption and salvation of mankind*. It is not enough to cast our selves at the feet of our offended Creator, and to implore his mercy for the pardon of our sins; but we must beg it *in the name* and by *the mediation* of his Son. It is not enough to forgive our enemies, but we must do it chiefly for this reason, *that God for Christs sake hath forgiven us*. We must be chaste
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and temperate; but the motives to these duties must not be taken either solely or chiefly from the consideration of our neighbors or our selves; but from the remembrance *that we are bought with a price: that we are not our own, and therefore should glorify God with our bodies and spirits which are his.*

In short all our duties must be performed by the assistance of his spirit, all our services sanctified by his grace, and the defects of them pardoned by his merits. Our garments must be washed in his blood; our prayers and praises must be perfumed by his incense, being then only gratefull to his father, when presented to him, by the gracious and powerful intercession of his Son. In one word, even *charity which is the fulfilling of the Law*, and to which the Apostle gives the preference above faith, must yet be influenced by it, otherwise we cannot rightly love God, nor expect to be beloved by him. For the great motive to our love of God, must be that amazing instance of his love in *sending his Son into the world*, first to instruct us in our duty, and then to die for us.

How his Son? Was he only *an adopted Son*, a good man, who was honoured with that style; because he was *sanctified and sent into the world*, in order to discover the will of God to mankind, and afterwards laid down his life in confirmation of the truth of what he so delivered? What was there so great, so strange, so unusual in this that heaven and earth should stand astonished at it; that the Angels should *stoop down* and pry and peep into this mystery? Surely there must be something more in this affair, or else the whole world could not be filled with wonder and amazement at it. Indeed there was somewhat extraordinary: for *God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten Son*, (a title never assumed, never given to any the most glorious creature) into it, *that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* This consideration surely must be able to work upon our affections, and if that cannot, it must be absolutely impossible that any other motive or argument should prevail.

By all which we see, that all the actions of a true Christian life must be influenced by, and one way or other have

relation to *the mediation of our Savior*; and this mediation must receive its virtue and efficacy *from the divinity of his person*, without which he could never have performed the functions and operations which belong to that high office, as hath been shewn at large in the foregoing papers.

So that indeed, the belief of this single article concerning *the Divinity* of our Savior, is so far from being an indifferent matter, as some would persuade us, that it is absolutely necessary to the very *Being and Essence of the Christian Religion*: and the denial of it consequently must unavoidably occasion a fundamental change in the whole frame and constitution of it. So that a Religion with this doctrine, and another without it, are two Religions of *a different species*, between which there must be a vast and an irreconcilable disagreement: forasmuch as they cannot agree either in proposing the same *articles to be believed*, or recommending the same *duties to be practised* by their respective professors.

For let the divinity of Christ be discarded, then you must be content to part with all the other doctrines concerning the *Trinity, Incarnation, Redemption* of the world by the merits and satisfaction of our Savior. The like change will attend the doctrines concerning the *Ministry and the Sacraments*, both as to their *nature, use, and efficacy*. The whole covenant of *grace* will hereby be entirely changed: because there cannot be either the same *promises on one hand*, or the same *conditions* to be performed on the other, as are now supposed. And thus the alteration of the faith will necessarily be attended with an alteration in the practice of Christians. Our prayers and praises must be different: we cannot have the *same faith*, nor the *same hope*, nor exercise the *same charity*. For these duties, (and the like must be affirmed of all other graces,) in them that believe, and in those who deny the divinity of our Savior must flow from different principles, must be influenced by different motives, and must be directed to different ends, and consequently occasion an essential change in those duties. In short upon the belief and profession of this doctrine *Christ hath built his Church*: and upon the same foundation we must build our *comforts and our hopes*, and there we shall find a sure bottom for them to rest

rest on, against which the powers of hell shall not be able to prevail. And from this confidence nothing I hope shall be able to withdraw us.

And thus I have shewn how this opinion which denies the necessity of faith, plainly subverts the Christian Religion both as to doctrine and practice: which is the second pernicious consequence that flows from it.

The third and last evil consequence that attends this position is; that it is *highly dishonourable to the holy Scriptures*, and tends directly to weaken that esteem and reverence which we should have for them. For as I observed in the beginning of this discourse, *faith* can for no other reason be thought unnecessary, but because the objects about which it is conversant are of no great importance. If the doctrines revealed in Scripture be such as that the *glory of God*, and the *salvation of mens souls* are concerned in them, then it is certain the knowledge of them cannot be judged an indifferent matter. But if it be said that those truths contained there are of that nature, as that the honor of God, and our own safety do not depend upon them; then the question that must arise hence will be; to what purpose were they discovered? and why do the Scriptures themselves lay such a stress upon that discovery, as to tell us, that they were *mysteries, great mysteries, hid from former ages*, and now revealed by the *spirit of God*, who only could find out and fathom *these deep things*, which he hath made known to the world? nay the *Son of God who lay in the bosom of his Father*, thought it worth while to come down into the world on purpose, to discover those secrets which otherwise must for ever have lain concealed there.

And after all this, are these such trifling inconsiderable matters, that it is of no great consequence whether we know or are ignorant of them? whether we believe or whether we reject them? Can any thing be uttered that can tend more to the defamation of the *holy Scriptures*, and the *Authors and penmen* of them? For if the Socinian account of these things be true, then I say it must cast a dangerous reflexion upon the wisdom

wisdom and integrity of those divine writers which is hereby brought under a just suspicion: in that they should in such a grave and serious manner deliver what they had to say, under the notion of *supernatural, important, sublime truths*, which when they come to be narrowly examined, are found to be of such little use and benefit to mankind. Nay the reflexion must rise higher, and be terminated on the spirit of God himself, who is said to have *assisted, directed, and inspired them* with the knowledge of those truths, which they afterwards committed to writing for the lasting benefit of the Church to all succeeding ages of the world.

Perhaps it will be said, there are some things contained in the Scriptures of great importance to the souls of men; but these are only *the precepts*, and those *promises* by which we are encouraged to yield obedience to them. But for the rest, they are useless, or at best indifferent matters, which we may either know or be ignorant of, without running any hazard thereby. I answer, since the precepts and promises make up but a part of the writings, particularly of the new Testament which we are now chiefly speaking of, the other which is the greatest part of them must still lie under the beforementioned reflexion, which cannot be wiped off by this answer.

First, for the Gospels, we know they are in great measure made up of the account which is there given of the birth, life actions, miracles, passion, death, resurrection, ascension of our Savior; all which were carefully recorded by the Evangelists, with this design that we might be informed of them, and thereby be induced to *believe that he was the Son of God, and that by believing we might have life thro his name*. And the Apostles in their preaching when they were sent abroad to teach and instruct all nations, were earnest in declaring and inculcating the main points of the Christian history as well as doctrine, opening and alledging out of the Scriptures, not only that Christ was *the Son of God*, but also that he was *to suffer and rise again from the dead*, and then to *enter into his glory*. This was the Gospel that St. Paul preached, which his hearers received,

ceived, wherein they stood, and by which they were to be saved,
1. Cor. 15. 2. 3.

And 2dly, if besides the *history* we consider the *doctrine* which is recorded in the Gospel, (if we may be allowed thus to distinguish them, for to us now the historical parts of our Saviors life and death &c. are become doctrinal points and articles of faith) we shall find that it consists not only of commands and precepts recommended to our practice, but likewise of certain truths of which it gives us information, and proposes them to our knowledge and belief. *St. John's Gospel* as we have heard was written on purpose to inform us of the *divine nature and Godhead* of our Savior. And our Savior himself, besides the instructions which he gives his hearers, for the regulating and government of their life and actions, is copious in giving an account of himself as to his *nature, descent, and original*; that he was *the Son of God*, that he *came down from heaven*; and of the errand upon which he came into the world, which was to purchase pardon and remission of sins for men, by laying down his life, and shedding his blood for their sakes, &c.

Then for the *Epistles*; whether those that are styled *general*, or those wrote upon more *particular occasions*, as directed to certain persons or churches; but which as to their use are likewise general, and designed for the lasting benefit of the Church to all succeeding ages: I say in these we find the Apostles frequently and earnestly inculcating and recommending the *doctrine* as well as *practice* of Christianity: their business was to make their disciples and converts, not only *good men*, but likewise *sound believers*. To confirm and settle them in the *faith*, to guard them against those errors and heresies, which very early began to corrupt the purity of the Christian doctrine: by reason of which errors, and of that degeneracy of manners, and impurity of life, which is first or last the constant and inevitable consequence of such errors, (I mean which strike at the foundations of Religion) *the way of truth was evil spoken of*. To mention all particulars would be in a manner to transcribe the Epistles. I shall therefore content my self with what may be found in the directions given by *St. Paul to Timothy*,
and

and *Titus*, the Bishops and Metropolitans of *Ephesus* and *Crete*.

In these we find our Apostle had a particular and especial regard to the *faith and doctrine* as well as *precepts and practice* of the Christian Religion. He requires *Timothy* to be an example to believers in word as well as conversation, in faith as well as purity, 1. *Ep. Tim.* 4. chap. 12. In order to his being a good minister of *Jesus Christ*, it was requisite that he should be nourished in the words of faith and of good doctrine, v. v. That he should give attendance to doctrine, 13. v. and to that gift which was in him, 14. viz. his high function and office, together with those gifts of knowledge and wisdom in the mysteries of his holy Religion, whereby he was enabled to discharge it. He was to take heed to himself, and particularly to his doctrine, for in so doing he should both save himself and them that heard him 16. v.

How by so doing save himself? doth the salvation of men depend upon their holding and maintaining sound doctrine? why I thought this had been a matter of speculation, and therefore that Religion was not much concerned in it: which consists wholly and solely in the practice of virtue and morality. *Socinus* indeed and his friends have told us so: but *St. Paul* we find was of another opinion. And therefore he once and again exhorts his Son *Timothy*, to hold fast the form of sound words, in faith as well as in love, 2. *Tim.* 2. 13. which latter is the effect and fruit of the former, and therefore both are to be preserved and maintained. we must hold faith and a good conscience, 1. *Tim.* 1. 19. the observation of all ages assuring us that it is seldom found, but that they who cast away one, do likewise make shipwreck of the other. And therefore a good conscience and a faith unfeigned are again joined together by the Apost. v. 5. of this ch.

The like advice is given *Titus*, that he should not only shew himself a pattern to his flock, in good works, but likewise that he should in doctrine shew uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, together with sound speech which cannot be condemned, 2. *Tit.* 7. 8. v. And in the qualifications of a Bishop mentioned in the 1. ch. it is required not only that he should be sober, just, holy, temperate &c. but likewise that he should hold fast the faithful word;

that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince gain-sayers, ver. 8, 9.

Thus St. Paul delivers himself: but if what Socinus saith be true; we shall find that he hath taken a great deal of pains to no purpose, and hath shewn, perhaps a well meant, but an ignorant and mistaken zeal in these his writings; and that both with relation to the sound doctrine which he upon all occasions recommends, and 2dly, the errors which are opposite to it.

1st, As to matters of faith and doctrine, it is certain our Apostle hath shewn a great concern, and hath used abundance of zeal and vehemence in recommending that which in the conclusion, if, as I said, we believe Socinus, will be found to be of very small consequence, and in which Religion is little or not at all concerned. This knowledge and perswasion of the mind may indeed make us be esteemed and magnified by men, but it will not render us acceptable to God, who puts no value upon any actions of the understanding; and is only concerned for matters of practice, and those duties of morality which make up a good life.

It is true the former without this latter will be really insignificant; but in conjunction with it, it is of necessary and indispensable obligation, in the opinion of St. Paul. I confess if this Socinian Position which we are now refuting be true, St. Paul was certainly under a mistake. He advised Timothy to take care of his doctrine and to hold fast the form of sound words, but he ought rather to have said, be an example in conversation and charity, but do not trouble thy hearers with discourses about Faith. Take heed to thy life, and then it is no matter what becomes of thy doctrine. Obedi & credidisti, true faith consists in obedience, and a good life is the end of all Religion, as hath been often said, and if that be attained, we have made sufficient provision for Gods glory and our own safety, and therefore need not disturb our selves or others about matters of truth and speculation.

All this may seem fine and plausible at first view, and may carry the appearance of truth to men of shallow understandings, or to others who tho they are not of such weak minds, yet for some reasons may be willing enough to be deceived, but can never prevail with any who are throughly conversant in the

Holy Scriptures, and have any true sense of the Christian Religion as it is laid down and described there. What man is there who hath any right tast and relish of those *weighty, solid, substantial truths* which the sacred writings recommends to us, who can be content to exchange them for those *thin, aery superficial discourses of morality* which are to be found in the writings of our Adversaries.

It is true these latter, (as we have allways said, and must continue still to say, upon this and the like occasions) I mean exhortations and precepts to *virtue and morality*, ought to be attended to with a particular regard. They are *incorporated* into our Holy Religion, and make up a *principal part* of it, and without them all other pretences to Religion, are *hypocritical and vain*. But yet this must not be construed to the prejudice of that other part of Religion which consists in the knowledge and belief of those supernatural truths revealed in the Scriptures, *which are worthy of all acceptation*: and therefore should be received by us with all thankfulness, and entertained with all reverence, attention and esteem. Particularly St. Paul in his writings is still entertaining his readers with discourses about the faith, and with high elogies and commendations of it, chiefly upon this score, that the objects and articles of it are *Mysteries*, above the reach and comprehension of reason, as hath formerly been observed.

What doth this *Mysteriophilus* mean, may some of our Adversaries say, thus to trouble and perplex our understandings with such sublime and incomprehensible matters? Wherever we look into his Epistles we still meet with Mysteries and Revelations, and are perpetually pursued and haunted as it were by them at every turn. It is true, the *writings of St. Paul* are full of such sublime truths and doctrines, and except we are resolved to lay these writings quite aside, those *mysterious truths* like so many *phantomes* will still be presenting themselves to our view, notwithstanding the attempts which some men have made, *by reason and sound sense*, as they call it, to *chase them away from their habitations*. But notwithstanding all their endeavors, and the success that either hath, or may attend such attempts, yet they

they will never totally prevail, as long as we can preserve our *Bibles*: our *Bibles* I say, which we still appeal to, and by which we are content all matters in dispute between us should be determined. For let them chase these truths where they please, and let them with never so much scorn and disdain discard them out of their new *Schemes and Systems of Divinity*; yet they can never drive them out of the *Scriptures*, nor particularly the *writings of St. Paul*, and there we shall be sure to find them.

But some men tho they are content to be accounted *Christians*, yet perhaps are not willing to be esteemed *Paulists*. And I cannot wonder at this averfation: for light and darknefs cannot be more opposite, than the writings of that great Apostle, and those of their master *Socinus*: what one esteemes, the other undervalues; what the one thinks fit to be received with reverence, the other rejects with scorn. Witness that solemn asseveration, and that unusual preface of respect with which the Apostle mentions the truths of the Gospel, *without controversy, great is the mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the flesh, &c.* Why should the Apostle usher in what he had to say with so much *pomp and solemnity*, except he had judged these things to be matters of great and high importance? But what he thought so great a commendation, in the judgment of some others is accounted the greatest disparagement that can be to any doctrine; which for that reason, *viz.* for which it is adjudged worthy of admiration by *St. Paul* is slighted and despised by the Disciples of *Socinus*. But the notions of these two persons are quite different, both as to *doctrines*, as we have already heard; and also in the second place, as to *those errors* which are opposite to them.

It is plain *St. Paul* did not think so slightly of them as some men now do. Witness his Epistle to the *Galatians*, and those sharp expressions which are to be found there against the *Judaizing Christians*, who were for joining the observance of the *Ceremonial Law* with the *faith of Christ*. Tho this opinion was not inconsistent with morality, nor did it hinder them from believing that one only fundamental Article of the Christian Religion, as some account it; that *Jesus was the Messiah*;

The Authors and promoters of these false doctrines he styles *seducers, deceivers, untruthy and vain talkers, who subvert whole Houses; whose mouths, he saith, ought to be stopped, and they themselves severely rebuked, that they may be sound in the faith.* What is the matter may some say; what have these men done to deserve these hard words, and this severe treatment? Some of them it is true did deny the Resurrection of the Body, and said it was *past already*: but what then? they still held the necessity of a Resurrection from sin, the belief of which may be adjudged much more necessary and of greater consequence, than of that of the Body; because the great end of Religion, viz. Piety and a good life, is sufficiently secured by the belief of this spiritual resurrection to holyness; whilst that other of the body, hath been scrupled and rejected by men of sense and probity; such as are Socinians and Quakers; which latter have revived the very same opinion which the Apostle here condemns in Hymeneus and Philetus; acknowledging no resurrection but that from sin, which must be begun and finished in this life. Besides, this error is consistent with the belief of that Capital Article that *Jesus is the Messiah*, and if so, instead of the bestowing upon them those hard words of *deceivers and seducers*, we ought to own them *pro veris in Christo fratribus*, as we heard before.

But yet for all this they, and others of the like sort, are by our Apostle accounted *proud, vain, conceited men, boasters and babblers, persons of corrupt minds, subverters of the faith: grievous wolves who would not spare the flock*; whom every body therefore should avoid, as they would provide for their own safety. And therefore in his Ep. to Titus² he tells us, that such persons though at first they ought to be treated with admonitions, advice and persuasions,

¹ *Factam esse resurrectionem dicunt in quotidiana animorum renovatione ac regeneratione à morte peccati ad vitam justitiam, ad quam resurrectionem ipse Apostolus passim fideles hortatur. Refert Tertull. nec suo tempore defuisse qui resurrectionem mortuorum in imaginariam resurrectionem distorquerent, dicentes homines exinde resurrectionem consecutos cum Domino esse, cum baptisma induerint. Tales Hæreticos sua etiam ætate extitisse testatur Thom. Aquinas. Ad hanc igitur Allegoricam resurrectionem revocasse videntur Hymeneus & Philetus intentionem fidelium, ut quodam prætextu pietatis à fide vera resurrectionis eos alienarent. Est. Comment. in Epist. 2. ad Timoth. c. 2. v. 18. 2 cap. 3. v. 10.*

in order to reclaim them from their errors; yet if after sufficient warning, and admonition they will not repent, and lay aside their impious opinions, then *they ought to be rejected*, we ought to turn from such, and to converse no otherwise with them than we would with an Infidel or profane person.

How may some say, what will you reject, and repell from your Communion those whom Christ will receive into his arms, nay, *quos caelo, & solio suo dignabitur*, whom he will admit into Heaven and place with him upon his Throne? will you condemn those whom their Savior will absolve; and such are *all Hereticks* in the opinion of *Episcopus*, let their errors be what they will, *in quocunque dogmate sit error & dissensio*, if they are otherwise men of probity and live as some call it, a good life?

Yes such, even these high pretenders to virtue and righteousness, if after reproof, advice and other means of conviction; they will not be perswaded, and reclaimed; nay if instead of being wrought upon, they become hardned in their errors; like so many wild Asses lifting up their heels, kicking at instructions, and spurning away all the good advice that is given them: or like so many unruly swine, *trampling these admonitions under their feet*, nay turning about and rending those who cast these pearls before them: and in a word, if instead of submitting to the truth, they betake themselves to contradicting and blaspheming, railing at the persons, and reproaching the office of Christs Ministers, rending and tearing in pieces, as far as in them lies, their reputations, and exposing both them and their holy Function, under the notion of *Priestcraft*, to the scorn and derision of Libertines and Atheists; I say when they proceed thus far: then in compliance with the advice, and in imitation of the practice of

1. Hæreticum post unam & alteram admonitionem devita. *post Admonitionem, quæ leniter fit, docendo & monendo ut resipiscat: vel Correctionem, Redargutionem, ab Episcopo scilicet faciendam cum autoritate & potestate, quæ etiam excommunicationem illi minetur nisi resipiscat. Hanc adhiberi vult (Apost.) tum ut via prius tentetur quæ restitui possit: tum quia aliqui constare non poterat quod esset Hæreticus, id est, in errore pertinax. Talem devita, non amplius admitte ad colloquium, notam illi inire ut homini qui Censura Ecclesiæ subiacet, & jubet omnes familiare ejus consortium fugere. Sic Estius, Calv. Hamm. aliquæ hunc locum explicant.*

the Apostle, we ought to *avoid and reject such, to withdraw our selves from them, to note and mark them, to have no company nor fellowship with them: not to receive them into our Houses, and much less to admit them into the House of God; but to drive them thence by spiritual Censures and Excommunications; tho still with a merciful intention, to bring them hereby to repentance, and that they may learn not to Blaspheme.*

This I doubt not will be thought strange advice by some, as being quite contrary to the *meekness and gentleness of Socinus*; and to that tenderness and compassion which is in a particular manner due to *Hereticks*, and which he and his followers have so often recommended to the world. To which I have this to reply, *1st*, That *Socinus*, (and the like may be affirmed of many of his friends) notwithstanding the great pretences made by him to more than *ordinary meekness, charity, and condescension*; yet was a person of *like passions with other men*; tho' he had a particular, and more than ordinary command of them, which must be acknowledged to be no small point of wisdom. But for all this, being a person of quick and keen resentments, he found his passions oftentimes too headstrong to be governed, which would and did, upon some occasions break through all the restraints which his skill, art and cunning could lay upon them; as might easily be made out by many instances, if it were the business of this discourse to produce them.

But *2dly*, This moderation and gentleness, tho' never so excellent and commendable, yet may (as some other excellent things too often are, the more is the pity) *be abused to very evil purposes*. We know in the Apostles days there were not wanting such *who made use of their liberty, as a cloak for their maliciousness, and turned the grace of God into wantonness*. And it is no wonder that the like abuse should overtake this meekness, charity, and moderation, which we must own to be necessary and essential ingredients of a true Christian temper; and without which no man can be a sincere Disciple of Christ. But yet for as much as they are capable of being abused, and that crafty and designing men may, and often have made use of them, *to cover, and thereby the more securely to compass some unlawful projects*:
we

we must say that the use and exercise of them is to be regulated by *certain restrictions and qualifications*, without which these excellent and divine virtues, will be so far from being serviceable to the interests of Religion, that on the other hand they will, or rather some men under the pretence, and by the professions of them, may do a great deal of mischief in the world.

I am sensible I am now entering upon a subject, which might afford matter for a large discourse, and perhaps might not be unworthy of it, but I can at present speak but very briefly of the matter, and what I have to say, that I may not digress from my Subject, shall be reduced to these two Heads.

1st, That whatever tenderness and compassion we may have for *persons* overtaken with errors, yet we ought to have no such tender regard for *those errors themselves*, I mean which overthrow the frame, and tear up even the foundations of our Religion, such as are the *Socinian* tenets, which oppose the doctrines concerning the *Trinity*, *Incarnation*, and *satisfaction of Christ*; these being necessary and essential parts of our Religion, without which it will not only be *imperfect*, but indeed *none at all*. Here we must upon all occasions, (and such occasions do but too often offer themselves to us in the age we live in) shew not only our *soundness* in the Faith, but our *zeal* for it; and *contend earnestly* for those doctrines, and that *form of sound words which was once delivered to the Saints*. Here is no room for treaties, and accommodations, and projects of reconciliation: we may as soon reconcile *Christ and Belial*, as make any agreement between these *fundamental truths*, and those *capital Errors*, which are directly opposite to, and totally destructive of them. And therefore if any are so far transported with the love of *moderation*, as that they will extend it indifferently to all parts of the Christian doctrine, and those dangerous errors which plainly overthrow them: then I say, we may without breach of charity venture to affirm, that such persons, how much soever they may be otherwise celebrated for their abilities, parts, temper, virtue, &c. either have not such *right notions* of the Christian Religion,

Religion, or so *just concern* for it as becomes them ; and therefore they thereby bring either their *wisdom* or *integrity* under a just suspicion ; but I shall say no more of this matter at present.

2dly, The best way of shewing our charity and compassion to such persons, is by plainly and fairly laying before them their guilt and danger, their danger I say, while they continue under these fatal mistakes ; which consists in these two things ; *1st*, That as the case stands, they can have *no excuse for their infidelity* ; and *2dly*, they cannot have any *just and reasonable hopes of Salvation* while they continue in it ; I mean if they will be governed by the plain declarations of the mind and will of God contained in the Scriptures, and not by their own fancies and imaginations, which is too weak and unstable a foundation for any man to build his hopes of happiness upon.

First I say they can have *no excuse for their infidelity*, they cannot plead ignorance or want of information ; because these truths which we now contend for are written in such fair and legible Characters that *he who runs may read them*. And therefore there must be some *corrupt lust, passion, or interest*, lying at the bottom, which prejudices them against the truth, drawing a veil as it were before their eyes, and hindering them from seeing that, which all the world in a manner discerns beside themselves.

It must not be denied that there are some points of Religion, debated sometimes with too great heat and passion, about which men Learned and Pious may disagree ; and here there may be ground for the exercise of *charity and moderation* ; partly because they are not so *clearly revealed* in Scripture, but that there may be room left for difference and doubting about the truth of them : and partly because tho' they were clearly revealed, yet they are not of *that importance*, as that the ignorance or denial of them, can prejudice the principal and substantial parts of our Religion, which remain safe and entire notwithstanding those differences. But as for these other *fundamental truths*, no man can with any reason complain of the darkness and obscurity of Scripture about them. They are mentioned so often, and in such plain, positive express terms, that there is no place left for doubting or uncertainty.

It is true men may wilfully *shut their eyes against the light*, and then tho it shine with never so much brightness and lustre, it is no wonder that they are not illuminated by it. Otherwise, if they will but open their eies, they will find so little reason to complain for want of a *convenient light*, that in this case, they may rather fear lest they should be dazled with too great a *splendor*. It is not possible for words to express any thing more plainly and clearly than these truths are delivered in the sacred writings; and therefore if any shall pretend that they cannot find them there; they must be told, that the fault is in themselves, and the Scriptures must be acquitted from all blame. Neither will it be sufficient to excuse such persons from the guilt of their infidelity; by saying they are men of good sense and great probity, and therefore if they are under any mistakes, it must rather be their *misfortune* than their *crime*, and that this must be owing to some such innocent causes, as *will justify*, or at least *extenuate their errors*. I know such Apologies are usually made for them, but yet for all that we may venture to affirm that their ignorance and unbelief, are owing to some cause that is highly criminal, and to which they must be ascribed. For tho the persons we are speaking of may be *just, temperate, liberal, contemners of the world*; yet we may say to them as our Savior did to that virtuous young man in the Gospel; *one thing is still wanting*, and that is *humility*; humility I say, and that meekness of understanding which will dispose men to bend the whole soul and all the faculties of it to the authority of God; and that without hesitation or reluctance, notwithstanding any suggestions that *flesh and blood*, sense or reason may make to the contrary.

Perhaps it will be replied, is it not *uncharitable* to think so ill of men celebrated for their virtues, as to imagine that some *corrupt motive*, and particularly *pride*, should be the cause of their incredulity in these points we are speaking of; since in their conversation and behavior, they seem to shew all the *humility* and in their writings about Religion they pretend to all the *sincerity* in the world? I Ans. this is no groundless, nor consequently uncharitable surmize, for all this. And this I shall make appear from the words, and out of the writings of our
Adver-

faries themselves. *Socinus* of old hath often declared that the Scriptures, in the matters debated between them and us, are so plain and clear that no man, who is not plane ¹ *stupidus*, bereft in a manner of common sense can mistake their meaning; and therefore if they do so, their mistakes must be owing to malice and impiety.

Herein you see, we both agree in assigning the true cause of mens ignorance or unbelief of these great and fundamental truths; tho' we differ vastly in the application of it; however we have gained this point, that in the opinion of *Socinus*, the real ground of mens ignorance of divine truths, is some corrupt lust or passion; and that without breach of charity, this may be charged upon them notwithstanding their pretensions to a sincere and impartial enquiry after truth. For these pretensions are made on our side as well as theirs, and yet they are not thought sufficient to acquit us from the imputations of pride, malice, and impiety, even in the judgment of this moderate man. And therefore if we affirm the same of them, we may not be accounted uncharitable, barely for this reason (provided that otherwise we have truth and reason on our sides) that they make great professions and protestations of their uprightness & sincerity in the search after truth.

Again, *A late Unitarian in his Exhortation to a Free and Impartial Enquiry into the Doctrines of Religion*, assures us that when the Scripture sets down any Capital doctrine, it doth it in such plain termes, ² that none can be deceived if he be sincere. And again, that the ³ doctrine of Christianity, as revealed in the Scriptures, (and especially as to what concerns that primitive and capital truth, that *Jesus is the son of God*, who is, as he styles him, his *Interpreter*, and *Messias*, and hath revealed the will of his Father to the world) is proposed with that clearness and evidence, and confirmed by such irrefragable proofs, viz. Miracles, &c. that with relation to this truth, men shall be accountable for the errors of their understanding, as well as for the vices of their will; because here is as much evidence as is requisite to satisfy an honest reasonable mind. ⁴ The want of Faith or

¹ See his words before cited p. 15. of this Discourse. ² p. 10. ³ p. 15.

⁴ So saith another Unitarian in his Treatise called *Some thoughts upon Dr. Sherl. Vindication of the Trinity*. p. 21.

understanding in this respect, is the want of probity and uprightness, and therefore the fault is inexcusable. And yet for all this we find the *Deists*, who by the same Author are said to lead *stricter lives than most of those who boast so much of Christianity*, do not admit the truth of the Christian revelation concerning the *Messias*, but reject it as a fable and a cheat.

What shall we say to this? Are not the *Deists*, men of *probity and understanding*? yes sure, we shall do them a great deal of injury if we did not own them to be *sincere honest hearted men*, who as the same Author tells us *do good by the impulse of their natural Religion, Honesty, and a good Conscience.* What should the cause of their infidelity then be? It is not to be ascribed to want of information, for they have the Scriptures at hand, and do sometimes peruse them, as appears by what they say and write in order to *ridicule and expose them.* But how comes it to pass, that they do not receive and embrace the truths contained there? This cannot be owing to *stupidity*, because they are said to be *judicious persons*, men of good sense and understanding: and yet for all this one would think that they were not such Masters of right reason, as some pretend, since the same Author tells us, *that the primitive truths of the Gospel, which relate to our Savior, are of such evidence and certainty, that no rational man can deny them.* But if their infidelity be not owing to the want of reason, it must therefore be ascribed to their want of *sincerity and uprightness*, (if we believe the Author of the *Free and Impartial Enquiry* before mentioned;) notwithstanding their high pretensions to *morality, virtue, and probity*: For in the Scriptures *there is enough* saith he, *to satisfy any honest reasonable mind*, provided he brings along with him those virtuous qualities of humility, meekness and sincerity, which are absolutely requisite to dispose the minds of men for the reception of divine truths.

But when all is done, the account which this Author gives of the *Deists*, is contradictory and inconsistent with it selfe, and how we shall be able to reconcile these contradictions I cannot well tell. Sometimes they are said to be men of *judgment, honesty, and sincerity.* At other times we are told that no
men

men of *common reason*, or *common honesty* can disbelieve the truths of the Gospel, which yet the *Deists* we know do, and pretend-*reason* for so doing. These differences cannot easily I think be solved, except we should say, that in civil matters the *Deists* are men of *sense and probity*, but in the affairs of Religion, they act like men, that have no regard to *honesty, conscience, or honor*. If this solution doth not please them, then I must leave it to our *Unitarians* to find out some other ways for their excuse or vindication.

Now what this Author saith of *Deists* or *Atheists*, call them which you will, that we must say, (and we may say it upon their own principles without breach of Charity) of the *Socinians*, who deny the mysteries of the Christian Religion; which are delivered in the Scriptures in such *plain clear expressions*, that no words can make them more evident; there is no deficiency in the Sacred writings, as to *perspicuity and clearness*; but there is wanting *meekness and humility* in them that read them: and this is the true cause of their unbelief.

And this among other things, is the reason why they who erre in those points styled fundamental, can have no reasonable hopes of Salvation, I mean while they obstinately continue in those errors; which is the second thing, as I said before, in which their danger consists: because *pride, pertinacy, and presumption*, which are at the bottome of those errors, are in themselves damnable sins, and destructive of Salvation. The Scriptures positively and peremptorily require the *persuasion of the mind*, and submission of the understanding to these great truths; and that under the *same penalties*, as they require of us obedience and submission to the moral laws and precepts of Religion. Doth the Scripture say, that *without holyness no man shall see God*? The same writings, do in as express termes say, *that he that believeth not on the son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him*, Jo. 3. 36.

If you farther enquire why *unbelief* should bring men into so great danger: I answer, Besides the reason now mentioned, two others may be assigned for it. 1st, Because it is *highly dishonorable to God*, and consequently destructive of the main end

end of Religion, which is to bring glory to him, as I have shewed before. It is a direct opposition to *the veracity of God*, for which reason the Apostle highly aggravates the guilt of it, particularly with relation to that great truth concerning the Divinity of our Savior, *viz.* that he who believeth it not *makes God a Liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his son*, 1 Jo. 5. 10. nay it is not only a denial of the veracity of God, but is a *high disparagement to his wisdom*, and withall bids plain *defiance to his authority*; which is discovered as much in what he hath proposed to our belief as what he hath recommended to our practice. And therefore it being an instance of our submission to God, to give our assent to what he affirms, it must consequently be an high presumption, and therefore as dangerous an act of disobedience to *refuse our assent* to what he hath revealed, as not to *practise* what he hath commanded.

In short, if we will be thought truly to honor God, we must yield an entire submission to him without *exception* or *reservation*, we must make the whole Soul with all the powers and faculties of it, the *understanding* as well as the *will* and *affections* stoop and bend to him, without which we cannot practise that *self denial*, which is the indispensable duty of the Gospel, and without which we cannot be Christs Disciples.

But 2dly, Another reason of the danger of *Infidelity* is, because it hinders us from practising the dutys of Christianity, which are the necessary conditions of the new Covenant, : some of which as to *the substance* cannot, and none of them as to *the right manner* of performance, can be practised by us without the knowledge and belief of *certain supernatural truths* revealed in the Gospel, as we have said, and proved before, which need not be repeated again. For these and the like reasons, when we have to deal with such persons as we are now discoursing of; one of the best ways of shewing our *kindness* and *charity* to them, is, as I said, by laying before them, honestly and fairly, their guilt and danger, and not to sooth them up in their infidelity, by *Commendations and Elogies* of their virtue, justice and probity, to the great disparagement and detriment
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of Religion, and their own sad and fatal disappointment in a matter of high concernment, *viz.* the Salvation of their own Souls. And indeed the condition of those *speculative delinquents* seems in some regards to be more full of hazard, than that of many *practical sinners*, if I may be allowed so to distinguish them; chiefly for this reason, that generally speaking it is more difficult to reclaim the former, than the latter from the error of their evil waies.

In the practice of sin whatever other pleasure attends it, men find themselves often disturbed by the accusations of their own *reason and conscience*, which is still upbraiding them *with the folly*, and terrifying them with *the guilt* of their evil actions; which often proves, by the assistance of divine grace, an effectual means to lead them to repentance. But in *the profession of error*, (I speak of such who do not act against their Conscience, as some *Hereticks* it is to be feared have done, being influenced by secular motives and designs) a man goes on in his course with pleasure and security; and *his reason* is so far from checking and controuling him, that it rather strikes in with his error, not only approves, but applauds and encourages him in his opposition to divine truth; so that he is not only *under a mistake*, but hereby is put almost *under an impossibility* of being cured of his delusion; which is one of those fatal mischiefs which attend an *erroneous Conscience*, and especially when infected with those errors which concern the foundations of Religion; which are observed to *stupify and benumme the Conscience*, so that it shall be *past feeling*, nothing shall work upon it: men in this condition being too often found so hardened against all conviction, that neither reproofs nor admonitions, nor arguments, nor even inspiration can make any impression; they set themselves into a posture of hostility against the spirit of God himself, oppose their reason to his revelations, which with a pride like that of *Antichrist*, they exalt against every thing that is called sacred and divine.

Now when men have once arrived to this pass that they *resist the holy Ghost*, it is no wonder that he should retire from them, and leave them to their *own pride, folly, and vanity*, and whither

whither that will lead them in the conclusion no man can fore-tel. We have seen too many examples of this in the age we live in, *viz.* of men having once forsaken the *common and received truths* of Christianity, that have afterwards fallen from one wild and wicked opinion to another, until at length they have shaken hands with all Religion: and have exalted themselves above *Law and Gospel, Ordinances and Revelations*; to the dishonor of God, the scandal of Religion, the reproach and blemish of our State and Nation; all which have highly suffered by the *wild and frantick opinions* of these men, and the *lewd pranks* which they have played in pursuance thereof.

All which should caution, and affright men from giving way to errors in Religion, which considering the mischievous consequences of them, should not be accounted such slight and inconsiderable matters as some men have represented them; who out of a well-meant perhaps, but mistaken notion of *meekness, charity and moderation*, have given too great countenance and encouragement to such *erroneous opinions*, and thereby may be said to have occasioned some *inconveniencies*, to say no worse of them, which have happened thereupon, and which are much easier complained of than remedied. Instead therefore of *soothing* such men in their errors, we ought as I said before, to lay before them and others the *great danger* they are in by reason of them; and tho we may have no great hopes of doing any good upon such persons themselves, who think themselves too good and too wise to be taught, and make but a jest of all that is charitably offered for their instruction; yet possibly it may make some impression upon others, and prevent their being perverted; especially when they are informed, that the condition of such who are infected with these *Heretical Opinions*, is not only *deplorable*, but in a manner *desperate*; there being but very few of them who when they are once *entangled in these errors*, have ever recovered themselves out of *this snare of the Devil*, as the experience of all Ages assure us.

And thus I have at length finished what I had to say upon this important subject, concerning the necessity of Faith, both as
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to the objects and act of it, in opposition to the contrary opinion of *Socinus* who makes it an *useless* or at best an *indifferent* matter. And I have insisted the longer upon it, because I think it strikes at the root of that *infidelity* which too much prevails, especially among weak and unwary men, who are influenced thereunto by this principle, that morality and a good life, are the only useful necessary parts of Religion.

I should now proceed in the next place, to give an account of that second way and means, whereby *Socinus* and his Disciples undermine the Christian Religion, and that is by advancing *Reason* above *Revelation*, and making that the sole both rule and judge of what we are to believe and practise. But this discourse having allready, besides my first intention, grown to too great a Bulk; I must reserve what I have farther to add upon this and the other Heads mentioned in the beginning of this Treatise, for the next and fourth part.

And now to summe up all that hath been said upon this subject, in a few words. If we consult the Scriptures, and rely upon them for information in that important question, *what we shall do to inherit eternal life*; we shall find that the answer will be this, that we must not only *obey the Commandements* of God, but likewise *believe his Revelations*, and especially that part of them which concerns the *Divinity* of our Savior; because otherwise we cannot rightly believe him to be *the Messiah*, which is on all hands acknowledged to be a necessary Article of Faith. 2^{dly}, The same Scriptures will inform us that this *Faith* except it be attended, and indeed adorned with a suitable life and practice will be really *useless* and *insignificant*; without this our *Circumcision* will become *uncircumcision*, and our *Faith* will be no better than *infidelity*. Indeed they are both necessary, both indispensable; and therefore no man without great presumption and Sacrilege, can *separate those things which God hath joined together*; both being by him made the necessary parts of our Religion, and the indispensable conditions of our happiness as I said before. 3^{dly}, That though the *practice of moral virtues*, and those dutys which right reason instructs us in be incorporated into our holy Religion,

and are essential parts and ingredients of it, without which all pretences to Piety and Godlyness, are *hypocritical* and *scandalous*; yet there are some *other dutys* farther required of us, which are only discovered by *Revelation*; and the *right manner* of performance even of those moral duties, with relation to their *Principles, Causes, Motives* and *Ends*, depends upon the knowledge and belief of certain supernatural truths, revealed in the Scriptures. And particularly they are founded on the Doctrine of our Saviors *mediation*, as that is on the *Divinity* of his person. 4thly, That these *Christian duties* are the great conditions of the *new Covenant*, upon the performance of which our Salvation depends; which for this reason, makes *Faith* absolutely necessary. It is not indeed required of all in *equal degrees*, and it were extremely uncharitable and unreasonable to think it should, it being sufficient that it should bear some proportion to the *capacities of men* and the *means of information*. But in some degrees it is required of all, at least so far as it is necessary to influence a Christian life and practice. Lastly, that the *Honor of God*, the *Authority of the Scriptures*, the *Welfare of the Christian Religion*, both as to doctrine and dutys, knowledge and practice depends on this perswasion, concerning the usefulness and necessity of Faith: as on the other hand, all these are overturned by the contrary Opinion.

And now if notwithstanding all this that hath been said, we can by any pretences of *peace* and *moderation*, or any shews of *Piety* and *Probity*, be prevailed with to think otherwise, and thereby be gulled out of our *Religion*, or out of our *zeal and concern for it* (which in time must end in the ruine and extinction of it) then all the world will condemn us, and think that we justly deserve to be deprived of that greatest of blessings, *viz. the light of the Gospel*, which upon such slight reasons, trifling motives (scarce fit to work upon Children,) we did undervalue and despise.

In short, we may expect to fall under that heavy sentence which our Savior passed on the Jews for their obstinacy and infidelity, *The Kingdome shall be taken from you, and given unto a Nation bringing forth the fruits thereof*, Math. 21. 48. This was the

the summe and upshot, the complement and indeed the cause of all those miseries, which afterwards overtook, and overwhelmed them. When this was gone, *their Glory* then was departed from them, and *their safety* with it. For then they were set apart and devoted to destruction; the decree was gone forth, and mercy it self could not rescue them from ruine. May God open the eyes of men to see the *things that belong to their spiritual*, and indeed their temporal *peace* and security likewise, which can never by any other methods be effectually provided for, if *Religion* which is the great bulwark of a State and Nation, be neglected and despised: It being the irrevocable decree of Heaven, uttered by the mouth of him who is truth it self, who cannot lye and will not repent, 1 *Sam.* 2. 30. *Them that honor me I will honor, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.*

The End of the Third part.

R E M A R K S
UPON THE
E X A M I N A T I O N
OF THE
Oxford Decree.

REMARKS
UPON THE
EXAMINATION
OF THE
Oxford Decree.

Edwards, Jonathan

REMARKS

Upon a *BOOK* lately published

BY

Dr. *WILL. SHERLOCK*

Dean of *St. Pauls, &c.*

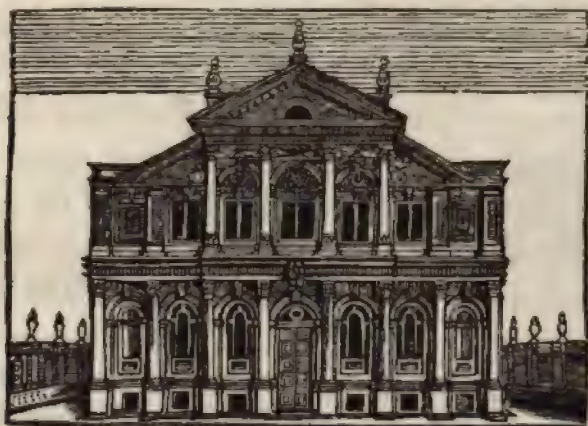
ENTITLED

A

MODEST EXAMINATION

OF THE

Oxford Decree, &c.



O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, MDCXCV.

And are to be Sold by *H. Clements.*

This Book was writt by Dr Edwards,



REFLECTIONS

ON THE

LATE EXAMINATION

OF THE

Oxford Decree.

A *Modest examination of the Oxford Decree*; So the Dean begins his Book: But the whole Book, and almost every page in it, is a very plain and effectual confutation of the Title; in which you will find as little modesty in this censure of the *Decree*, as there is soundness and truth in the propositions which are condemned by it. The former is just as *decent* as the latter are *Orthodox*, and they may each of them be thus called by the same figure, which is commonly known by the name of *Antiphrasis*; as some say *Parcæ* are so called à non *parcendo*.

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But the Dean is to be excused, if any excuse may be framed from long use and custome, which have rendred such a way of contradicting himself habitual, and that habit is turned almost into a second nature.

I shall readily therefore acknowledge, (and let him take what advantage he pleases of that concession) that there is as great an harmony between this Title and the Book, as there is between the several parts of this, and and some others of his late discourses. Upon which account I have sometime bin induced to think, that a man could not reasonably desire to encounter a fairer Antagonist than the Dean, who will save his Adversary the pains and trouble of confuting him; he will do it so often and so effectually himself.

It hath long since bin made an observation, that when men have once cast away the Faith, they at the same time make shipwreck of a sound and discerning judgment; being oftentimes, as a just punishment of their pride and vanity, delivered up *εἰς τὴν ἀδωκίμην*, to a mind which cannot rightly judge of, and distinguish the natures of things. One would almost be tempted to imagine, that some such thing hath overtaken this Dean, who as he doth not make a right difference, in some points of great importance, between *truth and falsehood*: so in these papers he seems to
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have lost all distinction between *reason and sophistry*; between *arrogance and Modesty*. For if this be a modest vindication of his Opinions, then we have lost the true signification of words.

But perhaps he will come off, and relieve himself, as he doth upon some other occasions, by his *meaning*. It is true indeed, if you will judge of things by the letter and words of his book, he hath treated the Governors of the University with great insolence and contempt; but yet still he *meant* nothing but fairness and respect towards them; and therefore in spite of what can be said to the contrary, his discourse shall still be called a *Modest examination*.

I am loath to part with this word, because if I do, I must bid a final adieu to it, and never expect to find any thing again like it, at least in this book. If any man therefore who at present hath a good opinion of this Dean's modesty, hath a mind likewise to continue in it, then I must tell him, if he meets with this *examination*, he must be content to read but a few pages; nay that is too much; *Titulo debet, aut si placet, Titulis contentus esse*. He must be satisfied to read only the Title of the book, or at most the Titles of the Author; which are enough in all reason. And indeed before this trifling paper, he hath prefixed so many of them, as if he had a mind to oppress those

by his *puissance*, whom he despaired to subdue by his *reasons*.

It is true indeed, they are all of them (not now to enquire into his merits) such as he hath reason to be proud of: But however it will not become him to swell and look too big: for I must tell him, tho these Titles, may give him a place above some of the Heads of Houses; yet neither will they, nor twice as many more put together, render him equal to all, or the major part of them when met together. He cannot be offended then if I put him in mind of the *frog in the Fable*: he knows the story, it will become him to make the application; or if he will not, some body else would do well to whisper him in the ear, and advise him, *ne te inflas, ne intumesceas, Decane, non si te ruperis par eris*.

And now from the Preface, I proceed to the Book. But before I come to consider his examination of the Decree, there are certain passages and expressions, here and there dispersed in these papers, which must not slightly and disrespectfully be passed over, but call for our notice and observation.

And the first thing I am to take notice of is, the manner how he treats the *Oxford Decree*, and the persons who made and published it. The *Decree* he styles *rash and injudicious*, the *rash*
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and haſty judgment of ſome Heads, p. 10. which Heads he all a long by way of contempt calls *theſe Heads, Decreeing, Heresy-making Heads*, p. 46. who in their determinations, have not only oppoſed the *common faith of Chriſtians*, but acted likewise in oppoſition to the *common ſenſe of mankind*. Of them he farther ſaith, that they talk of the *Fathers and Councils*, but are wholly ignorant of thoſe matters, of which they have no knowledge, except it be by *inſpiration or prophecy*. And in ſhort, this ignorance and inconfideration hath betrayed them into a belief, and declaration of what is at the ſame time both *Heresy and nonſenſe*; and for which, not only all learned men, but even the moſt *illiterate plowmen*, whom he makes competent judges of theſe matters, will *condemn them*.

I ſhall conſider firſt what he ſaith of the *Decreeing Heads*, and then of the *Decree* its ſelf. Now as to what concerns the Heads of the Univerſity, I believe there is no indifferent ſtander-by, that is, no man who is not perfectly of this Dean's *complexion and intereſt*, but will acknowledge that he hath treated them in a very rude, and unbecoming manner. He ought to have conſidered who were preſent at this meeting, and to have made ſome diſtinction at leaſt. Among them he ought in the firſt place to have

thought upon the *Vicechancellor*, who presided in this meeting, and not over-hastily to have passed his Censure, without a *salva reverentia*, a preface of respect, which is due to his place and Character. For he should be put in mind of, what now perhaps by reason of his long absence from the University he may have almost forgotten, that the *Vicechancellor* of this, as also of our Sister University, upon the account of the greatness of his Trust, and the condition and quality of the persons under his Government, hath bin always thought to deserve a place, and hath accordingly bin ranked, with the chiefest Magistrates, and Officers of Corporations in the Kingdom. Upon which account he hath bin wont to be treated with Honor and respect by all persons of good manners, and civil behaviour.

Besides *him*, among the persons who composed that meeting, (as his friends who gave him an account of what passed there, might, and I suppose did inform him) there were two more, one whereof upon the account of his noble birth, and the other of his Character and Station in the Church, deserved to have bin distinguished. But he without any restriction or qualification, jumbles and shakes all these Heads together, and represents them to the World, as a Company of *indiscreet, ignorant, rash men*. Some of the *wi-
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ser Heads indeed he saith *were absent*; by which he would have it believed, that those who were present were a Company of *illiterate and injudicious blockheads*. And so infallibly they must be, if in the affairs of religion, and the judgment and doctrines of the Ancient Church, they understand nothing but by *prophecy or inspiration*, as he saith, p. 31. that is, nothing at all. Neither can he relieve himself, by suggesting as if some *who were present dissented*. For his friends might have informed him, that after some previous discourse, as usually happens at such meetings; when the *Censure and Decree* was settled and agreed upon, there was not one person who opened his mouth, or said one word in opposition to it, either as to matter or form. So that all who were present are equally involved in those decent epithets before mentioned.

From the *Decreeing Heads* let us pass to the *Decree* it self; this is styled *the rash and hasty judgment of some of the Heads of Colleges and Halls*; and immediately afterwards, he sets himself to shew the *rashness and injudiciousness* of this Decree, p. 11. Sure our Author when he made this reflexion had his own writings before him, in which there are so many marks of hast and precipitation. But let us consider these epithets apart. First he says it was a *hasty judgment*;
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but that is more than he knows; and if it were as hasty as he imagines, yet I must tell him, that is no disparagement to it in this case. For there are some things so grossly and palpably false and absurd, that their falshood and absurdity appear at first view, and therefore require no long time, or previous deliberation to detect them, and when they are so detected, I hope it is no Argument of rashness to condemn them. And such were the propositions censured in the Decree, which are directly repugnant to the common faith, and universally received doctrines of all sound Christians; tending plainly to overthrow the *Unity of the Godhead*, which is the first and Fundamental principle of all Religion, whether natural or revealed.

But if these propositions were not so grossly and palpably absurd, yet the condemnation of them could not be accounted *injudicious*; because the Heads, who were concerned in that Censure, herein followed and were governed by the *judgment* and determinations of Fathers and Councils. To make this more plain. Suppose any one now should assert, that there are *two persons*, or but *one nature* in Christ, and thereby revive the Heresy of *Nestorius*, or *Eutyches*; would it require any long time and previous consultations to Censure those positions? or could such a Censure so passed be

be accused of rashness? I say no, because we have the example and Authority of two *General Councils*, to justify such a Condemnation, which cannot be impeached of imprudence, without reflecting upon the wisdom and integrity, not only of the Fathers who composed those august Assemblies, but likewise of the *Catholic Church*, which hath confirmed their sentence, by rejecting those errors which they Condemned. He on the other hand, is justly to be accounted rash and arrogant who presumes to oppose his own single opinion, to the judgment and determinations of Fathers and Councils; and upon that account endeavors *fixa refigere*, to shake and unsettle those Doctrines, and those words in which they have bin conveyed down to us, and which are now universally established in the Christian Church.

In short therefore, to censure any positions which have already bin condemned by any *General Councils*, doth not require any slow or tedious consultations; it is sufficient to declare them impious and scandalous, because they have bin so adjudged formerly, by assemblies composed of persons who have bin celebrated for their wisdom and learning, and renowned for their soundness in the faith and their zeal for it.

And so it was in the case before us. The propositions censured by the Decree, were such as

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had formerly bin condemned by the famous *Council of Nice*, whose *Determinations* have bin received with respect and reverence by all good Christians, and make up at this day part of the established Doctrine of all the Churches in the Christian World: who, amidst that variety of judgments and opinions in other matters, are at perfect agreement among themselves in this, that the Father and Son are *Consubstantial*, or of one and the same Substance, to which assertions the propositions condemned, are plainly and diametrically opposite; it being absolutely impossible that two or three individual Substances, should be one and the same Substance.

The second thing which ought not to be passed over without observation, is that undecent reflection, which in more places than one of this examination, he passes upon *zeal*. One would think, he accounteth it unlawful and unwarrantable in the affairs of Religion; or else sure he would never brand any man with the name of *Zealot*, as if it were a mark of infamy and reproach. He ought therefore to be told, that there never was a just sense, and a firm belief of Religion found in any person, where it was not likewise accompanied with a *zeal & concern* for it; which for that reason was never condemned by
any

any wise or honest man. Neither indeed can it be censured, without a bold and dangerous reflection upon our blessed Savior himself; and together with him, upon those wise and good men who in all ages of the world, as occasion hath served, have shewn a *zeal* for the Glory of God, and a just concern for the preservation, and maintenance of the true Religion.

It is true indeed it may be, as oftentimes it hath bin, joined with ignorance, or excess; in which cases it hath bin found to be so far from being serviceable to the interest of truth, that it hath rather bin the occasion of a great deal of mischief in the world. But on the other hand, to disparage and expose it without any just restriction and limitation, is to introduce a *coldness and indifference* among men in the great affairs of Religion, which in time may end in the ruin and extinction of it.

Perhaps it will be said, that he doth not design to condemn *zeal* absolutely and for it self, but as it is to be found in conjunction with some other ill qualifications, which are apt to corrupt and spoil it: the best things being liable to abuse, and when they are so abused, they often prove very hurtful and mischievous. I find it therefore joined with two other qualities, for the sake of which possibly, he may speak disrespectfully of it. The first

whereof is *Warmth*, p. 2. where he represents a certain member of the University under the character of a *warm Zealot*; which to be sure he did not design to be a commendation, but rather a Title of contempt and disgrace. The other is *Orthodoxie* or soundness in the faith, p. 24. where in the same slight and contemptuous manner, he styles some persons, *our modern Orthodox Zealots*; to which he joyns an other ornamental Epithete of *Heresy makers*. It may not possibly then be *bare naked Zeal*, but zeal thus *qualified*, which he thinks fit to condemn.

As to the first Epithete of *Warm*; if zeal found in conjunction with *Warmth*, be blame-worthy, than I would fain know of him where he can direct us to find out any kind of zeal, which will not come under the same condemnation. In all his great reading did he ever meet with any Author who furnished him with the notion of a *cold zeal*; or in this case did he ever meet with any medium between hot and cold, i. e. a *luke-warm zeal*. Doth this great critick in languages know whence this word is derived?

Perhaps he will say, that it was not the bare *Warmth*, but the *Exceß* of it, which he disliked in this *Zealot*. But I do not hear that he did promote any petition, or use any endeavors that the Sermon should be *burned*, but that the propositions

positions delivered in it which gave great occasion of offence, should be *condemned*. However let the warmth of this *zealot* be what it will, the reflexion made upon it by this examiner can never be excused in him, who in many of his writings discovers such an *intemperate heat*, as hath bin disapproved by his friends as well as enemies. Nay there is one peculiar circumstance of his *warmth*, for which I think no tolerable excuse can possibly be made by any person, tho never so much byassed in his favor; and that is, the *fervor* which he hath discovered on both sides of the question; having discoursed *pro* and *con*, and with *equal violence* appeared in defence of quite contrary opinions.

It is true indeed, it is no disparagement to any man to alter his opinion; provided that that change be attended with modesty, and supported by reason. But whoever shall maintain both parts of a contradiction, and then with equal fury shall think to bear down all opposition; it is plain such an one can have no sincere concern for truth, but only for his own opinion, and thereby gives too great occasion, to call in question either his *judgment*, or *sincerity*, which are hereby brought under a just suspicion.

But 2^{dly}, Supposing that a *warm zeal* may be excused, yet I find a zeal for *the Faith* is not like

to meet with the same fair quarter ; for an *Orthodox Zealot*, is a pernicious creature, and never to be endured ; who will be sure either to find or make Heresies ; and thereby disturb the quiet and peace of the world. But where, I beseech you, can a man employ his zeal more commendably, than in the defence and maintenance of the truth ; especially when it is of great importance ? As it certainly must be, when the opposite error is such, as plainly overturns the foundations of our Religion ; and this is plainly the case before us. But it seems, a zeal for errors, for false and impious opinions may be warranted, tho attended with all the warmth, nay with all the rudeness and scurrility imaginable ; but we must not lift up a finger to support the faith, nor open our mouths in defence of it, but presently they must be stopped again, with such dirty & foul language as this examiner thinks fit to fling in our faces. This is not just and equal dealing.

3^{dly}, The next thing that calls for our observation is, that strange vein of pride and haughtiness which runs through this paper. To give an account of all particulars of this nature, would be in a manner to transcribe his book, which ought not to be honoured with too many Editions. I shall therefore confine my self to two particulars, in which a vanity and arrogance which

which are insupportable are too plainly discovered.

The first is, the charge of *Herefy*, which almost in every page, he lays at the doors of all them who differ from him in his notion of three *distinct minds and substances* in the blessed Trinity; the denial of which he over and over calls *Sabellianism*, and in the conclusion of these papers, he dubb's with the honourable titles of *Herefy and nonsense*. But I would fain know how this Dean comes to be thus invested with this large Authority and prerogative of *adjudging and declaring Herefy*, which he saith, and saith rightly, *ought not to be entrusted with any single person, nor any body of men less than a National Synod*. I do not know that he is his Majesty's High Commissioner for Ecclesiastical affairs.

Perhaps it will be said, that he did this by way of retaliation: the *Heads of Houses* declared his notion of *three minds and substances* to be Heretical; and he adjudges their opinion of *three persons and one substance* to be so too. Here he doth but recriminate, and therefore is on the same level with these *Decreeing Herefy-making Heads*. If this be a fault, it is a fault on both sides, and they are alike equally criminal.

To which I answer, 1st, That the *Heads of Houses* by the judgment and declaration which they

they made, were very far from designing to assume to themselves an illegal and extravagant power of adjudging or declaring any matter or cause to be Heresy, which was not, as they thought, adjudged and declared to be so before by a competent Authority, and allowed for such by the Laws of this Land: The Doctrine of *one substance* was Decreed in the *Council of Nice*, confirmed afterwards by all the other *General Councils*; to which the contrary opinion of *three substances*, as was said before, is diametrically opposite; and therefore by the whole Church hath bin in former ages accounted and adjudged *Heretical*.

On the other hand, the examiner declares the belief of *one substance* in the Trinity to be Heresy, not only which had never bin declared so before by any *Council* either *general* or *particular*: but quite contrary to the plain meaning of the *Canonical Scriptures*, to the express determinations of *General Councils*, to the established Faith and Doctrine of the *Catholick Church*; to all which, he hath with unparallel'd pride and presumption bid defiance, and thereby brings himself within the compass and condemnation of the Law.

But *2dly*, The judgment and declaration of the *Heads of Houses*, was made with a particular regard

regard to the Members of their own Body, over whom they are entrusted with a just and legal Authority. They have reason to look upon themselves to be under a strict and sacred obligation, to prevent as far as in them lies, the growth of any pernicious Doctrines in Religion. Some such had bin preached among them, which they had reason to fear, might in time gain ground, if not timely obviated. To prevent therefore the infection and growth of such *false and impious opinions*, they thought fit to publish their Decree, which, as I said before, had a particular regard to those persons who were committed to their care, *eorum fidei & curæ commissis*.

But this Dean like an *Universal Pastor and Bishop*, sets himself as it were in *Cathedra*, and from thence he dictates to the *whole Church*. He lifts up his voice, as if he would say, *audiat orbis Christianus*, I do declare, and let all persons take notice of it at their peril, that the Doctrine of three Persons, and one God, or *one Substance* in the God-head (which is all one, as shall be shewn by and by) is *Sabellianism*, is *Heresy and nonsense*. Would not this Dean, think you, have done well to have advised with some men of skill and learning, how far the reputation of his *wisdom and modesty*, (not now to mention the *Integrity of his Faith*, which thereby may

be justly called in question,) might be affected by such a bold and presumtuious declaration?

The next instance of his great modesty may be found in the 11th and 12th pages of this examination, where he makes an Apology for the use of *new forms of words, unusual, unscriptural forms of speech, in order to explain and declare, as he calls it the Catholick Faith*: several of which, as it is very well known, this examiner had invented and made use of to this purpose, in his vindication of the blessed Trinity, and for which he was justly called to an account by the learned *Animadverter*. Now among other things, which he offers in vindication of this bold and dangerous practice, p. 12. he tells us, *That the Church tho it never had authority to make a new Faith, yet it always had, and always will have authority to declare and explain the true Catholick Faith, in such words as are most aptly expressive of it, and necessary to countertermine the Arts and Evasions of Hereticks.* And this he saith *will justify the use of such expressions as these, Three distinct infinite Minds, and Spirits, or three substances, how novel soever they may be thought.* To this suggestion of his I have several things to Answer. First he saith the *Church* hath Authority to use new, and unusual forms of words in Articles of Faith. But I am apt to think

think she would be very unwilling to exercise her power, and would never do it, except when pressed with a great and an unavoidable necessity. We have reason to think it would be one of her last remedies, when all other methods of preserving the faith had proved ineffectual.

It is true indeed, in the Ancient Church, the meaning of certain words which sometime were of doubtful and ambiguous signification, were afterwards settled and determined, such as was *substantia*, *persona*, ὁσία, ὑπόστασις. And some new unscriptural words, such as the ὁμολογίον, were made choice of by the Fathers, and put into their Creeds, in order to detect the hypocrisy and Heresy of the *Arians*. But this was not done till after many disputations, and great deliberation: and afterwards they thought themselves obliged to declare the necessity they were under, of settling the sense of one word upon this important subject, which was not a new word neither, but such as had bin formerly used; before they would impose it on the Church. So weighty a thing was the faith and peace of the Church, in the opinion of those great men in those days.

But tho they introduced some new words, and settled the signification of others, they never did attempt to alter, and lay aside the use of any which had formerly bin of general usage, and

universally received among Christians, in order to introduce new ones in the room of them. On the other hand the Church hath condemned all *καινοφωρία*, all new invented terms; and hath forbid the introducing any such, under the pain of *deprivation or Anathematization*. And for this Decree of the *6th General Council*, the third of *Constantinople*, the Church in succeeding ages hath preserved so great a veneration, that none, either *Greek or Latin, Roman or Reformed*, have ever since complained of the hardship of that Synodical sentence, or have endeavored to reverse it. But on the other hand, they have declared a high displeasure against all such who have at any time attempted any such innovations. As is evident from the fate that attended *Abbot Joachim*, and *Valentinus Gentilis*, the one in his book, the other in his person.

All this the *Dean* had formerly bin put in mind of by the learned *Animadverter*; and yet notwithstanding this monition, he still persists in that presumptuous humor, of using and defending these *new, unusual, inconvenient* forms of speech; and which he himself allows may be liable to an *Heretical meaning*.

But *1dly*, Let it be granted, that the *Church* may alter old phrases; but hath she actually made use of that her Authority in the case before us?

us? Hath she published any declaration, whereby she hath discovered her pleasure in this affair, viz. that the old words, such as those of *persons*, *Hypostasis*, *subsistence*, should be laid aside to make room for *self-consciousness*, and *mutual consciousness*? Or that *one nature*, *one essence*, *one substance*, must be discarded, and in their place, the phrases of *three distinct minds*, *spirits*, and *substances* should be introduced. That maxime in Law, is true here in Divinity; *eo-dem modo res solvitur quo ligatur*. The Church hath tyed us to the use of these words, I pray who hath set us at liberty? why he saith, or at least intimates, that the Church hath. But what Church I beseech you? why none that I know of, except it be that which is included, and which he carries about with him in his own person. How comes he to be styled the Church? That you must know is by a Synecdoche, whereby the *Dean of a Church* may be called the Church it self. Tho others may account it rather a *Catachresis*, or *vocis abusus*; when a word is abused, being transferred from a proper to a very improper and absurd signification.

But sure the *Dean* cannot so far forget himself, as to arrogate to himself the name of the Church. He doth not that I know of indeed assume the *name*, but he plainly doth the *Autho-*

city of the Church. And under her name and power he shelters himself. For as was said before, p. 16. he justifies his own innovations, by saying *that the Church always had, and always will have Authority to use such words as she thinks most expressive of the faith.* How can this Apology vindicate him, except either he be the Church, or at least be commissioned by her, and invested with her Authority?

I presume he will not pretend to be *formally* the Church either *Oecumenical* or *National*. He must therefore only be so, either *virtually*, or by way of *representation*. And sure some such thing he fancies of himself, viz. that the *Christian Faith*, or at least the *words* wherein it is to be expressed, are committed to his care, or rather are to be disposed of at his pleasure. Otherwise sure he would never talk as he doth in this book. For instance, p. 16. He hath these remarkable words. *Now since Person is the Catholick word, which long Ecclesiastical use hath rendered familiar, I should by no means allow of any other word in this mystery, could we retain the Catholick Faith, together with the word.*

What must words be used, or laid aside at his discretion? He acknowledges the word to be Ecclesiastical: the Church hath made it her own; she hath adopted it into her Creeds, and confessions

sions of her Faith: by long use it is now rendered familiar, and is become the common Language of all Christians. What Authority I pray hath he to order the laying of it aside? *I should by no means allow, &c.*

It is fit he should be told upon this occasion, that this word was anciently used without his leave, and will still continue to be so without his allowance. For neither the faith nor language of the Church have any such dependance upon him, as that they must stand or fall at his pleasure.

But lastly, whatever Authority the Church may have to alter the *usual and received forms of speech*, yet to be sure she would never exercise it, except forced, as was intimated before, by some very great, and some very apparent reason. To this he answers *that there is as great reason and necessity for such an alteration of words now, as ever there was in any age of the Church*, p. 12. And the reason that he assigns is this, *viz.* That we are *in great danger of losing the Catholick Faith, by the revival of the Heresy of Sabellius*, p. 16. which walks publickly abroad, tho under the disguise of a new name. And if we believe him it is *one of those doctrines too publickly received in the Church of England, which are not the true doctrines of our Church*, p. 44.
Now

Now this, I cannot but say, is not only extremely false, but likewise a very scandalous suggestion. Because it must not only affect our own times and Nation; but likewise bring all other Churches *Ancient and Modern, Eastern and Western, Roman and Reformed* under the same suspicion. For all these are at perfect agreement both in the belief of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and in the manner of expressing their Faith; which is by the profession of *three persons*, and *one nature or substance*. So that if by retaining the old words there is danger of losing the *Catholic Faith*, it must be lost out of the *Catholic Church*: and this revolt to *Sabellianism*, must be both the most lasting, and the most general *Apostasy*, that ever was foretold, or feared should happen to the Christian Church.

But as to what may concern this Church, I believe, if all wise and good men in it, have reason to fear any danger, 'tis from another quarter; I mean from the revival of the *Heresies* of *Arius*, *Pelagius*, and *Socinus*, which some evil men with great industry, and with no small art, endeavor to propagate among us.

But 2dly, Tho the charge of *Sabellianism* be a very great and heavy one, yet we ought not to look upon it to be such a bug-bear, as thereby to be affrighted out of our Religion. We may
comfort

comfort our selves with this, that this imputation is no other, nor better, than what hath formerly bin made by *Hereticks* against the *Orthodox*. For the *Arian*¹ against whom *Zanchy* wrote, in his *Antithesis doctrinae Christianae & Antichristi de uno vero Deo*; and ²*Valentinus Gentilis* in order to establish his Doctrine of *three distinct infinite Spirits*, made the very same objection against the *Catholic Faith*, with relation to the error of *Sabellius*. *Cantilenam Sabellii nobis obgannit*, saith *Aretius* of *Gentilis*; & *eandem nobis cantilenam occinit Decanus*, may we say.

But as they who believe three persons and but one nature or substance, are as far from being *Sabellians*, as any the greatest *Tritheist*; so they no doubt will be as ready to oppose the attempts of such, who at any time hereafter may endeavor to revive the Heresy of *Sabellius*. But in order to combate that Heresy, they will not think themselves obliged to use any other wea-

¹ *Orthodoxo universo orbi Christiano testatum faciunt, se Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum in unum individuum conflare, ita ut pater non sit alius revera quam filius; nec filius alius quam pater; sed ejusdem substantiae uterque, idque hoc ipsum est quod Haeresis Sabelliana. Arian. apud Zanch.*

² *Quum ad supplicium educeretur. (scil. Val. Gentilis) non desit homo pertinacissimus, & ex sola indomita pervicacia gloriam quaerens, (sicut Satanae Martyres solent) ingeminare, se pro gloria altissimi Dei pati. Nos omnes esse Sabellianos, & Deum habere trinomium, Benedicti Aretii. Hist. Valent. Gent.*

pons, than those with which in former times it hath bin so successefully vanquished. The faith hath bin transmitted down to us for these thirteen centuries, in that *form of sound words*, viz. *Three Persons and one nature*, and hath conquered all opposition made against it; and in all times since, they who have refused the *Language* of the Church, have bin justly suspected to be no true friends to the *faith of it*; which now by long use, and the prescription of so many ages, have contracted such a friendship, that they are like to live or die together.

And therefore we find none, as I now intimated, who in any times heretofore, either quarrelled with, or rejected the words established in the Church, but either open *Hereticks*, or such who were justly suspected to favor their errors. Thus of old, the *Arians* and *Semi-Arians* were displeased with the words, ἑστία, ὁμοούσιον, ὑπόστασις, because these words troubled and gave offence to many forsooth; and were such as rather perplexed than explained this Doctrine, being above the reach of mens understanding and conceptions. So the *Polish* and *Transylvanian U-*

1 Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι τῶν πατέρων πάντες οὗτοι μὲντοι γινώσκονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς, ὅ γινώσκονται καὶ τῶν, καὶ ὅτι πάντα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γινώσκονται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νῦν ὄντων. Vid. Athan. de Synod. Arim. & Selen. Epist. p. 903. Edit. Colon. & alibi passim. p. 906. 908.

nitarians in their times made the same complaints. That the Church by using those words, *homoufion, Person, Essence, Unity, Trinity*, had perfectly confounded all right notions of God, and in a manner overturned the Christian Religion. *Valentinus Gentilis* echoed back the same calumnies, from *Bern* and *Geneva*, and called the former words *monstrosæ & profanæ voces, quibus omnia divina mysteria pervertuntur*.

And to bring up the rear, we find the Dean in his vindication, declaring his displeasure against them in the like expressions, p. 138. where he tells us, that that which hath confounded this mystery, hath bin the vain endeavor of reducing it to terms of art, such as *Nature, Essence, Substance, Existence, Hypostasis, Person* and the like. I am sorry to find him in such ill company. Tho I charitably hope he is not engaged in the same evil designs with them. However it will become all men of wisdom and integrity, to avoid giving any the least countenance to such tho but suspicious practices, which we have reason to think, were first set on foot on purpose to undermine our holy Faith and Religion.

There is one thing more to be observed, before I come to consider the propositions, which I had almost forgotten; but it must not by any means

be omitted, and that is, his very curious and critical remark upon the Latin Decree, p. 5. where he tells us that *he who drew it up need not brag much of his skill in Latin, having transgressed the plain rules of Grammar, in using EORUM FIDEI ET CURÆ for SUÆ FIDEI ET CURÆ.* And for this, that you may not rely only on his word and single judgment, he vouches the Authority of some Criticks, *some Criticks say, &c.* Who those Criticks are we are not able to divine: perhaps they may be found in the number of those *wise and Learned men whom he mentions in the 6th page, and of whom he undertakes to procure a meeting any day in the year, to censure the Oxford Decree.*

But whosoever those Criticks were, I am sure neither He nor They have any great reason to boast of their skill in *Criticism.* For I would fain know what those Rules of Grammar are which he saith are transgressed, by using *eorum* for *suæ fidei.* Some waggis sure pretending to be Criticks imposed on him. I will endeavor to set him right. And therefore for his better information, I would direct him to the Oxford Grammar, and to the observations which are there made, p. 232. upon the pronouns *sui* and *suus*, which are called *Reciproca, quia reflectuntur ad id quod præcessit in eadem oratione.*

But

But perhaps he may think that book beneath his perusal; he may therefore, if he pleases, consult *Gerhard Vossius*, in his book *de Sermonis constructione*, where in the 56th chap. he will find three Canons or Rules laid down *de Reciproci*; the last of which, being to our present purpose, is this: *Si ob neglectum reciproci nulla oriatur ambiguitas, potest aliquando reciproci loco aliud relativum poni.* This is the Rule, and there he may likewise find several examples among the most approved Authors. Cic. Philipp. 2. *Omnes boni quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt.* Idem 3. de Off. *per-fuga Fabritio pollicitus est, si præmium ei proposuisset, &c.* Id 1. de Off. *Si non poterit causas defensitare, illa præstare debet, quæ erunt in ipsius potestate.* Quintil. Declam. 3. *neque ignoravit, quæ eum manerent pericula.* More instances he may there find to this purpose, out of *Curtius*, *Pliny*, &c. Now the Dean I hope will not be so hardy, as to say, that *Tully*, and *Pliny*, and *Quintilian* were ignorant of the rules, nay the plain rules of Grammar. The Dean I verily believe, knew nothing of this matter. He hath no better way then that I can think of to come off, but to tell the world that some persons under the disguise of Criticks imposed upon him; the confession of

his ignorance being in this case his best excuse, tho at best it is but a very sorry one.

Having thus finished these previous remarks, I come now to consider more particularly the *Propositions* which occasioned the *Oxford Decree*, and which were condemned by it. The *Propositions* are these: *There are three infinite distinct minds and substances in the Trinity.* Item, *that the three persons in the Trinity, are three infinite distinct minds or spirits, and three individual Substances.* These are adjudged and declared to be *False, Impious, &c.* He desires to know the reasons upon which this *Decree* was grounded, which he saith, in the conclusion of his Examination, p. 46. *had much better have bin thought on at first, and then we should have escaped this Decree:* Intimating thereby, what he had in broad words expressed before, that it was *a rash injudicious Censure*, neither managed with consideration, nor supported by any good reason.

I must confess for my own part, I do not see any just ground why we should comply with this Examiner's expectation. For reasons have already bin offered by the Learned *Animadverter*, and those penned with such a strength and clearness, as are peculiar to his writings. But he saith, he cannot perswade himself to read what the *Animadverter* hath written on this occasion. To
what

what purpose therefore is it to offer any new Arguments, which must all be lost, upon one, who superciliously disdains to peruse and consider, what either hath, or what may hereafter be charitably proposed for his conviction? But because he, who resolved never to read whatever should be written by the *Animadverter*, may perhaps cast a scornful glance on these papers, I shall therefore so far gratify him in his demand, as to offer him one Reason against his *three Substances* in the blessed Trinity, but it shall be a *substantial one*, and such as most men I am sure, will look upon to be as considerable, and as effectual to shew the falshood and impiety of his opinion, as if twenty were proposed. And that is this, *viz.* That if there be *three distinct substances*, (and the same is to be said of *three distinct minds and Spirits*) in the Trinity, then there must unavoidably be three Gods.

This hath bin so plainly and irrefragably already made out by the Learned *Animadverter*, that if the *Dean* would have vouchsafed to have spent that time in reading and examining the *Animadversions*, which he hath mispent in examining the *Oxford Decree*, it would have spared any farther trouble or pains in this affair.

Now for a farther proof and confirmation of this reason, I shall lay down some observations,

tions, which carry such a plainness and evidence along with them, as cannot I think be gainsaid or resisted, but by such who are before-hand resolved to persist in their errors, and are hardened against all conviction. Such as 1st. That the *Existence and Unity of the Godhead*, is the first and Fundamental principle of all Religion, both revealed and natural. And consequently that there cannot be more Gods than one, in any sense whatsoever; if the word God be taken in its *proper*, and not in a *Metaphorical and Figurative* signification. That therefore which I affirm is, that there are not more Gods than one, either Superior or Inferior; Coordinate or Subordinate; Numerical or Specifical; Ancient or Modern. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*, Deut. 6. 4. *The Lord he is God, and there is none else besides him*, Deut. 4. 35. But this is the dictate of nature as well as the language of the Scripture; *Reason* (I mean where it is not corrupted and depraved) and *Revelation* both conspiring to teach us this Lesson.

2^{dly}, That, there being but one God, from thence it must follow, that in God there must be but one *nature*, one *essence*. Because *essence* is that by which every thing is constituted that which it is: it is the *ratio formalis* of that thing be it what it will, & *primo de re concipitur*,
being

being the first thing that offers it self to our thoughts, when we form an Idea of it. One essence, one nature, constitutes one thing ; Two natures, two or more essences, constitute two or more things. Where there is one human or Angelical nature, there is but one man, one Angel. Where there are two or more, there are two or more men or Angels: *Peter, and John, Michael, and Gabriel.* And so for the same reason, there being but one God, there can be but one divine essence; and if more essences, more Gods.

3^{dly}, That when we speak of God, the words *Essence, Nature, Substance, Divinity*, are *Synonymous* terms, and signify one and the same thing. Thus in the Fathers, *ὕψις, φύσις, θεότης*, are promiscuously used to denote the divine nature, or Godhead. The Divine *Nature, Essence, Substance*, being nothing else but the *Deity or Divinity*: and the *Divinity*, vice versa, is nothing, but the Divine *Nature, Substance, Essence*.

4^{thly}, Therefore, if in the Trinity there are *three distinct Substances*, there must be three distinct Essences, and Divinities, and consequently, there must be three Gods. For that there is *one* God, or *more* Gods than one, must depend upon the *Unity or Multiplication* of the divine nature and essence. If there be but one divine

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Nature,

Nature, Substance, Divinity, there is, and for that reason it is impossible there should be any more than *one God*; and if more *distinct Substances and Divinities*, there must be *more Gods*. As the former are numbred and multiplied, so are the latter; in the same proportion, both as to *number and kind*. If there be but *three distinct Substances and Divinities*, there are but three Gods; and if those Substances be only numerically distinguished, then they constitute only three numerical Gods; but if specifically distinguished, then there must be three Gods of a different kind, that is specifically distinguished from each other.

5thly, That the *Unity* of the Godhead is the most *perfect and complete* sort of Unity that can be imagined. No Nature, Essence, Substance, can in any sense be more *one*, than the Divine Nature or Essence is; which hath such so perfect, and so peculiar a *Simplicity and Identity*, as to exclude all manner of *division*, and all sorts of *Multiplication*.

It is true indeed, there is one peculiar prerogative of the Divine Nature and Substance, founded in its infinite, and therefore transcendent perfection, whereby it is capable of residing in more persons than one; and is accordingly communicated from the Father, to the Son, and holy Ghost:

Ghost. But this is done without any division, or multiplication; so that the *same* divine nature is a *singular*, but not a *solitary* nature, being whole and entire in the three blessed persons; in each of which it doth completely subslst, tho with a different manner of subsistence; yet so, as to retain its most *complete Identity*, excluding all plurality of essences, whether *equal or unequal, like or unlike*; the Divine nature being but one and the same, as was said before, in the three divine persons, without *diversity* and without *distinction*. The Persons indeed are distinguished from each other by a *true, real, proper distinction*. But this is not founded in the diversity or distinction of their *natures*, but is taken from the different ways of *subsistence*, which one and the same nature hath in the three persons; whereby they have different *properties, characters, and relations*, which are absolutely incommunicable to each other, and whereby some things may be affirmed of one, which cannot possibly be affirmed of either of the others. Such as are the *generation* of the Son; *the procession and mission* of the holy Ghost.

And in this different manner of subsistence is founded, as the *distinction*, so likewise the *subordination* between the divine Persons: the *Father* being the first, and therefore styled by the

Fathers, the *Origine and Fountain of the Divinity* with respect to the Son and holy Ghost. Not by the production of a new divine nature, but by a communication of his own, which, as the Fathers always speak, is *μία ἡ Ὑποστάσις*, one and the very same, in all three, without *separation, difference, or distinction*. This is indeed a great mystery, but we speak of the blessed Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, which hath bin always looked upon by the greatest and wisest men in the Church, to be above all expressions and description. If any man therefore will not be satisfied with this general account, but will be putting new and nice questions, and desire to be informed with *Nicodemus*, *πῶς ταῦτα γινώσκου δύναται*; how can these things be? Then I must acquaint him once for all, that neither man, nor Angel can give a satisfactory answer to such enquiries, which are not only impertinent but dangerous; proceeding from a wanton, and impious curiosity, which ought severely to be condemned. As for us of this place, I hope we shall always endeavor to regulate our apprehensions in the affairs of Religion, by the discoveries which God hath made in the holy writings; accounting that the truest wisdom, when men are *wise according to what is written*. And therefore in spite of all the objections and flouts of *Arians*,
Soci-

Socinians, Tritheists, Atheists, we will resolve to *believe what is revealed, and to adore what we cannot comprehend.*

Lastly, Since the *Unity* of the divine nature is such, and so perfect as is before described, therefore we may conclude, that all those, who attempt to explain it by a *specifical sameness and identity*, are so far from confirming that they plainly undermine this great and fundamental truth.

For *ist*, hereby they destroy a true *real Unity*, and in the room of it, introduce only a *notional Unity*, which may be consistent with, nay indeed, as the Dean hath bin told, implys a multiplication of the divine nature. So that when we say the *three persons* are *one God*, they are no otherwise *one* according to this explication, than as ten thousand individual men, are one man, or a myriad of Angels, are one Angel.

Neither is it enough to say, that the three divine natures and substances are *United in the Trinity*; but are *separated or divided* in the persons of Angels and men. For this will not alter the case; for the *three substances* so united, retain their true and real distinction from each other, notwithstanding that Union, and are still as much three as if they were not united. And therefore this *Union* of natures will no more

constitute *one nature*, than the *Union* of the *three persons* in the *Trinity*, who are most intimately, and inseparably united to each other, will make *one person*; or than the Union of both natures *Divine and Humane*, in our blessed Savior, will constitute and make one nature. *Eutyches* of old maintained such a senseless opinion; but the Fathers told him, that those natures were united, it is true, but yet, ἀσυγχύτως and ἀτρέπτως, without confusion, alteration, or conversion of either into the other. So that each nature retained its own powers, faculties and properties, entire and distinct from those of the other, without any mixture or change.

The like is to be said, of the union of several essences and natures in the Trinity. For should such an union be allowed, yet still the natures must remain entire and distinct; and so must their attributes likewise. They must have distinct understandings, and wills, and distinct operations, as flowing from powers and faculties, essentially distinguished; and consequently they must be *three Gods* to all intents and purposes, when *united*, as much as if they were *separated*.

But 2^{dly}, A *specifical sameness* of the Godhead, is by no means to be allowed, because it destroys the true and fundamental reason of that
unity,

unity, *viz.* the *infinite perfection* of the divine nature, which renders it absolutely incapable of any *multiplication*; and places it upon another weak and unstable foundation; *viz.* the operation of the mind and understanding. So that the unity of the Godhead according to this hypothesis, doth not result from the nature of God, but is owing to, and dependent upon the operation of some intellect, drawing one common notion from the agreement which it observes in several individuals. Which to affirm would certainly be both a monstrous and a Blasphemous assertion; ss the *Animadverter bath very judiciously observed*, p. 183.

From all these observations, I think it is as evident as any truth in nature, that to assert *three substances* in the blessed Trinity, is plainly to imply, and in other words to affirm, that there are *three Gods*; which assertion therefore in the judgment not only of all *true Christians*, but even of *Jews and Mahometans*, and some *sober Pagans*, would be accounted and adjudged *false and impious*, as it is declared to be by the *Oxford Censure*.

But against this the Dean will urge in behalf of his *three distinct substances*; the plurality and distinction of persons in the Trinity. Are there not three Persons in the Godhead? Yes. Are not

not these three Persons three *substantial Persons*? Yes, we acknowledge they are. Tho by the by, this epithet of *substantial* when added to Person, is superfluous, and is no better than a plain tautology; because the very notion of Person imports the perfection and complement of substance, so that it receives no addition to its signification by the word substantial.

But to pass this by, and proceed to his questions: Are not three substantial persons, *three distinct substances*? I answer, no. For these three persons have but *one and the same substance*, or nature that is common to them all; which nature hath *three different ways of subsisting* in the three persons. From which different ways of subsisting, as I said before, do result *distinct properties, and relations*, belonging to each of those divine persons, and which are incommunicable to the others. All these questions so often and so impertinently proposed by the Dean, are easily resolved by proposing the like questions, in other words, but such as are, perfectly equipollent.

Are not the Persons in the Trinity three distinct *Divine Persons*? Yes. Is not every divine Person, truly and properly God? Yes. Is it not then as plain, that if there be three distinct divine Persons, there must consequently be three Gods? I answer, no. Because, tho each of them distinctly

is a divine Person, and therefore God ; yet they have but *one and the same Divinity or Godhead* in common to them all : so that they are distinguished only by their personalities, but are united in one divine nature or Godhead. And therefore, as the *Athanasian Creed* tells us, *tho we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord ; yet we are forbidden by the Catholick Religion, to say there are three Gods, or three Lords.*

Now of all this I would desire no greater or plainer acknowledgment, than what I find in the writings of this examiner, and particularly in the papers before us. p. 18. he hath these words : *That there are three Persons and one God, is the Catholick Language, and therefore three belongs to the Persons, and one to the Godhead.* This is right : but in the words immediately succeeding, he quite overturns the Catholick Faith and Language, by saying : *That therefore whatever is essential to the notion of each Person, may be numbred and distinguished with the Persons.* From hence he would have it follow, as indeed it will, if this be allowed, that *spirit and substance* being included in the notion of a Person, it must be *multiplied* with it, so that as there are *three Persons*, so there must be *three spirits, three substances*, in the Trinity.

Now this is extremely false; for by the same way, and for the same reason that there are three substances or three spirits, there must be three Godheads. He saith no: adding that this will not affect the *unity of the Godhead*; for *three*, he saith, *belongs to the persons, which are three, not to the Godhead, which is but one*: very right. And must it not be said for the same reason, that when we affirm that there are *three substantial Persons*, *three* is to be applied to *Persons*, and not to *substance*; because *substance* when we speak of God, being equipollent to *Godhead*, as was said before, is but *one*, and therefore cannot be *multiplied*? But cannot what is essential to the notion of a person, be numbred and distinguished with the person? No, by no means; for tho it may and must be so in *finite persons*, it is not so when we speak of the divine *infinite persons* in the Trinity. Because there is something in each of those persons, which in common belongs to them all; such is the divine *nature, substance, Godhead*, which is so in each as to be *whole and entire* in all three; and therefore tho residing in, and applied to each person, yet it may not, it cannot be numbred or distinguished with the persons; who are distinguished by their properties and relations, which arise from three different ways & manners of their subsistence,

sistence, but not by their *substance* and Godhead, which is but one and the same in all three, without *division, distinction, or multiplication*. The same orthodox acknowledgment we have, p. 21. tho tacked by him, according to his usual method, to an egregious contradiction. There he saith: *that the divine nature is whole and entire in each divine Person; and that infinite, and infinite, and infinite, when applied to the Persons, are but one and the same infinite nature*. Very right: but then with the same breath in a manner he puffs all this away; by telling us, that *each of the divine Persons is a distinct infinite mind; and yet that these three infinite distinct minds can have but one and the same divine nature*. Which is a plain contradiction, making one to be three, and three one, in one and the same respect. And is no better than if he should say, in three Gods, there is but one and the same Godhead; for infinite mind and spirit is but the same thing in other words with God, as he himself elsewhere acknowledges.

Lastly to mention no more, p. 29, 30. He repeats the same orthodox expressions: *The Scripture-notion of the Unity of God is not such an Unity as is only in one Person, for then it could not enjoyn the Faith and worship of Father, Son, and holy Ghost. But such an Unity as can be between*

three: when the one same divine nature, is wholly and entirely communicated by the eternal Father, to the eternal Son, and by the Father and the Son, to the eternal Spirit, without any division or separation. And that which is communicated whole and entire, without division or separation, makes no number, for it is but one still. Here he is as sound and orthodox as *Athanasius*; but when he comes to explain himself, and therein to give us his true sentiments, (for all the former expressions, are but an artificial disguise of his errors) then he uses such a *shuffling, ambiguous, deceitful* way of speaking, that you would think, that *Ursacius, or Valens, or Eusebius of Nicomedia*, were risen from the dead.

I confess I have bin beyond measure astonished, when I have perused his writings on this subject, to find such plain and gross contradictions, so often and so boldly uttered by him. Sometimes he will make a good and laudable confession of the Faith; and by and by he spoils all, by a very *fraudulent and treacherous explication*. And indeed hereby he hath laid the foundations of such a sophistical and deceitful way of writing; that if it should be countenanced in him, and thereupon imitated by others, it would render it almost impossible, either to *vindicate the truth*, or to *confute any Heresy*.

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This charge will be made good by considering these following particulars. Such as are 1st, his manifest, and manifold contradictions, with which his books written upon the subject, which is now before us, do every where abound. Whereby he affirms and denys the same thing, almost in a breath; and what he erects in one place, he presently kicks down in another. To make out this, I shall confine my self to one instance of it, relating to the Unity of the divine nature, p. 21. He saith the *Divine nature is whole and entire in each divine person, and the three divine persons*, whom he very falsely and very dangerously there calls three divine minds, *have the same one divine nature, and are but one and the same infinite nature.* p. 29. *There is but one and the same divinity or Godhead in them all*, speaking of the three persons. *The same one divinity or Godhead is entirely and indivisibly in three distinct persons.* p. 30. *The same one divine nature is wholly and entirely communicated from the Father to the Son, &c.* See p. 45. where you have the like expressions, by which he affirms that there is but one and the same nature, one Divinity, one Godhead in the three Persons. And yet in other places, he is as confident, that there is not *only one singular nature, and substance in God*; p. 16. *To say that there is one singular*

substance in the Deity is the fundamental Article of the Sabellian Creed. p. 17. *If there be but one singular divine nature and substance in the Deity, tho men could find a Trinity of Persons in this one divine nature* (which yet p 16. he represents as a ridiculous imagination) yet from thence he saith it must follow, *that the whole Trinity must be incarnate,* p. 23. Now to affirm that there is but one Godhead, one and the same divine nature in the three Persons; and yet to deny, that there is one singular divine nature and substance in those persons, I think, amounts to a very plain contradiction.

I know it will be said, that he affirms and denies the Unity of the divine nature, but it is not in *the same respect*: when he saith it is *one*, he means that the same *specific nature* is whole and entire in the three Persons; but when he denies it to be *one*, he means, that there is not *one only singular, or numerical divine nature*, for this were, by so saying, to revive the Heresy of *Sabellius*.

I Answer, this will not save him from a contradiction. For let him make choice of which of these terms he pleases to express the Unity and sameness of the divine nature by, it is certain, that what he affirms in one place he denies in another. When he saith it is *one, one and the same,*

same, doth he mean *one singular, numerical nature*? if he means so, then this he doth at other times in plain downright terms deny, not only as a thing that is false, but as *Heretical, impossible, contradictory*, as was seen before. Well? when he asserts the Unity of the Godhead, and saith, *that one and the same divine nature is in the three Persons, wholly and entirely communicated from the Father to the Son*, as he expressed himself, p. 30. doth he mean a *specific Identity*? I suppose he doth, for p. 10. he tells us that *to assert three substances in the Arian notion, that is three distinct minds and species of substance, or three natures and essences specifically different, this is false, impious, and Heretical*. Therefore to affirm three natures of the same kind, must be a true, religious, orthodox acknowledgment.

This he must mean if he means any thing. Otherwise if he shall say, that when he affirms there are three natures, or substances, he means, that there are three, but yet which are neither of the same kind nor of a different kind; that is, neither numerically, nor specifically different: Then I say that he advances an absurd and an inexplicable position, which neither he nor any man else can possibly understand. But on the other hand, if he affirms or means a *specific*
Unity

Unity in the Godhead, then I am sure he doth as plainly as words can make it, in other places contradict his meaning. For p. 19. He hath these words, *Tho the Ancient Fathers frequently make mention of a specifick Unity of nature in the Godhead, yet they did not confine the Unity of the divine nature to this.* And p. 33. *This specifick sameness doth not answer the complete notion of the divine Unity.* Nay, he doth not only say this, but gives a very good reason for it. p. 19. *The divine nature is no species, for it is but one.*

If there be any force in this consequence, it must be this *viz.* That the divine nature is but one *singular individual nature*, which is incapable of plurality or multiplication, and therefore it cannot be a *species*, because a *species*, can be multiplied, and therefore is capable of being affirmed and predicated *de pluribus*, of more things of the same kind. He proceeds: *The Unity of the Godhead is the most real, essential, indivisible unity.* Very right. Therefore say I, it is not a specifical Unity, the former assertion being a clear & an unanswerable proof that it is not so: For 1st, The Unity of the Godhead is *a real Unity*; but a specifick Unity, is only a *Logical and Notional one.* 2^{dly}, The unity of the Godhead, is an *essential unity*, the unity of one *nature and essence*; the
specifick

specifick is only an *unity of several natures*, which are really and essentially, *à parte rei*, distinct from each other, and are only united in the understanding. *Lastly*, The unity of the Godhead is the *most real*, and therefore the most perfect unity; but a specifick unity is not the *most real*, but of a lesser sort, and much inferior to a singular and numerical Identity. It is this latter then that is to be found in the Godhead, which being uncapable of *division, or multiplication*, is for the same reason, as he himself acknowledges, uncapable of *numeration*. For *when we say three persons, Three belongs to the persons who are three, but not to the Godhead, which is but one*, p. 18.

And now is it not plain to any man, that the *Dean*, by thus going forward and backward, saying and unsaying, very evidently contradicts himself? I think he doth. But if this wants any farther confirmation, let the Reader look into his Vindication, and there he will find these contradictions yet in more plain and express terms, if it be possible, which the Reader may find exemplified in the *Animadversions*, p. 178. &c. and thither I refer him, to save the trouble of transcribing.

But the *Dean* for all this, will not allow that he is guilty of a contradiction; and therefore to save himself from that imputation he hath con-

trived two Answers, but they are the most bold and arbitrary, that ever were invented. But when men are hard pressed, it is no wonder that they should make use of any the most desperate shift to make their escape.

1/*st* then, Doth not he who asserts the unity of the Godhead, and yet tells the world, that this is neither a specifick nor a numerical unity (for of a Generical one, there is no question in this case) I say doth not such an one contradict himself? Surely he doth. For if God be one, he must be so in either of these two senses. And therefore if the Godhead be one, and yet is neither numerically nor specifically such, it must be one, and not one, which is a contradiction.

He answers no, because there is an unity that is a medium between both. The unity of the Godhead, is not such as is to be found in a *singular nature*: that is, saith he, *Sabellianism*, neither is it a *specifick unity*, for that is only a Logical and notional unity, and *therefore the unity of the divine nature is not to be confined to this*, p. 19. *In opposition to the Arians the Fathers taught, not one singular substance in God, which is Sabellianism. But such an oneness of substance as we know not how otherwise to express, than by a specifick sameness and unity, tho that doth not answer the complete notion of the Divine unity*, p. 33. In short, the

the Divine nature is one, but by what kind of unity no man can divine. It is neither a specific, nor a numerical oneness, but an unity either made up of both, or made up of neither; however it is a medium between them. I fancy such another medium, as he found who desired the people to join with him in singing the *Psalms*, that was between the three and twentieth, and the twenty fourth *Psalms*. But if this Answer will not bring him off, he hath contrived a second, *viz.* that these three numerical substances are united into one, by a *mutual self-consciousness*. But for this notion of his the *Animadverter* hath sufficiently accounted with him: and therefore there remains nothing more by me to be said upon that Head.

Thus it is plain that the *Dean* in his writings is guilty of many gross and palpable contradictions, which way of writing is very scandalous, and ought therefore by every one to be condemned. But this is not all; there are several other things in his way & manner of writing, which ought to be discountenanced: I can but just name them. Any man that peruses his late writings, will besides his contradictions, find in the 2d place, that he frequently, but very fraudulently, endeavors to impose upon his Readers, by making two words to be *equipollent*, which yet have

a *different signification*. Thus in order to amuse unwary Readers, when he speaks of the divine nature, he joins the words *singular and solitary* together, as if they were synonymous terms; and then insidiously asks, p. 17. *Is it not Sabellianism to affirm that there is but one singular and solitary nature in the Trinity?* Answer, To affirm that there is but one *solitary nature*, is to revive the Heresy of *Sabellius*; because it were as much as to say, that the divine nature or substance is to be found only in, and therefore confined to one Person. But to say there is but one *singular nature* imports no such thing. For the same singular numerical nature is to be found in each of the divine Persons, being common to them all, but yet without multiplication, as he hath often bin told by his Adversary, and which thing he hath often affirmed himself; how sincerely let others judge.

So again, in order to establish a plurality of substances, he makes *three substantial persons*, to be the same with *three personal substances*. But he hath bin often told, that tho the persons are different, each of which is a substance; yet that the substance or nature is not distinct, but common to all three. And therefore three substantial Persons, are no more three substances, than three divine Almighty Persons, have three distinct

distinct Divinities or Almightynesses; which he himself sometimes will not allow.

3dly, When hard pressed by his Adversary, to defend himself, he invents several *arbitrary and incomprehensible distinctions*, for which he hath neither reason nor example. Thus when told that three substances, must infer a multiplication of the divine nature in the Trinity, & that again must infer three Gods: to avoid the force of this Argument, he tells us, that the same *Individual nature subsists thrice, not by multiplying but by repeating its self*, and that the divine nature is repeated in its Image, but without multiplication. And this senseless distinction he often repeats in his defence; by which it is certain that he multiplies words, tho perhaps he may think that he doth not multiply distinctions. Again, having denied a *Numerical Unity* of the Godhead, and yet being aware, that a *Specific Unity* would lay him open to many unanswerable difficulties; he hath in a most presumptuous, unprecedented manner, formed a distinction as to Identity and sameness of nature, by which he makes a middle sort of Unity between the two former, partly specifick, and partly numerical. Which distinction is perfectly an Original, and for which he hath neither copy, nor precedent, from any writer either living or dead.

Lastly, In the same insidious manner, to avoid the force of those Arguments which are brought against him; when he cannot maintain his *words*, he flies to his *meaning*, where he entrenches himself, and then he is as safe as if he were in an *enchanted Castle*. And there let him continue for me, unmolested and undisturb'd, provided that he will no longer disturb the world, with so unjustifiable a practice; for if men may be allowed by a *mental reservation* to harbor a meaning different from the plain, obvious and natural signification of words, then there is an end of all truth and sincerity, and consequently of all mutual confidence between man and man, which by *this means*, or such *meaning*, if you please, is entirely destroyed.

By all that hath bin said upon this Head, I think it will appear plain to every unprejudiced person, that there was great reason to condemn the *Propositions* mentioned in the *Decree*, which plainly overthrow the Unity of the Godhead; and therefore are justly styled *false, and impious*. Of them it is farther affirmed in the *Decree*, that they are *contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church; and particularly to that received here in the Church of England*. And so they are, as opposite to it, as truth is to falsehood, and faith to infidelity. It hath bin the belief and profession
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of all good Christians, since the first planting of Christianity in the world, that as there is but one God, so there is but one nature and essence in the three persons of the Trinity, of which they are all partakers. This was upon a particular occasion Decreed in the *Council of Nice*, confirmed afterwards by all the other *General Councils*; and they who have opposed this determination have in all times heretofore bin adjudged and declared Hereticks.

For some time indeed, the words *Substance*, *Person*, and *Hypostasis*, were of ambiguous signification, but that was afterwards settled; and the Language of the Church, ever since hath bin *Three persons*, and but one *Substance*, *Nature*, *Essence*, *Divinity*. In this all the Fathers agree, both Greek and Latin, even St. *Hilary*, who styles the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three substances, yet in the very same place where he is cited by the Examiner, he explains himself, and vindicates the Synod of *Antioch*, and tells us p. 37: *Tres substantias esse dixerunt, subsistentium personas per substantias edocentes*; by three substances they meant three persons. But as to the substance it self when placed in opposition to person, he acknowledges that to be but one; and that the Father and son, *unius recte ambo creduntur esse essentiae*. Again: *Credamus & dicamus esse unum substan-*

Substantiam. p. 39. and p. 40. *Deus unus, ob indiscretæ in utroque naturæ indissimilem substantiam prædicetur.* Which the Examiner thus renders into English: *The Father who begets, and the Son who is born, are to be acknowledged one God, upon the account of the same nature in both, without the least difference or variation; and therefore, say I, without the least distinction: except the Dean can find out a distinction without a difference, which I confess he hath done in some other cases before mentioned. But this is his peculiar talent, to find out that which no body before him ever dreamed of.*

The like observation is to be made with relation to the *Alexandrian Synod* under *Athanasius*; which one would think he would never have mentioned, if he had not in a manner bin forsaken by his reason, at the same time that he abandoned his Religion. For nothing could have bin produced, which is more apposite and pertinent, to overthrow his new notion of *three minds and substances.* For there happened a dispute between the Catholicks, concerning *μία ὑπόστασις* and *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, which was meerly a contention about words, when they all agreed in the same thing; those who asserted *three Hypostases*, thereby meaning three Persons, but yet but one Godhead, and one substance in the Trinity;

nity; those who denied there were three *Hypostases*, thought that by *Hypostasis* was meant substance, and they dreaded nothing more, than to affirm there were three substances in the God-head.

Take it in the words of the *Examiner*, p. 43. *They owned but one Hypostasis or substance, for they believed but one Divinity or Divine nature, by reason of the Identity of nature, between Father and Son. And they having given their several Explications, were all found to agree in the Catholick Faith; and then afterwards three Hypostases and one nature was the Catholick Language.* Can any thing be more directly opposite to his notion, than this Determination of the Synod. One cannot but think he was Infatuated when he produced it. But still he hath a shift in reserve to save himself and his three substances. For in that same place, he renders *Hypostasis* by substance, and saith, that when they said *three Hypostases*, they meant it *still in the notion of three substances*. A very false and perfidious suggestion; making the Catholick Language, as he himself acknowledges it, wherein Catholicks expressed their consent in the same Faith, to consist in a ridiculous contradiction. For according to him, when they said, *three Hypostases* and one nature, they meant *three sub-*
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stances,

stances, and one nature; that is, three substances, and one substance; three natures, and one nature; these being two words that signify but one and the same thing.

But the true Language of the Church was, that there are *three Persons*, truly and really distinct, and yet but *one nature, essence, substance*. And this doctrine hath bin constantly, uniformly, and without any alteration conveyed thro all the Ages of the Church to our days; this being the Faith, and these the words, of all Christian Churches, *Greek and Latin, Eastern and Western*, that are at this day in the World. And particularly of our own Church, who in the first Article of our Religion teaches us to profess, *that there is but one God; and that in the Unity of this Godhead, there are three Persons, of one power, substance, and eternity*. And in our most solemn addresses to Heaven, she directs us to make the same acknowledgment, *viz. upon Trinity Sunday*; and to give glory to God in these words: *Who art one God, one Lord, not one only Person, but three Persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality*. And if there be not any *difference* in the substance, there can be no *distinction*, as was said before.

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And now at length being quite tired with following this *Examiner*, thro that maze and Labyrinth, into which he commonly leads his Readers: it is high time I should take leave of him, after I have committed him to the mercy of God, and his writings to the censure of the Church. The former I hope he will partake of; the latter perhaps he and they may escape, tho he stands in great need of it, especially since he so obstinately and pertinaciously persists in his errors, after so plain a discovery, and so clear a confutation of them.

But I cannot fairly part with him, without enquiring into the reasons, which induced him to publish this Paper, wherein he treats the Governors of the University, in so rude and insolent a manner; falling foul upon persons, whose Character, Profession, and Station he ought to have considered; and from whom he never received the least personal injury or provocation, that ever I could yet hear of. Among other Reasons, he hath suggested one in the last page of this Book, which I shall only take notice of, viz. *That it was impossible for him to do otherwise than he hath done, unless he would be content to be trampled upon by every Scribler.* Now this is a reason, I think,

think, that is wholly owing to his Guilt, and some unreasonable fears which are consequent thereupon. Sure he is conscious to himself that his credit runs low, and that he is much fallen in the esteem of many who formerly had a good opinion of him. He is sensible that his Adversary hath foiled him, which some perhaps may call *running him down*; and now he is afraid that the by-standers should trample upon him.

What persons who are abroad may do, I cannot tell; but as for the members whether *scriblers or no scriblers* of the University, notwithstanding this *Humiliation*, I am apt to think that they never intended to insult over him, especially if he had not published this insolent Paper. But this phrase of treading and *trampling*, brings to my mind the story that *Socrates* tells of that famous Rhetorician *Ecebolius*; a man much talked of in the days in which he lived, and who by his levity and inconstancy in the profession of Religion, hath given occasion to be much talked of ever since. This man, τοῖς ἡγεσι τῶν βασιλέων ἐπόμενος, accommodating himself, as the Historian tells us, *Socr. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. cap. 13.* to the manners and inclinations of the Emperors under whom he lived, in *Constantius's* time was a zealous Christian,

stian, but an *Arian*, as *Baronius* thinks, under *Julian's* Reign he turned *Apostate*, and proved a violent Pagan. But after his death, he was desirous to embrace once again the Christian Religion, and to be admitted into the society and communion of the Faithful. But being sensible that his prevarications had rendered him unworthy of that favor, he made use of this notable stratagem, to move the compassion of Christians: He laies himself prostrate before the doors of the Church, and bespeaks those who were entering into it, in those emphatical words, *concukate me*, ἄλας ἀνάσθουσι, *jalem insipidum infatuatum*, good Christian people, tread me under your feet, trample upon me, a Lump, a heap of Salt, which hath lost its savor.

Now that which I have to add farther upon occasion of this story, is only this, in relation to the Members of the *University*; for whom, I think, I durst undertake, that if any of them should happen to find, I will not say the *Dean*, but any tho a much inferior Person to Mr. *Dean*, in the same humble penitent posture, begging pardon for any the like publick offence and scandal, that he might either by word or deed have given the Church: I dare be confident, I say, there is no Member of the *University* would insult over the misfortunes of such a penitent. They would rather

ther on the other side lend him a helping hand, and would lift him up: they would comfort him, and give him good words, and bid him hope for Gods mercy, and the Church's pardon upon the condition of a sincere repentance. But I am apt to think likewise, they would add counsel to their consolations, and would give him good advice into the bargain. They would advise him to be steady for the future in the practice of his duty; and by no means to play fast and loose with the Faith, or to be guilty of any the least prevarication in the affairs of Religion. And in short, I presume they would dismiss him with those words of our Savior, *Jo. 5. 14. Go and Sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.*

F I N I S.



OF THE
SECOND ARTICLE
OF
Our Religion.

Edwards, Jonathan.

THE
EXPOSITION
GIVEN BY

My Lord Bishop of *Sarum*,
OF THE
Second Article
OF
Our **RELIGION**,
EXAMINED.

by
D^r Edwards

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Tho. Bennet* at the Half-Moon in S. Paul's
Church-yard. MDCCLII.

ARTICLE II.

*Of the Word or Son of God,
made very man.*

TH E Son, which is the
Father, begotten from
of the Father, the very and
of one substance with the Fa
mans nature in the womb of
Virgin, of her substance: In
whole and perfect natures, I
say, the Godhead and man
joined together in one person
be divided, Wheteof is one C
God and very man, Who trul
was crucified, dead and bur
concile his Father to us, and
crifice, not only for original
also for actual sins of men.

*An Examination of the exposition which
my Lord of SARUM hath given of the
Second Article of our Religion.*

AMONG those Arguments whereby the Bishop proves our Saviour to be God, there is none that carries greater force with it, then that which is taken from the *Divine worship* which is paid to him, he being every where represented in the New Testament as the object of Religious adoration. This Argument, as to the matter of fact, is not so easily eluded by *Metaphorical* and *Figurative* explications, such as *Socinus* and his followers give us of those other arguments, taken from the name and operations of the Godhead ascribed to him in the Scriptures; and therefore is easily admitted by them; who doe readily acknowledge, and indeed earnestly contend for the truth of it, I mean as to the *fact*; tho the consequence drawn from it as to the *Divinity* of our Saviour, is with great impiety, and with no less absurdity denied by them.

Here then his Lordships argument stands good, it being built upon a sure foundation, firm as a Rock, and indeed as immoveable as the Rock of Ages, for God can as soon be changed himself, as make a change in the object of Divine worship. But when he comes to apply this to the *Notions*, and as he saith (but wrongfully) to the *Practice* of the *Jews* consequent thereupon, he hath advanc'd a dangerous position, which will clearly overturn all that before he had rightly asserted upon this Subject. To this purpose

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he tells us, *that the Jews had this settled notion among them that God dwelt in the Cloud of Glory; that by vertue of that inhabitation, it was called Gods Throne, his Holyness, his Face, nay called God himself*, p. 40. *That the Jews went up to the Temple to worship God as dwelling there bodily, that is, substantially or in a Corporeal appearance.* Nay, they did not only worship God as dwelling in the Cloud, which to be sure they *might* and in duty *ought* to doe; but likewise the *Cloud it self*. For so he would have it believed, by the words which come after and which we shall mention by and by; and more expressly in his *Discourse about the Divinity of Christ* (which he made to his Clergy and since Published, of which this Exposition, we are now upon, is but a Transcript, tho somewhat contracted;) where he tells us, *that the Adoring the Messias upon the supposition of Gods dwelling bodily in him could bear no debate among the Jews, who knew that their Fathers had worshiped the Cloud of Glory because of Gods resting upon it*, Discourse p. 40.

I confess I could not read these and some other passages relating to this Subject, which shall be mentioned by and by, without surprize and wonder; to find such matters of the highest importance delivered thus openly and roundly; which as to the *Facts* are not true, and as to the *Opinions* grounded upon them are of dangerous consequence to our holy Religion in general, and highly derogatory to the honour of our blessed Saviour in particular.

The matters of Fact here supposed and taken for granted are 3. 1st. That the Cloud of Glory, by vertue of the Divine Presence and inhabitation, was called *God*, nay *Jehovah*, hitherto thought to be the incommunicable name of God. For in the Discourse p. 36. he saith it is plain, that *a constant, immediate, visible dwelling of the Jehovah, was according to the Scripture said to be Jehovah.* 2^{dly}, That by vertue of the same Divine Presence and Inhabitation, the *Jews* thought Divine worship might lawfully be given to a Creature,

Creature, and that accordingly *they did Worship the Cloud of Glory* upon that account. Thus in the exposition, a few lines after those before mentioned, p. 49. he tells us, *that such an Inhabitation of God in a Creature, by which that Creature was not only called God, but that adoration was due to it upon that account, was a notion that could not have scandalized the Jews, &c.* 3dly, That this great Article of our Religion concerning the *Incarnation* of our Saviour, whereby the *Word or Son of God is said to be made very Man*; when it was first published was at that time delivered and understood in that sense, *viz. That the Eternal word which at first dwelt in the Cloud of Glory, afterwards dwelt in the Man Christ Jesus*; and that therefore the name and worship of God might be attributed to him without the imputation of Idolatry.

The Opinions which are grounded upon these suppositions, and which necessarily flow from them are, 1st, that the name of *God* may be justly ascribed to a *Creature*. 2dly, That a *Creature* may be the lawful object of *Religious adoration*. 3dly, That a Local presence and *indwelling of the God-head* in Christ, without a proper and essential union, was sufficient to entitle the Man Christ Jesus, to the name and worship of God. And indeed in this manner did *Nestorius*, whom the Bishop in this Chapter endeavours to defend, not in down right termes indeed, but yet in such a way as we can easily collect his meaning; explain this Article, which was looked upon to be so dangerous a state of this matter, that he was for that Censured and Deposed by the 3d General Council held at *Ephesus*. I shall speak of these things in their order, yet so, as to consider jointly the matters of fact and the Opinions grounded upon them, without a particular discussion of them separately from each other.

First then it is said, that the *Cloud of Glory was called God and Jehovah*. This is roundly affirmed by his Lordship but without any good ground from Scripture. It is true *God is*

said to dwell between the Cherubims, to be in his Temple, to appear in the Cloud, to descend in the Cloud, to speak out of the Cloud: but that ever the Cloud it self was called God, or *Jehovah*, is affirmed confidently but without warrant. His Lordship indeed hath the *Socinians* for his partners in this affirmation, who to weaken the force of that Argument for the Divinity of our Saviour, taken from the Name of God and *Jehovah* given to him, tell us that this Name was given to the *Angels* in the old Testament as his Legats and Representatives. And not only so, but if *Enjedinus* and *Wolzen* be to be credited, to several inanimate things as well as persons, upon the account of their relation to God, or his presence with them. Such as were the *Ark of the Covenant*, the *Temple*, the *City of Jerusalem*, several *Altars* which were erected to his Honour and called by his Name.

But all this we deny; and say that the Name of God was never absolutely given to any Creature, without some other words joined with it in the same period, which plainly qualify and restrain the meaning of it. But that the word *Jehovah* never was given to any Creature, it being the Name which God appropriated to himself, and by which he would distinguish himself from all both Creatures and Idols, *Esay*. 42. 8. *The Lord that is my Name, and my Glory*, which cannot be separated from it, *will I not give to another*. *Jer*. 16. 21. *They shall know that my Name is the Lord, or Jehovah*. *Sec ch*. 33. v. 2. *ch*. 44 v. 26. This Name is so peculiar to him that it is absolutely incommunicable to any Creature, upon the account of any relation, presence, inhabitation or any other consideration whatsoever. And as to the sense of the Jews in this matter, *Maimonides* shall speak in the name of them all. *Nomen Jehovah est nomen appropriatum Creatori altissimo. Reliqua ipsius nomina dicuntur aequivoce & cum mixtura. Sed hic nulla est equivocatio neque mixtura, id est, nihil est quod commune sit Deo & Creature in hoc nomine. Non est dubium quin hoc nomen gloriosum est nomen illud, in quo non est participatio*

ticipatio inter Creatorem & aliquid aliud. More Nevoch. p. 1 Cap. 60.

The second thing that is here affirmed is, that by virtue of this Divine presence beforementioned, a Creature may be the object of Religious worship. And particularly that *the Jews went up to the Temple, not only to worship God as dwelling in the Cloud of Glory; but did actually worship the Cloud it self because of Gods resting upon it, vid. Discourse p. 40.* That the *Jews* ever did thus, is directly contrary to their known and avowed Principles, among whom the *Unity of the Godhead*, and as a consequence of that, the *Unity*, if I may so say, *of worship* that belongs to him, is the first and fundamental principle of their whole Religion. God was to be the sole object of their adoration, in which they knew he would admit of no Partners upon any pretence whatsoever. The design of their whole Religion being, as the Bishop himself acknowledges, in his Disc. p. 40. *To drive all Idolatry out of the World, either the worshipping of other Gods besides the true, or the worshipping of the true God under any bodily representation*: and we may add, as we shall prove by and by, of any Creature, by virtue of any pretended or real presence and inhabitation: It is certain they could pay no Divine worship either to the *Temple*, or *Ark*, or *Cherubims*, or *Cloud*; but only to him that *dwelt in the Temple, sat between the Cherubims, spake to them out of the Cloud*, which was a visible Symbol of his presence, but did not share in that Glory which he peculiarly reserved for himself, and would not part with it to any other thing or person whatsoever.

This was the belief and practice of the *Jews* in pursuance of this grand Principle, and they could do no otherwise while they acted consistently with it. And this was their case with reference to the *Temple*, and *Ark*, and *Cloud*, if we believe Bishop *Stillingfleet*, who affirms, and says he hath *Scripture* and *Fathers* to abet him in that affirmation, *viz. That the Jews only directed their worship towards the place where*

where God had promised to be signally present among them. Def. of the Discourse against Idolatry. p. 702. & 715. where he distinguishes between the *object of worship*, and the *local circumstance* of expressing their worship towards that object; and concludes, that the *Jews worshipped God only towards the Holy of Holies*, but had no intention to worship either *Ark* or *Cherubims*, or any thing else besides God, whom they allways accounted to be the sole object of Divine adoration.

And in this he hath the concurrence of all good Protestants, except *Socinians* and *Remonstr.* (by whom I mean only *Episcopus* and his followers) and those who attempt to revive the Heresies of *Arius* and *Nestorius*, who by the Fathers were justly charged with Idolatry: the first for worshipping a *Creature*; for such the *Arians* accounted our Savior, tho a Divine one: the latter for adoring a *Man* who was honoured with *the presence of the Godhead* which dwelt in him.

Now this position as it is not true with relation to the *Jews*, so if we consider it in it self, we shall find it to be of very dangerous consequence; because it changes the true object of Divine worship, and by so doing, entirely alters the notion of Idolatry as it was allways understood both by *Jews* and *Christians*: and lastly gives too great countenance to *Pagan*, *Popish* and *Socinian* Idolatry, by subverting the force of those Arguments, which the Fathers and Modern Divines make use of, to prove the abovementioned persons guilty of that impious practice.

I shall consider these distinctly. And first as to the *Pagans*, we find there were several of the wiser sort, who with great indignation rejected the *Poetical Theology*, and gave a more plausible reason of their worshipping *Creatures*, which was this. They supposed God to be *the Soul of the world*, and the several parts of it to be capable of Divine worship upon the account of that Divine Spirit which pervaded
and

and animated them. This was the opinion of *Pythagoras*, *Varro* and the *Stoicks*; as may be seen in *Cicero* de *Natura Deorum* lib. 2. *Lactant.* in his 2d. Book of *Instit.* *St. Austin* de *Civ. Dei* lib. 4. cap. 32. whose opinion is expressed by *Virgil* in these known verses: *Aeneid.* 6. v. 724.

*Spiritus intus alit, totosque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The *Apology* therefore they made for themselves to take off the charge of Idolatry was, that they thought it unreasonable to be accused of those follies and fables which were invented by the *Poets*, and believed by the vulgar, but disowned by them. 'Tis true they did worship the whole world and the several parts of it, but this they did, not for the sake of *the Body*, but chiefly of *the Soul* which animated it; which they said was *God*. And in short, that they principally directed their veneration to that divine Spirit, which quickned and filled the Universe. And those among them who paid divine honors to *artificial* as well as *natural* parts of the World, I meane *Images*, made use of this Excuse, as *St. Austin* tells us, in *Psalms* 113. *Non hoc visibile colo, sed hoc quod invisibiliter habitat.*

Now if we enquire what answers the Fathers made to these plausible pretences of the Pagans; we shall find that they justified their charge, not onely by denying and refuting the ground upon which they proceeded, *viz.* that there was no such actuation or animation of the Universe by a divine Spirit, as they imagined, and which they called *God*: but supposing it to be true, they insisted upon this as the fundamental principle of divine worship in the Christian religion, that *adoration is to be given to God onely; that the maker of the world onely is to be worshipped: that nothing else can be the object of that worship either with the supreme God, or without him.* Numerous citations are to be found in several

... Writers, taken out of the Fathers to this purpose. All choose to refer the Reader onely to one, and that is Bp. *Stillingfleet*, who in the Book before mentioned concerning Idolatry, produces several passages out of them, that the Reader may consult at his leisure.

Now then, if union, viz. local, presence, inhabitation, reason to God, be a sufficient ground for worship, as the Pagans sometimes affirm of their *Images* and *Crucifix*, and the Bishop of the *Cloud of Glory* within the Temple; then let any cunning Sophister shew me a reason, (that I may use the words of Bp. *Stillingf.* upon this occasion in the forementioned Book p. 16.) *why a man may not as lawfully worship any part of the world, supposing God to be the soul of it, as the wiser Pagans pretended.* And indeed if this presence and inhabitation of the Deity will prove a justifiable ground of divine worship, then the object of this worship must be much enlarged, even among the *Jews*, and extend it self as far almost as it did among the Pagans, to several parts of the Creation.

1st. It must comprehend *Fire*; viz. that in which God appeared to *Moses* 3 *Exod.* as also that *pillar of fire*, in which God went before the children of *Israel* to lead them in their way till they came to the land of *Canaan* 13 *Exod.* 2ly. *Earth*; which was sanctified by God's presence, first in this appearance which he made to *Moses* in the flaming bush upon mount *Horeb*, in the 3d of *Exod.* beforementioned. As was afterwards *Mount Sinai*, the Top of which God made choice of, as it were, for his Throne, upon which he sat, encompassed with Majesty and Terror, and from whence he delivered his Law 20 *Exod.* 3ly. This must comprehend the *Air* likewise, which was contiguous to the Mount and within the precincts of it; for within that compass, as far as the Mount reached, God was present in an extraordinary manner. 4ly. The Temple, in which this *Cloud of Glory* was lodged: and especially the inward Sanctuary, stiled the *Holy of Holies*, together

together with the *Mercy Seat* which was Gods Throne, placed between the Cherubims and from whence He delivered his Oracles: these as they were all sanctified with the same *Divine presence*, are capable of the same *Divine worship*. *5thly*, If this *Temple made with hands*, was so highly honoured, we cannot in reason or justice exclude that more *perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, Heaven it self*, (sanctified to so high a degree by the immediate and glorious presence of God) from partaking in a more eminent manner of the same high honour.

Lastly, Forasmuch as some Learned Men, and particularly Mr. Mead, from whom others have borrowed that notion, are of opinion, that this *Shewinab*, or glorious habitation of God consists in the *attendance of the Holy Angels*, who are his Royal Retinue and wait upon him wherever he is, who in extraordinary attendances were wont to appear in *bright and luminous Bodies*, such as was that *Cloud of Glory* within the Temple and the *Pillar of Fire* without it; from hence we have, according to the Bishops Exposition, a clear proof, both in *Fact* and *Right*, of the *worship of Angels*; in and among whom God did dwell, when they thus represented his presence in those *Radiant and Luminous forms* which upon this occasion they assumed. And it is with great probability affirmed by some, that these Holy Angels are called *his Train* with which the Temple was filled in *Isaiabs* Vision, *Is. 6. v. 1.*

2dly, Let us now proceed to *Papish Idolatry*, consisting in the worship of Saints, Painted and Carved Images, the Crucifix, &c. The pretence made use of by the *Papists* to justify the first, *viz.* the worship of Saints is, that God is in a peculiar manner *present* in and with them, not only by a communication of his Graces, but likewise by a participation of his Glory now in Heaven, in such a manner as exceeds our comprehension. Of which Glory the *Blessed Virgin* in particular hath so great a share, and partakes in so high a degree, as thereby, in their esteem, She is thought to deserve

the name of a *Goddeſs*. And indeed I think She once had better title to to the Name of *God* than the *Cloud of Glory*; I mean then, when the *Holy Ghost* came upon her and the *prover* of the *Higheſt* did overſhadow her, and ſhe endoſed, if I may ſo ſay, the Eternal word in the Temple of her Womb, which was there united to our Nature; which *Preſence and Inhabitation* of *God* in the *Virgin* was the greateſt Honour that ever was vouchſafed to, or for ought I know, that ever humane nature was capable of, next to a *perſonal Union* of *God* with *Man*. And yet for all this, our Writers will not allow that the *Virgin Mary* was to be *adored* upon that ſcore, or that *adoration* could be paid to her without plain Idolatry. They Honour, Eſteem, Reverence her, proclaim her *Bleſſed to all Generations*, but reſerve Divine worſhip only for her Son, becauſe he is *God Bleſſed forever*.

Again, the *Papiſts*, many of them, entertain the ſame notion of their Images, Painted and Carved; viz. that *God* himſelf is *preſent* with them after a particular manner, and that for the ſake of this *peculiar preſence* they deſerve a peculiar adoration. See the words of *Catharinus* produced by *Biſhop Stillingfleet* p. 593. out of a Book which he wrote *De Cultu & Adoratione Imaginum*. His words are remarkable; *That Images being ſet apart by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghost for a Sacred uſe, do obtain a high degree of Sanctification; that God himſelf is preſent with them after a particular manner: that he ſhews his Power and preſence among them by uſing them often for his Oracles. And that for the ſake of this preſence of God, which ſaith he, we ſenſibly perceive, (and if I ſhould deny that I had done it my ſelf I ſhould be a Lye and ungrateful) Images do deſerve a peculiar Adoration. And particularly of the Image of Chriſt imprinted on the Sacred Shroud or Sindon, and ſhewed at Bezoncon, Chifflet in his Book De Linteis Sepulchralibus, as I find him Cited in the forementioned Book of Biſhop Stillingfleet p. 660. poſitively avers, quod præſenti divino numine ſemper aſſulget; it hath allways a Divine preſence with*

with it: and is therefore often carryed in Procession like the *Ark*, but more Holy then that.

And as a farther defence of this Image worship, the wise *Fathers* assembled in the 2^d Council of *Nice*, first produced the Practice of the *Jews*, who, as they said, gave Divine worship to the *Ark* and *Cherubims*, upon the account of this *Divine presence*; which pretended practise, is now become the common argument made use of by *Bellarmino* and other Popish Writers to the same purpose. Taken up likewise by some *Socinian* Writers, *Enjedinus* and *Wolzogenius*, to justify the adoration which they pay to Christ, tho he be but a Creature in their esteem.

But now what answer do our Writers give to this Plea of the Papists. Why! they answer, as the Fathers did of old against the *Pagans*, that notwithstanding this supposed *presence of God* in the Images, which yet they are very well assured is nothing but Cheat and Imposture; Divine honours could not be payd to them without Idolatry; forasmuch as this is expressly against the second Commandment which directly prohibits it. That it is a plain violation of Gods prerogative, and a high piece of Sacrilege to rob him of that honour which he hath reserved for himself, in which he will allow of no Partners upon any pretence whatsoever. As to the practice of the *Jews*, they answer, that they never dreamt of paying Religious worship, either to *Ark*, or *Temple*, or *Cloud*, or *Cherubims*, because they knew they were not capable of it. All that they did was only a direction of their worship towards *that place* where God had promised to be signally present among them.

Lastly they argue, that upon the same ground that the *Papists* worship Images, viz. of *Representation and Divine presence*, that we may lawfully worship all parts of the Creation: especially the nobler parts of them, such as are the Sun and Heavenly Bodies, forasmuch as they are greater and more

lively representations of Gods power, wisdom, and goodness, then any Images can be, which are graven by art and are the works of mens device; and therefore can only shew the contrivance and skill of a humane Artificer. This way of arguing is so clear, that *Vasquez*, is forced to acknowledge that upon this Principle a man may lawfully worship God in any Creature whatsoever. From which the *Bishop* concludes; that upon this Principle of *Popish worship*, allowing it to be true, they may revive the worship of the *Host of Heaven, Fire, Water, Trees, and the Earth it self*.

The Reader cannot but take notice, that several of the Testimonies before cited, relating to *Pagan* and *Popish Idolatry*, are taken out of the *Bishop of Worcesters Learned Treatise*, which is his *Defence against Godwyn*. And I did it for a particular reason, which the Reader by this time may probably guess at. My *Lord of Sarum* in the Preface to his Exposition, tells the World, *that after he had finished this work*, he submitted it to the View and Examination of several Great and Learned Divines of this Church; and among them to the perusal of the *Late most Learned Bishop of Worcester*; who, as he saith: *Read it over very carefully, marked every thing in it that he thought needed a review, and his Censure was in all points submitted to.*

Now if any Man, antecedent to this information, should have asked me what I thought the *Bishop of Worcesters* opinion might be concerning these positions of the *Bishop of Sarums*, which I have been now Examining, *viz. That a Creature upon the account of a Divine presence might be the lawful object of Religious Adoration: that the Cloud of Glory was such: and that the Jews accordingly went up to the Temple to worship it because of Gods resting upon it:* I must have answered, that I should not think it possible for him to peruse any such assertions without shewing his dislike, and passing his Censure upon them. Because this single Passage, by supplanting the foundation upon which his whole discourse was built,

built, *viz.* that nothing but God, upon any consideration whatsoever, could be the object of Divine worship; would have been a Clear, Full, Effectual confutation of his whole Book.

He could not let these, nor other passages contained in this Chapter which are justly liable to Censure, pass without his observation; for my Lord of *Sarum* tells us, as we heard before, *that he Read the whole Book very carefully.* Again, He could not but know that they were contrary to his settled and avowed notions of Idolatry; to think otherwise, would be to make the Bishop a Person of no judgment and consideration. 3dly, He never, that we ever yet heard of, changed his Opinion about these matters, or Recanted his Learned performance. This would be an Argument of too great levity, to say no worse of it, especially in a matter of this great consequence. Lastly, what was *not Corrected* by the Bishop, *was approved*, nay it seems by the following words, *applauded* by him. Now to say that he approved of a position, and yet harbored an Opinion which was directly contrary to it, must be an Argument of such prevarication, that were inconsistent with common honesty, and much more the Known piety of that Good Man. And yet the Bishop of *Sarum* proclaims it to the World, that *he Read this Book with Care, Marked and Censured every thing that he judged worthy of Review, and his Censure was in all points submitted to.* Here are the Bishop of *Worcesters Integrity, Learning and Judgment* to be considered on one hand; and my Lord of *Sarums affirmation*, which by consequence, overthrows all these on the other. Here I confess I am shocked, and cannot think of any expedient how these things, seemingly so inconsistent, can be reconciled. Therefore I refer this matter to the Judgement of the Reader to determine as he, upon due examination of all Circumstances, shall think fit.

Neither ought my Lord of *Sarum* to be offended with me, for leaving this matter undecided, since he himself leaves a
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matter of much greater importance, then are the judgment and integrity of any two of the greatest and wisest men in the world, undetermined; and that is the *Unity of the Godhead*, which resides in the three persons of the Blessed Trinity. For in the Exposition of the first Article, when he comes to give an account of the *One Substance* in the Trinity, he gives us two different Opinions.

1st, He saith, *Many do understand a Numerical or Individual Unity of Substance: This carries in it indeed something that is not agreeable to our Notions, nor like any thing that we can apprehend.* To this he saith, *it is said viz. by them that believe this Numerical Unity, of which number he doth not make himself one, that if God hath revealed this in the Scripture, we are bound to believe it tho we can frame no clear apprehension about it.* 2^{dly}, *Others, he saith, give another view of this matter that is not so hard indeed to be apprehended, viz. that there are three distinct Minds, viz. Father, Son and Holy Spirit, every one of which are God as much as the other; that is in other words, that there are three distinct Gods.* This he saith, *is in good degree intelligible; but it seems hard to reconcile it to the notion of Unity, which seems to belong to a Being of infinite perfections, and to the express Declarations that are made in Scripture concerning the Unity of God.*

The Reader cannot but observe with what caution and reservedness the Bishop expresses himself upon this Subject. One would think that the *true Unity* of the Godhead, (especially considering the plain expressions of Scripture, and the Determinations of the Catholick Church after long and great debates, in the case of *Arius*) should be adjudged so plain and so important an Article of our Religion, that all good Christians who are Members of this Church, should come to some positive resolution about it. And yet if this Exposition be to be relyed on, it doth but *seem* to belong to God; and the notion of *three distinct minds*, which must, if they are really such, be *three distinct Gods*, doth

doth but *seem* difficult to be reconciled with that Unity.

Now here are *seeming*, and I think we may safely say, *real objections* and difficulties on both sides. The difficulty of apprehension, how one Numerical Substance can be in three distinct Persons, on one side: and the difficulty of reconciling the notion of three distinct Minds or substances, with the true Unity of the Godhead, on the other. But one would think, that *clear Revelation*, together with the *Declaration of the whole Christian Church*, should absolutely overrule the difficulty of Apprehension in the first case: and that both *Reason and Revelation* should clearly determine the point for the Numerical Unity of the Godhead, against the Doctrine of three Minds or Substances, in the second. And yet both these Opinions which concern matters of that importance, that one would think the Reader should not be left in suspense or fluctuation of thought about them, are left undecided.

Its true indeed, problematical matters and questions of doubtful disputation, may safely be left to the choice and determination of wise and good Men, who may differ about them without breach of Charity, or injury to the common Faith. But this *Scepticism* is not to be extended to all parts of our Holy Religion; and least of all to that Article which declares the *Unity of the Godhead*. For hereby it will be left an indifferent matter, whether a Man believe that there is but *one God*, or *more Gods than One*. And yet in this state of indifference doth his Lordship leave this matter. The objections and prejudices *seem* to be equal on both sides. *The Doctrine of three minds*, as his Lordship expresses it, *hath an objection that seems as great a prejudice against it, as the difficulty of apprehending the other way is against that*: And thus the Reader is left at his Liberty, to pick and choose either of these Opinions as shall *seem* best in his Eyes.

And

And why I beseech you may not a man use the same liberty in expounding the doctrine of *three persons*, as well as that of *one Substance*? and express himself thus. About this Doctrine there are two Opinions. 1st, By *three Persons* many do understand three strictly and properly so called. They say that one and the same numerical, undivided essence, hath three different ways of subsisting in *Father, Son* and *Holy Ghost*, whereby they become three Persons, distinguished by their *Characters, Properties* and *Internal Relations*, which are absolutely incommunicable to each other. This carries in it something that is not agreeable to our notions, nor like any thing that we can apprehend. To this it is said, that if God hath revealed this in Scripture we are bound to believe it, tho we can frame no clear apprehension about it.

2^{dly}, Others give us another view of this matter, that is not so hard indeed to be apprehended, *viz.* that by *three Persons* they only mean their *Names, Offices, or External Relations* under which God manifested himself to his Creatures; so that he took several *Persons* upon him as occasion required; sometimes that of a *Father*, sometimes that of a *Son*, and at other times that of the *Holy Ghost*. This is in a good degree intelligible; but this hath an objection that *seems* as great a prejudice against it, as the difficulty of apprehending the other way is against that. For it *seemes* hard to reconcile it to that real distinction that *seemes* to be founded in the three internal relations that are between *Father, Son* and *Holy Ghost*; and to the many express Declarations that are made in Scripture concerning this Personal distinction.

Here you see the differences of Opinion are stated, but without any decision on which side the truth lies, but the Reader is left at his liberty to pick and choose, either the *Sabellian* or *Catholick* Doctrine of the Trinity as he shall think best. But you will say perhaps, that no man sure can have the confidence to call this a *just Exposition* of this Doctrine, and much less that any man can so far abandon all shame and honesty,

honesty, as to subscribe to the truth of this Article, and yet mean it in the *Sabellian* sense of *three Names*, or *Manifestations of God*, as we said before. Forasmuch as the Sense of the *Church of England* is very well known in this particular, that it is quite contrary to that of *Sabellius*, and that those who compiled this Article meant it in the Catholick notion, as it was always received in the Christian Church.

But to this an answer may be readily framed out of the *Exposition* p. 116. and the *Introduction* p. 8. where we are told, that a man may safely and conscientiously subscribe the Article, in a sense quite different from that in which it is generally understood, and tho he knows it to be contrary to that in which it was meant by them who first Penned and contrived it: provided the words will warrant it, according to the *Literal and Grammatical construction* of them.

Here then, saith a *Sabellian*, I believe this Doctrine of *three Persons* in the Godhead, and can safely subscribe it; but then by them I mean only *three Names*, or *three different Offices* of one and the same person. Tis true, this is against the known meaning of the Article, but yet the *Grammatical and Classcal* acceptance of the word will bear me out and be my sufficient warrant. And here to be sure the so often mentioned saying of *Tully* will be Trumped upon us, *Ego solus tres personas sustineo, Boni civis, Auguris & Consulis*. And thus we see of how dangerous consequence to our Religion, this *Latitudinarian* way of expounding our Articles may in time prove; beyond the intention, it is to be hoped, of them who set it on foot. This is certain, that both *Tritheists and Sabellians* may find their account in it: and when hard pressed or pursued by the Arguments of the Catholicks, here they may betake themselves for *Sanctuary*; and this way of Expounding will afford them a *seasonable and safe retreat*.

Lastly, as to the *Idolatry* with which the *Socinians* are charged by the Orthodox, because they give divine honours to our Savior who in their esteem is but a meer man, it will,

if this principle be allowed, appear to be an ill-grounded calumny; because the arguments which are made use of by us to make good that charge, are hereby clearly overthrown. For, if *actual presence and inhabitation* of the Godhead be a sufficient ground of adoration, as the *Exposition* saith it is; then we can have no just reason to be offended with them for worshipping Christ tho' a meer man, *in whom dwelt the fullness of the Godhead Bodily*, that is, saith the Bishop, *in a corporeal appearance*, as it formerly did in the Cloud of Glory. And tho' by this Hypothesis to be sure the Bishop never designed either to excuse or extenuate *Pagan or Popish Idolatry*: yet that he had not the *Soci-nians* in his view, I cannot with the same confidence affirm: it being very well known how large a share the persons and writings of these men have had in his esteem: of whom upon some occasions he hath spoken not only with favor, but in terms of high commendation and applause.

This is certain, as to the case before us, that their *Idolatry*, (for so we must make bold to call it) from hence receives not only countenance but a *direct vindication*. For, if this *Hypothesis* which the Bishop hath laid down, and by which he endeavours to explain the mystery of the *Incarnation*, be true, this alone will give up the cause entirely into the hands of these men, I mean as far as concerns the adoration of a Creature. For they will acknowledge such a *close and intimate* conjunction between God and our Saviour, as that the like never was in any creature; so that he might upon that account justly be styled *the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express character of his person*.

And if the *Ark* of old were styled *God*, as *Enjedinus* and *Wolzen*. tells us, (which to be sure had as good a title to it

¹ Quod ad res attinet, quæ personæ non sunt, sed cum eo, cui adoratio per se debetur, ita conjunctæ sunt ut eorum adoratio ad illius quoque honorem
ac

it as the Cloud of Glory) and that both the *Ark and Temple*, in which it was lodged, were *worshipped* by the *Jews* upon the account of the *presence and inhabitation* of the Godhead, as the said *Wolzogen*. expressly affirms they were; how much a greater title had our Saviour, tho' but a meer man, to this adoration? in whom the Godhead was present in a more eminent manner than in either *the Ark, or Temple, or Cloud*; or than in any Inspired men, or any the most glorious *Angels*. These indeed under the Old Testament represented God as his *Legats*, spake and acted in his name, and thereby it seems assumed to themselves both the name and worship, which both *Jews* and most good Christians thought he had appropriated and thereby reserved to himself. But the *Socinians* have rectified those mistakes under which we have hitherto laboured, and taught the world a new lesson. The *Angels*, as they tell us, called themselves *Jehovah*, received the *adorations* that were actually paid, and it seems justly paid to them upon that score: and if so, with how much greater reason might that worship be challenged by Christ, *qui personam Dei singularissima ratione instituit, & in quo peculiariter præsens aderat*, saith Volkel. *& cujus longè major est cum Deo conjunctio quam, non dicam Arca, sed ullius etiam alterius creaturæ.* Lib. 5. de vera Religione, cap. 10. P. 444.

The same is affirmed in the *Racovian Catech. last Edition*, p. 137. where they allow that many of these passages which are *spoken of God* himself in the Old Testament, might be *accommodated to Christ* in the New, tho' he were not truly

ac gloriam redundet, pertinet huc locus ille *Psal. 132. 7. adorabimus scabellum pedum ejus*; ubi ut *Psal. 99. vers. 5. per scabellum pedum* Arca fœderis intelligitur. ubi patet eam *nomen Dei* obtinuisse propter *conjunctiorem magnam* quæ ei cum Deo intercedit. Dicitur enim ibidem Deum habitare; preces exaudire, atque inde auxilium mittere. Ubi notandum præterea quoddam Interpretes, per *scabellum pedum*, Templum intelligere, quippe quod etiam *adorationis divinæ* particeps factum fuerit, & sanctum fuerit propter *peculiarem Dei præsentiam*, Wolzogen. Com. in *Evang. Matth. cap. 4. v. 10.*

God; (as we affirm he was and endeavour to prove him to be so from thence :) and the reason they give for this accommodation is, because of *that close and intimate presence and conjunction of the Godhead with him. propter intimam illam quæ inter Deum & Christum est, tum conjunctionem, tum quæ ad illam est necessaria, similitudinem.* Therefore say they, if it might truly be affirmed of Moses that He brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt: that he was the redeemer of that people, which yet properly belonged to God himself; Cum nec Moyses, neque alii tantam conjunctionem cum Deo haberent quanta inter Deum & Christum intercedit; multo justius hæc quæ de Deo primo respectu dicta sunt, Christo accommodari possunt, propter summam illam & arctissimam inter Deum & Christum conjunctionem. Nay ^r Ruarus will goe one step higher, and will allow that the *Eternal Spirit of God which resided in him ab omni ævo, from all Eternity, was from the very conception of our Saviour, joined, or if you please, incorporated with him by a union never to be dissolved.*

By these remarkable expressions of the Socinians, it plainly appears 1st. that they do acknowledge a *close, intimate conjunction* by way of *presence, actuation, indwelling* of the Godhead in Christ, by vertue of which he may be truly styled God; and that what is *affirmed of God* may be *accommodated* to him; and what is *eminently*, and as we have been taught to say, *peculiarly due to God, viz. Divine worship*, may be ascribed to him. 2^{dly}. That notwithstanding this *conjunction and indwelling*, God and the man Christ Jesus continued two *distinct persons*. And so did God and the Cloud of Glory. This indeed was not properly a person, but yet was truly a *suppositum*, and had a peculiar subsistence, notwithstanding the Eternal Word dwelt in, and rested upon it.

From hence it will follow, 1st. that the highest degree

1 Libenter agnoscimus Dei Spiritum quendam singularem Christo ab ipsa conceptione indissolubili nexu conjunctum, & si ita loqui liceat, incorporatum fuisse. Qui Spiritus ante hanc conceptionem, in Deo prius, immo ab omni ævo existerit. Ruar. Epist. ad Geor. Calixt. Vol. 1. p. 296.

of *presence, actuation, indwelling* of God in a creature, falls short of a *personal union*. The first the *Socinians* will allow of in Christ, the latter they constantly deny. 2ly. That no degree of *presence, actuation, &c.* of the Godhead in a creature will truly entitle that creature to Divine worship. For tho the *Socinians* allow a greater, closer, and withall a more noble conjunction of the Godhead in Christ, than ever was in the *Ark, or Temple, or Cloud, or in any creature* that ever was in the world; yet forasmuch as our Saviour in their esteem is but a man, they are by the Christian Church charged with *Idolatry* for making him the object of religious worship and invocation. Now if this *Hypothesis* laid down by the Bishop, is true, 'tis certain hereby they are extremely injured. And therefore we must in all good conscience, either renounce this charge, or disclaim this principle.

3ly. That if the *Socinians* are justly condemned for *Idolatry*, *Nestorius* and his followers must come under the same condemnation. For they never rose higher in their acknowledgements concerning our Saviour, than these expressions of the *Socinians* amount to. Lastly, That the mystery of the *Incarnation* denotes something of a higher and a far different nature, than the *presence and indwelling* of the Godhead in our Saviour; The *Nestorians* and *Socinians* will allow this, and yet fall short of a *personal union*. The consequence of which is, that the *indwelling* of the Godhead of old in the *Cloud of Glory*, is no just resemblance of the *union* of the divine and human nature in Christ.

This leads me to consider the *third matter of fact* laid down and taken for granted in the *exposition*, which is this,

That the Eternal word which first dwelt in the Cloud of Glory, afterwards dwelt in the Man Christ Jesus. The Jews had this settled notion among them, that God dwelt in the Cloud of Glory, and that by vertue of that inhabitation, divine worship was paid to God as dwelling in the Cloud: nay to the Cloud it self; (as he expressly

pressly faith in the Discourse cited before) *which was called God, Gods Face, &c.* From hence he saith it follows, that *such an inhabitation of God in a Creature, by which that Creature was not only called God, but that adoration was due to it upon that account, was a notion that could not have scandalized the Jews, and was indeed the only notion that agreed with their former Ideas, and that could have been received by them without difficulty or opposition.* This is a strong inducement to believe that this great Article of our Religion (*viz.* concerning the Incarnation) was at that time delivered and understood in that sense, Expof. p. 50. In the Discourse p. 40. he words it thus. *This viz. Idolatry, cannot be retorted upon us, who believe that Christ was God by virtue of the indwelling of the eternal word in him. The Jews could make no objections to this, who knew that their Fathers had worshipped the Cloud of Glory because of Gods resting upon it. So the adoring the Messiah upon the supposition of Gods dwelling bodily in him, could bear no debate among the Jews: and since it was singly upon this point that they could let it pass without raising objections or difficulties about it: and since we find in Fact that they did let it pass, and that the Apostles made no Explanations on it, we have all possible reason to conclude, that it was thus understood on all hands at that time.*

This is so strange a Paragraph, so derogatory to the Honour of our Saviour, so contrary to the Declarations which he constantly made of himself, and the Opinion that the Jews then had, and the prejudices which they conceived against him upon that score: Lastly so inconsistent with the belief and publick confessions of that Faith made by the Catholick Church, and particularly to the explication of our own Church, given upon the Article now before us; that we cannot but wonder what should prevail with his Lordship to publish this account, whatever his private thoughts were of this matter.

This will more plainly appear, if we resolve this general account into the several propositions which are contained in it.

it. Such as 1st, that our Saviour was called *God* in the same sense as the *Cloud of Glory* was styled *God and Jehovah*! * 2^{dly}, That the *Union* of the Divine and humane nature in Christ, was the very same as was that of the Eternal word with the Cloud; which was not a *true substantial*, but only a *Local union*, consisting in a *Divine presence and inhabitation*. 3^{dly}, That the *Adorations* which were paid to our Saviour were due to him only upon the account of this *presence and indwelling* of the Godhead. 4^{thly}, That when our Saviour was at first declared to be *God*, and the *object of Divine worship*, the *Jews* to whom the Gospel was first Preached, understood him to be so in *this sense*, and therefore it could bear no debate among them. *It was singly upon this point that they could let it pass, and accordingly they did in Fact let it pass without raising objections and difficulties about it.* Lastly, that the *Jews* were under *no mistakes* about this matter. For the *Apostles* proposed it to them in that manner as was *exactly agreeable* to these *former Notions and Ideas* about the *Cloud of Glory*, and made no *farther Explanations* upon this Article. Thus it was declared by those who first published the Gospel; so it was received by them who first heard it Preached; and thus it was understood on all hands, in these first and best times.

Good God! what an Age do we live in: when we shall find such Doctrines as these, thus openly avowed and solemnly proclaimed to the world, as the sense and opinion of many, and if they should pass without Censure, of *all the Learned Divines of our Church*.

For 1st, If our Saviour be *God* only upon the account of

* The *Cloud*, as the Bishop tells us, was called *God*, by reason of *God's dwelling* in it. And the Apostles every where in the New Testament call our Saviour by the name of *Kieo* or Lord. By which they did mean, *that the Jehovah dwelt so immediately and Bodily in Christ Jesus*, that by that indwelling *he was truly Jehovah*. Nay it seems they had no notion of his being God by virtue of any other *Union*, but that *Local* one of *presence and inhabitation*. It being (if his Lordship be to be credited) *Impossible to imagine that the Apostles could intend other in it.* Disc. p. 35.

the *indwelling* of the Godhead in him, as it formerly dwelt in the Cloud of Glory, then it is certain that he was not *truely and really* God, but only *Nominally and Figuratively* such, by a *Metonymy*, when the name of the Subject is transferred upon the adjunct. For supposing the Cloud to be called God, as was likewise the *Ark and the Temple*, as some *Socinians* tell us, yet tis certain they could not be stiled so in a *Proper* but *Tropical sense*, as when *possessor ponitur pro re possessa*, the inhabitant put for the House in which he dwells.

But this is contrary to the Declarations which our Saviour made of himself: for he allways affirmed of himself that he was the true *Son of God*, that *God was his Father*, his own, proper, natural Father, and not only such in a *Metaphorical* sense, and by way of adoption. He doth not say that the Eternal word which was the Son of God vouchsafed to descend from Heaven and to dwell in him, making his humane Nature the place of his residence, as formerly he had made the Cloud of Glory. But that *He*, whom the *Jews* saw with their Eyes, who spoke to and then conversed with them, that *He proceeded from God, came down from Heaven, that he was Gods Son, and God his Father; that he was in the Father and the Father in him.*

Now if by these expressions he meant only that he was this Son of God by virtue of a *Local presence* and not a *personal Union* with the Eternal Son of God, then these things which he affirmed of himself were not *literally* true, but only *figaratively* so: and by virtue of the same figure might likewise be affirmed of the *Ark* and the *Cloud of Glory*. Of this *Cloud* you might positively and roundly affirm, that it came down from Heaven, that it proceeded from God, had lain in his Bosome from *Eternal Ages*, as being his only begotten Son; that it was before Abraham, and indeed before the World, for the World was made by it, and without it was not any thing made that was made. That God was its Father, that it was equal with God, and in short, that it and the Father were one. All this

this if understood literally of the Cloud would be rank Blasphemy; yet in the Tropical sense would be very true, that is, meaning by the Cloud the *Eternal Word* which dwelt in it.

For the same reason it would be equall blasphemy (upon this supposition) to affirm of him who was born of the Virgin, that he was *God*, and the *Son of God &c.* supposing that he was onely such upon the account of the *indwelling* of the Son of God, as he formerly dwelt in the Cloud. And therefore these sayings must be construed *figuratively*, and understood in the same sense, as you would that expression in *Virgil*, wherein *Ucalegon* is said to be burnt, when onely his House was set on fire, and not one hair of his head in the meane time was singed by it. But no good Christian sure hath such mean and dishonorable apprehensions of his Saviour, as to think that when he styled himself *God*, and the *Son of God*, that he meant this onely in the *Tropical*, and not the true and *literal sense*, as if he were onely *nominally* a God, such as the Cloud of Glory was, according to the *Bishop's Exposition*.

His *Friends*, who heard him make these declarations of himself, understood him in the literal sense, and so did his *Enemies*. His Disciples and Apostles in their discourses and writings do shew that they believed themselves, and endeavored to form in the minds of others a belief, that there was in him somewhat divine, not onely as to *his qualities*, or *his relation to God* by vertue of a peculiar *assistance*, *actuation*, or *presence* of the Godhead in him, but as to *his nature and person*. They say he *was the Word of God*: not onely that the *Word dwelt in him*, but that *He was that Word, who in the beginning was with God, and was God*. They style him the *true God*, the *Great God*, our *onely Lord God*, *God blessed for ever*. Could all this be affirmed of the *Cloud of Glory*? and yet it might be so with equal truth, if the Union between the divine and humane nature was no other

than what was between the Godhead and the Cloud, viz. onely by way of *presence and inhabitation*.

But *his Friends*, by what they declared upon all occasions, had other notions of this matter; and so had his *Enemies*. For when in the 5th of Jo. he called *God his Father*, *ἰδὼν πατέρα*, his own, proper or natural Father, they took his true meaning to be, that he was *the Son of God* so as to be partaker of *the same nature* with him, and thereby made himself *Equal with God* 18. ver. upon this account they esteemed him a *Blasphemer*, and as such they would have stoned him, *in that he being a man made himself God*, Jo. 10. v. 33d. which danger at that time he escaped; but afterwards he was apprehended, arraigned and judged worthy of death for this *blasphemy* Math. 26, 65. Jo. 19. 7.

Now *Blasphemy*, when it hath God for its object, consists in words which derogate from the honour of God; when we either affirm somewhat of him that is unbecoming or injurious to the divine Majesty, or transfer somewhat from him which is his peculiar, and ascribe it to any creature: now what was there in the Expressions before mentioned, that should raise all this storm and indignation in the minds of the Jews against our Saviour? 'Tis true he called himself *the Son God*, and thereby said that *he was Equal with God*: but they all knew that he meant this onely by virtue of a *divine Inhabitation*; for so it seems by the Exposition, *it was understood on all hands*. *This was a notion that agreed with their former Ideas, and therefore they never objected Idolatry to the Christians for worshipping him*. And if it were not *Idolatry* to worship him, neither could they esteem it *Blasphemy* in him to say that he was the *Son of God*, and *God*, by virtue of the Indwelling of the Godhead in him. They might think it *false* indeed, but they could not account it *Blasphemy*.

For what greater indignity could it be thought to cast on God to say, that *God dwelt* in a good man, made up
of

of Body and Soul; than to say that he *inhabited* in a lump of inanimate matter, such as was the Cloud of Glory. To be sure therefore the Jews understood somewhat more by these Expressions than a *bare inhabitation*, or else they would never have raised such an outcry against our Saviour, and have dragg'd him before the Tribunal of the High-Priest, where he was arraigned and condemned for Blasphemy. Therefore the summe of their accusation they made to consist in this, *that he being a man made himself God*. Not in the *figurative sense*, for so the Cloud being but a Cloud, was made by them (if we may believe the *Exposition*) and called *a God*: but in the *true and proper* meaning of the word, whereby he might be said to be *One* with God; which if not true, was certainly a high Encroachment upon the Majesty of God, by bringing him upon the same level with a meer man, and therefore might justly be reputed *Blasphemy*, and he justly be condemned for it.

In the next place, if the Godhead was no otherwise in our Saviour, than it was formerly in the Cloud of Glory, then it is certain, that there was no *real, personal union* between the Divine and humane nature in our Savior, so *that the Godhead and manhood were*, as the Article, in conformity to the language of the Catholick Church, expresses it, *joined together in one Person*. But God and man, notwithstanding this Local conjunction, remained *two distinct persons* to all intents and purposes. For so it was as to the Eternal Word and the Cloud in which it dwelt; there was no *Hypostatical union* between them: the Eternal Word did not take the Cloud into *the unity of his own person*: but each retained its own particular *subsistence*. The Cloud was a true *suppositum* distinct from the Word that dwelt in it: otherwise there must have been a Communication of properties and characters from these *two natures* to the *person* made up of them; so that we might have said, *the Cloud was God*: and if this were true, we might with equal truth have as-

firm'd that *God was the Cloud*. The attributes and properties of both might for the same reason be reciprocally predicated of each other, which would be attended with such a train of blasphemous consequences, that I dread to mention them.

To be sure therefore his *Lordship* never did imagine, that there was a *personal union* between the Eternal Word and the Cloud: and for the same reason he must be supposed to deny any *such union* between the divine and humane nature in our Saviour. For he makes the *inhabitation* of the word in the Cloud of Glory, to be a just and adequate representation of the *union* of the divine and humane nature in Christ. *All the expressions which are used concerning our Saviour in the New Testament: as when he is said to be the brightest of his Father's glory, and the express character of his Person, Heb. 1. 3. That the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, 1 Jo. 14. And that of the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face, or person of Jesus Christ, 2 Cor. 4. 6. doe in his Lordship's opinion, so plainly allude to the phraseology of the Cloud of Glory, that he thinks it not possible for any who considers things carefully to avoid the Evidence of it. Discourse p. 37. And in this sense, he tells us, it was on all hands understood by Jews and Christians, when it was first published to the World.*

Here it is worth remarking to observe, that his Lordship doth not explain this matter with that *Latitude* which he uses and recommends in the explication of several of the *other Articles*. He doth not enlarge upon the different Expositions which have been given of this Article, and then leave it to the judgment of his Readers to choose the right or the wrong, which they like best: but he *determines* them to this sense, provided they will govern their belief (as in all reason they ought) by the declarations of those who first published the Christian doctrine, and those who received it from them, as we heard before.

Now

Now this must afford us a very Melancholly reflexion upon the state of Religion, as it now is, and as it hath been in for many Ages. For the declarations which have been since made upon this Article by the *Catholick Church*, are vastly different from the account given of it by those who *first Preached it*. The *latter* explained it, it seems, by a *Local presence*, for the union between the Eternal Word and the Cloud was no other: But the former by a *personal union*, which are things quite of another nature. This makes a mighty alteration in the sense of the Article, and this must be attended with a great alteration consequently, in several other important parts and Branches of our Religion, as we shall shew by and by. However it is but fit that matters should be brought back to what they were in the *first and purest Times*, and that our belief should be regulated by the *Primitive Standard*. We have been long, it seemes, under great mistakes, but it is never to late to repent and reform.

This leads me to consider more particularly his Lordships Explication of that part of the Article, which tells us, *that two whole and perfect Natures, the Godhead and the Manhood were joined in one Person*. In which there are several passages that call for our observation, some whereof relate to the word *Person*, and the *Union* that is between the Divine and Humane nature whereby they became *one Person*: others concern *Nestorius*, who made a great alteration in this Fundamental Article. These must be divided into two parts, whereof one relates to his *Opinion*, and the other to the *usage* which he met with upon the account of it.

First as to the word *Person*, his Lordship tells us, *that the design of the Church in making use of that Word was chiefly to distinguish the Nature of the Indwelling of the Godhead in Christ from all Prophetical inspirations*. Tis true, that the word *Person*, doth make a clear and a very great difference between the presence of God with our Saviour, and that of the Holy Spirit which dwelt in *Moses* and the Prophets. But this could

could not be the *Only* or the *Chief design* of the Church in making this distinction: because there might be a much *more perfect indwelling* of the Godhead in Christ then was in the Prophets, who were inspired with the Holy Ghost, and yet came far short of that *Substantial Union* whereby God and Man became *one Person*,

Now this superiority of Christ above all other Prophets was readily acknowledged by several of the ancient *Hereticks*, who denyed a *Personal Union* of both Natures in him, and yet proclaimed it to his honour, that God was in him in a more eminent manner then ever he was in any of the Prophets or Inspired Men. *Non tantam sapientiam in alio quopiam, quanta in ipso, extitisse putemus. Sane fuit illa in Prophetis, sed amplior in Moyse: fuit in multis sanctis, at vero in Christo, tanquam in Dei Templo amplissima extitit.* Are the words of *Paulus Somofatenus*, produced by the Clergy of *Constantinople*, in the *Council of Ephes. p. 1. ch. 13.* whereby they endeavoured to prove that *Nestorius* revived the Opinion of *Paulus Samosat.* which some think was not exactly the same. For *Nestorius* was Orthodox in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and therefore affirmed that the Eternal word, the second Person in the Trinity dwelt in our Saviour: But *Paul* acknowledged but *one Person*, whom we call God the Father, and that it was he who vouchsafed to be present with and dwelt in Christ.

To be sure this was his first opinion, tho afterwards he might, as some Learned Men with good reason conjecture, change it for the *Cerinthian Hypothesis*, as we shall shew hereafter. But however that matter was, tis certain as to the *manner of the Union* of God with Man they both were of the same opinion, that it was only by way of *Presence* and *inhabitation*; that our Saviour was *Homo Deiferos*, the *Temple of God* in which he resided in a more eminent manner then in *Moyser* and the Prophets.

The like was acknowledged by *Artemon* before him, and
Photinus

Photinus afterwards, and is at this day by their Modern followers the *Socinians*, as we heard before. But the true design of the Church in using this word was, to express such a *Vital, Substantial Union*, as that from thence did result a true, proper communication of Names, Characters and Properties from the *two Natures* to the *Person*, if I may so say, made up of them. For tho the *Eternal Word* was a *Person* before the incarnation, yet he is not considered under the same formal notion after it. Before, he *subsisted* only in the *Divine Nature*, afterwards in the *Humane* as well as the *Divine*; yet without any change or alteration, but under both respects continues but one and the same *Person*.

I say from this Union there resulted a *real communication* of Properties and Characters, and not only a *Nominal, Figurative*, or *Moral* one, which was all that was acknowledged by *Nestorius* and his followers. The Church owns more, by telling us that the *Humane Nature* had no true *proper subsistence* of its own, but subsisted in, or if you will, was supported by the *Divine word*, who assumed it into the Unity of his own *Person*. Now *Presence, Actuation* and *Inhabitation* will not express this. For the *Ark* and *Cloud of Glory*, notwithstanding such *inhabitation* of the Godhead, continued two distinct *suppositums* and had a proper, *separate subsistence* of their own. And the *presence* and influence of the *Divine Spirit* upon Good Men or in the Prophets, tho we should suppose it there in the highest degree and of the most permanent duration, yet would make no such alteration in them, but they would still retain their own *distinct personality*.

Now it is strange that his Lordship in the Exposition of this Article should allways use the words *Indwelling, Presence*, and never the word *Personal Union*, but studiously seems to avoid it, tho it be the constant Language of the Church, used before, but especially since the *Council of Ephesus*. His Lordship hath well observed, *Expos. p. 45. That Controversy leads*

leads us to speak with more then ordinary exactness, and those Writers who let things fall more carelessly from their Pens when they apprehend no danger or difficulty, are more correct in their Expressions when things are disputed. Now his Lordship very well knows, that there was a very long and warm dispute in the fifth Century about the *Union* of both Natures in Christ; that *Nestorius* his opinion, who Expounded and Explained it by a *Local Conjunction and Inhabitation* of the Son of God in the Son of *Mary*, was adjudged *Heretical* by the Fathers assembled in the beforenamed Council at *Ephesus*: and the whole Church hath ratified that Sentence, by approving their decision, and reputing *Nestorius* a *Heretick*. If therefore his Lordship had approved the *Doctrine* of the Church, one might justly expect that he would have made use of her words, and not have covered an Orthodox sense under general and ambiguous terms, such as formerly were made use of by *Hereticks* to overthrow the Catholick Faith.

This may be apt to confirm some men in the suspicion (that his Lordship cannot but be aware of) which they have entertained of the integrity of his Faith. The using the words *Personal* or *Hypostatical Union*, instead of *Presence and Inhabitation*, might have gon a great way to have cleared this doubt; those being the Phrases made use of by the *Greek* and *Latin*, *Roman* and *Reformed Churches*, to express a true, real, essential; in opposition to that figurative and accidental Union promoted by *Nestorius* and his Followers

Indeed a Great Man in his Discourse upon this Subject of the *Incarnation*, cannot forbear shewing his dislike of that Epithet *Hypostatical*, by saying that it is a *hard Word*, and that Men who Love hard Words, Love likewise to make use of it. Tis true tis a *Greek* word, and so is *opositor*, but that should be no prejudice against them among Schollars: especially considering the importance of those truths which are thought best declared by them, in opposition to the fraudulent Expressions

pressions made use of by crafty *Hereticks* to undermine the Catholick Faith. And to be sure his *Lordship* would entertain no dislike of it upon that score, who hath declared so great an Esteem for the *Greek Church*, that in the Disputes about *Predestination* and *Grace*, he hath clearly determined in her Favour against the *Latin*. Perhaps it will be said, That his *Lordship* in his *Exposition*, tho' he never makes use of the word *Personal*, yet he acknowledges the thing, *viz.* *That by virtue of the Presence and Indwelling of the Godhead, the Humane and Divine Nature were constituted One Person.* He does so indeed, and so did *Nestorius* before him: but it is plain, the latter did it fraudulently, in a *moral, figurative* sense, not in the *true and proper* meaning, as we shall shew by and by. And it is as certain, that any one who believes his *Lordship's* Explication of this Mystery, must mean so too. For the Godhead, according to the *Exposition*, was no otherwise *united* to the Humane Nature, than it was formerly to the *Ark, and Cherubims, and Cloud.* And it is certain, that neither the *Ark*, nor *Cloud*, were assumed by the Eternal Word into a *Personal Union*, so that God and the Cloud made but *one Hypostasis*.

'Tis true, the *Cloud* (if the *Exposition* be to be credited) was stiled *Jehovah*, and worshipped as *Jehovah*. But a *Local*, or *Moral Union*, tho' it falls far short of an *Hypostatical* one, will, according to the *Exposition*, be every way sufficient to effect a Communication of Names, and Dignity, and Worship. Here, *viz.* in the *Cloud*, there was *ἕως καὶ παλαιῶν, καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἰσχυρίαις*, as *Nestorius* explained his Union of *Two Persons*, God and Man, but no difference in the *Kind and Manner* of Union.

But it will be still urged in behalf of his *Lordship*, that he acknowledges a *more perfect Indwelling of the Deity in our Saviour, than that had been which was in the Cloud.* Discourse p. 37. He doth so indeed, and the difference that he assigns is very remarkable, which he makes solely to consist in these two things.

1. In the Subject; *the Glory here was greater than in the other, viz. the Cloud. For that dwelt only in a Mass of meer inanimate Matter; whereas this dwelt in the Body and Soul of our Saviour: And a Soul (as his Lordship well observes) is a much perfecter sort of Being, than any the purest Matter possible.* All which is very certain, but nothing at all to the purpose, *viz. of the Union which we are now speaking of.* The 2^d. difference, he says, consists in the Duration of the Indwelling. *That in the Cloud had a determined Duration; but this in our Saviour was more permanent, and to last for ever.* But neither doth this make any the least difference in the Kind and Manner of Union, any more than the Union of the Soul and Body in two Men, whereof the one should die, and the other be *Immortal.* So here, tho' the *Cloud* be long since vanish'd, and our Saviour to abide for ever; yet the *Indwelling* of the Godhead is exactly the same: It must be but *Local* in both Instances, not *Personal* in either.

I come now to *Nestorius*, where I am first to consider his Opinion, which is very clearly, and indeed could not more effectually be discovered, than by his refusal of the word *θεοτόκος*, which was the Epithet usually given to the *blessed Virgin.* Now if *Nestorius* had been sincere in his Profession, and had believed our Saviour to be *really*, what sometimes he was willing *nominally* to stile him, *God*, he could have made no Scruple to have affirmed, that she who was *χριστοτόκος*, for so he was willing to account the Virgin, was likewise *θεοτόκος*; because the *Mother of Christ*, upon this Supposition, must be the *Mother of God.* But the truth of it was, that he did *Christum solvere*, dissolve that true *substantial Union* which was between two distinct and entire Natures in Christ; and, instead of that introduced only a *moral and figurative* one, such as might be between *two Persons.* And indeed *two Persons* can admit of no other; upon which account he was wont to stile him *θεοῦ υἱὸς ὁμοούσιον, θεοῦ καὶ συνύστατον*; one possessed of the Divinity, which

which he carried about him, but not *God*; that is, as we have often said, *truly and really*, but only by reason of that *union* or *relation* that was between him and the Man, in whom he dwelt: and as a consequent of that, of that *union*, *Participation* of Divine Graces, and Qualities, which did plentifully flow upon him from the Godhead, by virtue of that *Inhabitation*.

That *Nestorius* did allow no more, will very plainly appear from several Passages, with which his *Epistles*, *Sermons*, and other *Discourses* upon this Subject do abound. But before I produce them, I must *First* lay down the Notion of a *Suppositum*, which when it is endued with Reason is stiled a *Person*; not entering into a nice and Metaphysical Enquiry into the nature of *Subsistence*, and how it differs from *Essence* and *Existence*; but as it is taken in the common and usual acceptation.

Now that which is generally understood by a *Suppositum*, is, *1st*, that it is the *ultimate, compleat* Principle of all Actions and Operations, which are said to flow from it. *2^{dly}*, and consequently, that it is likewise the last *Subject* of denomination, both with relation to those *Actions*, which, as we said before, *proceed from it*; as also of those external Actions which are *conversant about*, or *terminated in it*. According to that known Maxim, *Actiones & passionēs sunt suppositorum*. The *Suppositum* is the *ultimate Principle* of Action, and the *Subject* likewise of all Passions, tho' it is both by the mediation of the *Nature* in which it doth subsist, which is the *next* indeed, and *immediate Principle* or *Subject* of those Actions and Passions.

This will more plainly appear if we consider it in Persons *compounded* of two distinct Parts, such as are Men, made up of a material and immaterial Principle, *viz. Body* and *Soul*. Here we shall find, that Eating, and Drinking, and Walking, are performed chiefly by the ministry of *the Body*; Knowing and Considering, Willing and Choosing, proceed from *the Soul*: yet it is *Peter* who is the Person made up of both, who is said to eat,

and drink, and walk, and understand, and choose; so the *external Actions* of Love and Hatred, Fear and Admiration, Honor and Contempt: those which bring Injury and Damage on one hand, Benefit and Advantage on the other, tho' they may be occasioned by, or conversant about, either of these *two parts more immediately*, yet at length are all *terminated* in the *Person*, who is the last and compleat Object of them. Thus it is *Peter* that is loved or feared, hated or despised, injured or benefitted, wounded or healed, &c.

And this is by reason of that *true, vital, substantial Union* that is between the Soul and Body, from whence results the *Person* of *Peter*, who is compounded of both. And wherever *two Natures* are thus united, there must necessarily upon this account result a *Communication* of Properties, not indeed from one *Nature* to the other, but to the *Person* who is made up of both. Thus the Properties of Soul and Body, tho' absolutely incompatible in the same *incomplete Nature*, yet are *united* in the same *Person*, and may be affirmed of him. Thus Colour, Features, *Symmetry* or just proportion of Parts, from whence arises *Beauty*, these cannot be in the *Soul*, which is immaterial. Learning, Virtue, Wisdom, Righteousness, cannot inhere in the *Body*; because being Matter, it is not a Subject capable of them. For which reason it would be false and absurd to say, that the *Soul* is white or black, beautiful or deformed: or on the other hand to say, that the *Body* is wise or foolish, learned or ignorant, just or unjust; yet of the *Man*, who is made up of both these parts, all these may be truly and properly affirmed.

Let this be but remembered, and then all the seeming difficulties and absurdities which attend the *Prædication* of the Actions, Passions, Properties of two such *distinct Natures* as the Humane and Divine, of the *same Subject*, viz. our *blessed Saviour*, will soon vanish. For tho' they are absolutely inconsistent in themselves, and cannot be affirmed of the *same Nature*, yet they may and must be averred of the *same Person* who is made up of both.

This

This will appear more reasonable, when we remember, that in our *blessed Saviour* there is not only a Union of *two Natures*, as in a Man who is made up of a material and immaterial Substance, both *partial* and *incomplete*, from whence did result a *Person*, who never did exist before, but owes his Being entirely to *that Union*. Here, on the other hand, we have two *perfect and entire Natures* united in *one Person*, who did subsist *before*, tho' not exactly in the same manner as he did *after this Union*. *Before*, he did *subsist* in *one*, viz. the Divine Nature, afterwards in *two*, viz. the Humane and Divine: of this we have nothing in the number of created Beings that can give us a perfect and adequate resemblance. *This Union* is best represented indeed by that of *Soul and Body*: but there are a great many things in which they differ, not necessary now to be mentioned: In short, here we have a perfect Man, compleat in every thing, but a *proper Subsistence*, united not only to a *Divine Nature*, but to a *Divine Person*, viz. the *Second* in the blessed Trinity, and assumed by him into the *Unity of his own Person*, so that these *two* were *one Christ*.

This being premised concerning the Notion of a *Person*, as it is taken and understood in the common acceptation of the word; I proceed now to shew, from undoubted Testimonies, that *Nestorius* did believe our Saviour to consist of *Two Persons* united together only by an *accidental, figurative, or moral*, but not by a *true, proper, substantial* Union, of which *two Persons* indeed are not capable, it being contrary to the very notion of *two Suppositums*, or *Persons*, who therefore can admit of no other than the former.

This will appear, 1st, by his refusing to give the blessed Virgin the Name of *Stork*, which was the first thing that brought him under a just suspicion, and the reason of all the Trouble and Disturbance that then happened to the Church upon his account. Several impious Sayings dropt from him in pursuance of this Denial, which were farther indica-

tions.

tions of his Opinion; such as, *Maria non peperit Deum, peperit Hominem*, θεῦ ὄργανον, or ὀργανῶν, *Deitatis instrumentum*: For such he acknowledged Christ to be, and no other would he truly be, according to his Notion of Inhabitation. Again, *Ego illum qui Bimestris ac Trimestris factus est nunquam Deum appellaverim. apud Evagrium, Lib. 1. c. 2.*

Now it is certain, that our Saviour was *Born* of the Virgin Mary; that after he was *Born*, his Age was measured by *Months and Years*. If therefore this *Man*, who was *Born* of the Virgin, whose duration was computed by the Revolutions of the Sun and Moon, as other Mens were, was not *God*, as he saith he was not, and he would never own him to be such, it was a plain Argument, and beyond contradiction, that he must account *God and Man two distinct Persons*; otherwise, if he had believed them to be *one Person*, then forasmuch as the *Person* is the subject of denomination, *i. e.* truly denominated from the Properties, Passions, Actions, which either *flow from*, or are immediately *terminated in* either Nature, as we shewed before in stating the notion of a Person: he must have owned that what was verified of *the Man*, must be affirmed of *God*; because God and Man were the *same Person*.

Now all good Christians, from the first beginning of Christianity, always accounted their *Saviour* to be their *God*, and that he could not have accomplished the great work of their Salvation except he were truly such. The ground of this their Belief was, that the Scriptures informed them, that the *Second Person* in the blessed Trinity, the *Son* of God, by virtue of an *Eternal Generation*, vouchsafed to descend from Heaven, and stooped so low as to enter into the Womb of the Virgin, where being *united* to our Nature, which was formed and conceived there, he submitted to a *second Generation, secundum Carnem*, according to the Flesh. So that this *Son of God* was truly *the Son of the Virgin*, and consequently, she that brought forth the *Man* was really the *Mother of God*. If

If this were not so, it could be for no other reason, but because he who was the *Son of the Virgin*, was not the *same Person* as was the *Son of God*: But we must have had *two Sons* and *two Christs*, which was always laid to the Charge of *Nestorius* by the Catholicks, as the just and necessary consequence of his denial of the Virgin to be θεοτόκος: ἄλλοι ἰσὺν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατέρα, καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεννητὸν, as *Theorianus* in his *Legat. ad Armenos* well expresses it.

The Instance which *Nestorius* gave of *John the Baptist*, to justify his refusal of the word θεοτόκος, mentioned by *St. Cyril*, lib. 1. contra *Nestor*. cap. 19. gives us so clear an insight into his Opinion, that it is beyond all contradiction. Concerning *John Baptist* it was foretold, saith he, that he should be filled with the *Holy Ghost* from his *Mother's Womb*; and so *John Baptist* was brought forth who had, or in whom the *Holy Ghost* did dwell. What then? will you call *Elizabeth*, who was the *Mother of John Baptist*, πνευματοκόμος, the *Mother of the Holy Ghost*? No, say we, by no means; for she neither was, nor could she therefore without Blasphemy be stiled so: because this *Presence or Inhabitation* of the *Divine Spirit*, was far short of a *personal Union*; otherwise, if the *Spirit of God* had assumed the *Humane Nature of John Baptist* into the *Unity of his own Person*, it might, and must have been said, that *Elizabeth*, who was the *Mother of John Baptist*, was likewise the *Mother of the Holy Ghost*. Because *John Baptist* and the *Holy Spirit*, upon that supposition, would have been one and the *same Person*.

This is no more then what we may be assured of from the principles of right Reason and true Philosophy. For as all *Agents* are denominated from their *Actions* which proceed from them; so the *Action* it self is specified and denominated from the *terminus ad quem*, the *Object* about which it is conversant, or the *Effect* which is produced by it. Now if the *Term* of this *Nativity* or *Generation* which we are now speaking of; or the *Person* who was born, was only a *Man*,
then:

then the *Woman* who brought him forth, being the Agent denominated from that Birth, must be only ἀνδρῶπιον, the *Mother of a Man*; as it was the case of *Elizabeth* with relation to *John Baptist*, who was but a Man, notwithstanding the *Presence* of the Holy Ghost in him. But if the Person born be truly and really God as well as Man, then she which bare him, must likewise be θεῶν, properly the *Mother of God*: not the Mother of the *Divinity*, or *divine Nature*, as if that could be generated, or receive a new Being, which did exist from all Eternity; none can be so mad as to entertain so wild and wicked an Imagination; but that he who was God, was born *secundum Carnem*, according to the Flesh, or humane Nature, which was conceived in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, and to which the Eternal Word united it self, by a true and substantial, and not by a local and figurative Union, by virtue of which God and Man became one Person.

It was otherwise with *John Baptist*, who was filled with the Holy Ghost even from the Womb, but without a personal Union; and therefore we might say, that when he was born, Cum eo, παρῆλθεν, *prodiit Spiritus sanctus*, the Holy Spirit came forth with him; for he was πνευματοῦργος, honoured with the *Inhabitation* of that Spirit, both before and after his Birth; whom therefore he did bear or carry along with him, when he came forth out of the Womb of his Mother. And this was all that *Nestorius* allowed of our Saviour, who often varied his Expressions indeed, but never altered his first Opinion concerning him. For when obliged to speak of the *Nativity* of our Saviour, he affirmed that the Person who was born of the Virgin was a meer Man, tho' ἀνδρῶπιον θεοφόρος, in whom the *Eternal Word* vouchsafed to inhabit, as the Holy Spirit did in *John Baptist*, in the Womb of his Mother: and therefore when he was born, this *Homo deiferus*, carried God along with him, who therefore might be said παρῆλθεν, *transire*, to come forth with him; but by no means would he allow him to be Born, nor consequently that the Parent of the Man was the Mother of God.

Nestorius

Nestorius his words to this purpose are very remarkable. *I do not envy*, saith he, *the blessed Virgin the Name of* χριστόκος, *I must own her to be venerable, τὴν θεομήτην θεὸν, who received God, (i. e. who dwelt in and was present with the Child conceived in her Womb, for which reason he was content sometimes to call her θεοδίκον) and from, or by whom, παρῆλθεν, proceeded or came forth the Lord and Master of the World. I fancy*, saith this vain Man, *you will commend and applaud this Saying of mine; but be not too hasty in your Commendations. Give me leave to explain my self: ὅτι ἔρηται μοι τὸ παρῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱωαννῆς. When I say he proceeded, I do not mean that he was Born of the Virgin: ὅτι ὅσον ταχέως ἐπληροῦμαι τῶν ἰδίων, I cannot so soon forget my self and former Sayings. τὸ παρελθὼν τὸν θεὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς χριστοῦ πατρὸς, παρὰ τῆς θείας ἐκδέχου γαστρὸς: τὸ δὲ γεννηθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκδέχου. That the divine Word proceeded from the Virgin Mother of Christ, the Scriptures have informed me. But that he was Born of her, I am no where taught to believe. Nestor. Quatern. 21. apud Conc. Eph. p. 21. Act. 1.*

Now from this Instance of *John Baptist*, produced by *Nestorius*, which he desires his Reader to consider with a particular attention, (ἰρταῦσα, saith he, τὸν νῦν συνδυαζο) as to that which would clear this whole dispute concerning the Virgin; and those who would not be convinced by it, he pities or rather derides as ignorant and unskillful Men: I say from hence it plainly appears, 1st, that the *Union* between the *Eternal Word* and the *Man Christ*, was, according to *Nestorius*, of the same sort with that of the *Holy Ghost* and

1 De beato Johanne Baptista prædicatur à sanctis Angelis, implendum esse infantem Spiritu sancto, adhuc ex utero matris suæ; atque ita Joh. Baptista Spiritum sanctum habens editus est. Quid igitur? Appellabisne ipsam Elizabetham Spiritus sancti genericam? Huc animam referte, ac si qui in nobis fuerint qui ad ea quæ dicuntur, tanquam ad inaudita ac insolita moveantur, veniam date illorum imperitiæ. *Nestor. Serm. 5. apud Mar. Mercat.*

John the Baptist: It might be more perfect and in a higher degree, but that makes no alteration in the manner and kind of Union. 2dly, That *John Baptist* and the *Holy Spirit*, notwithstanding this Union continued two distinct Persons; and so must Christ and the Word for the same reason. 3dly, That as *Elizabeth* could not be stiled *Spiritus sancti genetrix*, the *Mother of the Holy Spirit*; so neither could the *Virgin* be called *Deipara*, the *Mother of the Son of God*. 4thly, That as the *Inhabitation* of the Spirit in *John Baptist* could not entitle him to the Name of God; so neither could the *Indwelling* of the Eternal Word in our Saviour, give him a Title to that Name, i. e. truly and properly; but only by a *Metonymy*, as the *Cloud* was called *God*, if the *Exposition* be to be credited. And in this sense *John Baptist* might be stiled so too.

Lastly, That as *John Baptist*, notwithstanding the Presence of the *Holy Ghost*, was not the true Object of Religious Worship, nor ever was accounted such, that we know of, either by *Jews or Christians*: So neither, for the same reason, could our Saviour be so, notwithstanding the *Indwelling* of the Godhead. And much less could the *Cloud of Glory* be so. For here was only a bare Presence or local Union. But in *John Baptist* there was not only *coexistence*, *Conjunction* or *Contact*, but likewise, a participation of divine Graces and supernatural Qualities, which might render him more capable of, and more deserving this Adoration, then a lump of inanimate Matter.

Thus we see *Nestorius* denied the *Virgin* to be the *Mother of the Son of God*; and he did not only deny, but endeavoured to prove it by several Arguments equally absurd as impious, which we cannot now particularly insist upon; and made it his business to expose and ridicule the contrary Opinion, by stiling our Saviour *Deum bimestrem & trimestrem*, as we heard before; and comparing the Doctrine of the Christian Church

Church to the Opinion which the *Heathen Poets* had of their Gods, who give us an account of their Birth and Nativity, and of the Fathers and Mothers from whence they were descended. This shews us what was his settled and confirmed Opinion concerning our *Saviour* and his *blessed Mother*; the *first* he would never own to be *God*, nor the *second* the *Mother of God*, which was indeed the just and necessary consequence of that denial. And therefore if we sometimes find him affirming the quite contrary, calling our *Saviour God*, and his *Mother glorious*: it's plain, he did this fraudulently, in the *figurative*, and not in the *true and proper Sense*; for this he did not only *deny*, but, like another *Porphyry* or *Julian*, scoffed and derided it as an absurd and senseless Fable, as we heard before.

The *second* Argument, whereby it may be made evident, that *Nestorius* believed *two Persons* as well as *two Natures* in *Christ*, is, that he would not allow that what was *predicated* of the *Man*, could be *affirmed* of *God*; or *viceversa*, that what was *true* of *God*, could be *verified* of the *Man*. This could be for no other reason, but because he believed them to be *two distinct Persons*. Let us but carry in our minds the notion of a *Person* as we stated it before, *viz.* that a *Person* is the last, compleat *Principle* of all *Actions* which flow from it, and the *Subject* of all *Passions*, or the *Object* of all external *Actions* which are conversant about, or ultimately terminated in it; and is properly denominated from both; and then this Argument will appear with strength and clearness. For as *Vincentius Lirinensis* well expresses it, *Ea unitio statuenda est ob quam & indifferenter & promiscue, ea quæ Dei sunt propria attribuantur homini, & ea quæ carnis propria adscribantur Deo*. For we must know, that the true *Unity* of *Person* depends upon the nature of the *Union*. And

Ergo non culpanda est Gentilitas quæ Dñi matrem indicat. *Diffum Nestorii.*

therefore we must assert such a *Union*, as that from thence will arise a *true Communication* of Actions, Passions, Properties from the *Natures* to the *Person*; so that what is done by, or conversant about *either Nature*, next and immediately, by virtue of that Union beforementioned, is transferred upon the *Person*; not in a *Figure*, but *Reality*, who is truly denominated from both.

'Tis true indeed these things are ascribed to our Saviour in different respects, $\chi\tau\iota\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \kappa\upsilon\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$, with relation to the *two different Natures* of which he doth consist, yet are still truly and properly verified of the *same Person*, who is, if I may so say, made up of, and subsists in those two *Natures*. Now *Nestorius* would never allow this, that what was affirmed of the *Man* Christ Jesus, could be verified of the *Eternal Word* which dwelt in him; and indeed it was impossible that it should upon his Supposition: For *bare Presence* and *Inhabitation* could never constitute them *one*, but must leave them still *two Persons* to all intents and purposes.

Thus for instance, *Nestorius* would never allow, that he that was born of the Virgin was *God*, as we observed before, but *Homo Deo conjunctus*; nor consequently, that he who suffered and was buried, and rose again from the dead, was *God*.¹ He would not allow that the Church was redeemed and purchased with the Blood of *God*. That the *High-Priest* who offered the Sacrifice was the *Eternal Word*, because this Oblation was made by one *who was taken from among Men*, who was indeed $\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, but not $\theta\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, and ordained for Men in things pertaining to *God*. To think therefore that *God* should stoop so low, as to execute the Office of a *Priest*, and to offer Sacrifice, since he is the

¹ $\text{Ὁυκ ἀνέχεται θείως ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων, Nestor. apud Cyril. lib. 1. contra Nestor. p. 138.}$

$\text{Ὁυκ ἔν ὁ παθὼν ἀρχιερεὺς ἱλασμενός; παθεὶς δὲ ὁ ταῦτ' ἐν ὁ ζωνταῖος καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστίν, Socr. Lib. 3. p. 69.}$

$\text{Ὁ θείωτατος κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνθρώπων λαοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων καλίστατος τῶ νεκρῶ καὶ θείῳ. Ibid. p. 64.}$

Person to whom the Oblation is made, was in his Opinion a wild and senseless Imagination.

Again. He who *suffered*, and he who *restored* the suffering Person to Life again, were not the same; for *medicus dicitur videri, in iis moribus quos non videtur dedit.* The Seed of Abraham was yesterday and to day; but you cannot affirm that of him who said, *before Abraham was I am.* The one was born in Time; the other existed from all Eternity. He who was *partaker of Flesh and Blood was like unto his Brethren*; but not He who said, *Whoever hath seen me, hath seen my Father also.* It was not God that died, but a Man whom God afterwards raised from the Dead. We have hitherto without reason; and beyond all measure, aggravated the Treachery of Judas and Cruelty of the Jews towards our blessed Saviour: the one it seems betrayed only a *meer Man*, and he was no more whom the others condemned and crucified. *Cur gloriaris Judæe, non Deum sed hominem crucifixisti,* was the Saying of the Nestorians of old: you may raise an outcry against them if you please, and say, they *Crucified the Lord of Glory*; but herein you are mistaken; and so was St. Thomas, it should seem, who when he had seen the print of the Nails in the Body of Christ; after his Resurrection, and thrust his Hands into his Side, acknowledged him to be his Lord and his God. But he was mistaken, *et sic Iuxaphon dicitur iuxta.* It was not God, saith Nestorius, whom St. Thomas saw and handled, but a *meer Man*, and the Body of a Man: For God cannot be discerned by your Senses: tho' St. John tells us another Lesson, who assures us in his 1st Epist. chap. 1. ver. 1. that he and the rest of the Apostles, *saw with their Eyes, and beheld, and their Hands handled the Word of Life*; which Word in the beginning was with God, and was God; 1st chap. of his Gospel ver. 1.

1. Sic Nestor, apud Cyril. lib. 1. p. 138.

These Sayings of *Nestorius*, do beyond all contradiction discover his true Sense of this matter, viz. that the *Son of God* and the *Man* who was joined to him, were really two *Persons*, the one was not the other. *Σπέρμα Ἀθεοῦ ὁ Χρὶς ὃς σήμερον*, was not he who said *πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι*. He who was *ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς*, was not *θεός*, but *θεοῦ παῖς καὶ παρ*. *ὁ παῖς* was not *ζωοπαῖς θεός*. He who was partaker of *Flesh and Blood*, was *ὁμοῖος τῷ ἀδαμῶτι*, but not He who said, *ὁ ἐωρακὸς ἐμὲ ἐώρακε τὸν πατέρα*. Here is *ἀνυπερβῆναι*, καὶ ἐλίσσον, whereof the one is *ὁμοιος*, the other *ἀνόμοιος*.

Now if after these Expressions he should say it an hundred times, what now and then he did affirm, viz. that he did not believe *ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον*, two *Christs*, or two *Sons*, viz. the *Son of Man* and the *Son of God*, he were not to be credited.

It being impossible for words to express the distinction of *Persons* more clearly than his sayings beforementioned. The latter acknowledgments are to be interpreted by his former affirmations, which contain his fixed and settled Opinion, and which he never revoked. He altered his Expressions indeed sometimes, but never changed his Opinion, as we observed before. And therefore those numerous Quotations which his Lordship saith are produced by some in his Vindication, prove only this, that he had as little regard to *Modesty*, as he had to *Truth*; upon which account he made no difficulty to contradict himself, speaking backward and forward, as hath been the constant Practice of *Hereticks* in all Ages, who to avoid a Charge of *Heresie*, shuffle and prevaricate, say and unsay, change and alter the Premises, as they find occasion, but still hold fast the same Conclusion.

Now if *Nestorius* had meant honestly, when he sometimes said, that there were not two *Sons*, two *Christs*, who must be two different *Persons*, why then did not he plainly declare, that what was verified of the *Son of Man*, must likewise

likewise be affirmed of the *Son of God*. If it were the *Son of Man* that both died and was buried, and rose again; who after his Resurrection was seen by his Apostles, felt and handled by *St. Thomas*, ascended into Heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God; then all this must be verified of the *Son of God*, provided that they are but *one and the same Person*.

Oh, but it may be feared (saith this *Heretick*) that Men may hereby be led into some mean and dishonourable Thoughts of God, as if the *divine Nature* were capable of being born, and dead, and buried, &c. a ridiculous Suggestion. The *Godhead* could not be born indeed, but *he that was God* might, and was, if we believe the Scripture, which saith, *that the Son of God was made of a Woman*, Gal. 4. 4. The *Woman* then sure was the *Mother* of her own Son; who was *made* or born of her. This *Son*, thus *made*, was likewise the *Son of God*. Here are *two Nativities*, two Generations, one from all Eternity, the other in the Fulness of Time; but yet but *one Son*. The *Son of God* was the *Son of a Woman*, and that *Woman* consequently the *Mother of God*.

Nestorius indeed, to render the Opinion of his Adversaries the more invidious, was wont to turn the *Concrete* into the *Abstract*, and then to raise this brutish Clamour; What! can the *Godhead* be seen with the Eyes, and felt with the Hands? Can the *divine Nature* suffer, and die, and be buried, and rise from the Grave? No, it cannot; and his Adversaries (to whose Charge against his Knowledge and Convictions, he was wont to lay these Sayings, in order to render his own Opinion the more plausible, and theirs the more odious) had declared an hundred times, that no Man among them could entertain any such wild thought, which they disclaimed with the utmost detestation and abhorrence. But this they said, that He was *God* who was seen, and handled; who was arraigned, condemned, and crucified, and afterwards.

wards laid in the Grave ; not indeed in his *divine*, but *humane Nature* ; but it was but *one* and the *same Person* who subsisted in both Natures.

And this they said in conformity to the Language of the Scriptures, against which this Man might, and if he durst, no doubt would have raised the same outcry. The Calumnies with which he loaded St. *Cyril* and his orthodox adherents, might with equal Justice be laid to the Charge of our *blessed Saviour* and his *Apostles*, who affirm the direct contrary to his impious Opinions. *John Baptist* saith, 1 *Joh.* 27. 30. that *he who cometh after me, was before me*. This could not be true in the same respect, *i. e.* if affirmed of the *same Nature*, but yet was verified of the *same Person*. *Peter* to the Question proposed by our Saviour, *Matth.* 16. 13. *Whom do Men say that I the Son of Man am ?* returns this Answer, *ver.* 16. *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, i. e.* the natural and eternal Son of God, and not one who was made so in time, by Adoption and Grace. And *Christ* affirms of himself, in answer to the Question of the *Man born Blind*, *Joh.* 9. that *He* whom he then saw with his Eyes, after the restoration of his Sight, who then conversed with him, *was the Son of God* ; and that not *nomi-nally* and *figuratively*, but *truly and properly*. And so his words were understood both by his Friends and Enemies, as we shewed before.

Again. *He that ascended into Heaven*, was the same Person with him *who came down from Heaven*, who was then in *Heaven*, when he conversed with the *Jews* upon Earth, *Joh.* 3. 13. To the same purpose our Saviour expresses himself, *Joh.* 6. 62. *What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend into Heaven, where he was before ?* that is, before his Birth and Appearance in the World. The Apostles still preach the same Doctrine, That it was the *Blood of God* by which his Church was purchased, *Act.* 20. 28. That the *Man* whom the *Jews* crucified was *the Lord of Glory*, 1 *Cor.* 2. 8.

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The *same Lord* who was nailed to the Cross, was afterwards laid in the Grave, and rose from thence; and *this Lord* was God. *The Son of God* was made of the Seed of David, 1 Rom. 3. being at the same time the *Son of David* and the *Lord of David*. This indeed was verified *κατ' ἕνα καὶ δύο*, according to his *different Natures*. The *Son of David* after the *Flesh*, and the *Lord of David* after the *Spirit*, or divine Nature; but yet still the *same Person* of whom these seemingly different things are affirmed.

In short, we may safely put the Controversie between the *Church* and *Nestorius* upon this single Issue. Was he who was the *Son of God* by an eternal Generation, the *Son of David* by a temporal Generation, according to the *Flesh*? the Scripture saith so. Was he *who descended from Heaven*, the same with him who did afterwards *ascend into Heaven*? our Saviour positively affirms it. Was he *who was in the Form of God*, the same Person with him who *took upon him the Form of a Servant*, and *was made in the likeness of Men*? If we can believe *St. Paul*, he assures us he was. If so, then all is at an end. The *Son of God* was the *Son of the Virgin*; the *Virgin* was the *Mother* of her own Son, and consequently, the *Mother of God*: not the *Mother of the Godhead*, nor of the *Son of God* as to his *divine Nature*, but *specificative*, the *Mother of him*, who being the *Son of Man*, was likewise the *Son of God*.

Nestorius would never allow this, as we heard before, but altered the *whole Language* of the Scriptures, and our *whole Faith* with it; by introducing *two Sons*, *two Christs*, who were *two distinct Persons*, as well as consisting of two distinct *Natures*. His Lordship indeed, to soften the Opinion of *Nestorius*, tells us, that the making of *two Persons in Christ*, was, as some think, from many Citations taken out of his Writings, fastned upon him only as a Consequence by his Adversaries. *Expos. p. 52.*

Here I must make bold to enquire, what his Lordship means by the word *Fastening*? Was *Nestorius* injured by *St. Cyril* and the other Fathers assembled in the Council of *Ephesus*, who fastned a *wrong meaning* upon his words, and charged him with a consequence which could not fairly be deduced from them? so it seems by the following passage, in which it is intimated, that he was *misunderstood and ill used* upon that score. But what I have produced before proves the quite contrary, *viz.* that the *Eternal Word* and the *Man* to whom he was joined, and in whom he dwelt, were, according to him, *two distinct Persons*: and if he believed his own Expressions before cited, and a great many more which might be instanced in, he could not really *think*, tho' sometimes he might *speak* otherwise.

Sometimes indeed he and his Followers would say, that *God* and *Man* were but *one Person*, and that two Natures were united ἐν μοναδικῷ προσώπῳ. But this they did fraudulently, not meaning that those two Natures subsisted in *one proper Person*; for this Notion is absolutely inconsistent with all his former Expressions; but only that *two Persons* (for such *God* and *Man* were always esteemed by him) were *accidentally or morally*, by virtue of that *ῥῆσις* or *relation* that was between them, reputed and esteemed *one Person*. In which sense a *Man* and his *Wife*; a *Lawyer* and his *Client*; a *Tutor* and his *Pupil*, to some purposes, and in construction of *Law*, are often reputed *one Person*. Or else *figuratively*, by virtue of a *local Presence* or *Inhabitation*. But this was no otherwise than as the *Eternal Word* and the *Cloud of Glory*, or *John Baptist* and the *Holy Ghost* with whom he was fill'd, might be stiled *one Hypostasis*. So that when we find them making use of the words ἑνὸς προσώπου, ἑνὸς ὑποστάτου, they must be construed by their former settled and avowed Notions; by which it appears, that they meant not a true, *substantial Union* of two Natures, but a *moral Union* of two Persons. Here was according

ording to them ἑνωσις ρητικὴ, κατ' ἀναφοράν, κατ' ἀπαράθεσιν, κατ' ἐνέργειαν, κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ ἰσοτιμίαν, κατ' ὁμοκλίαν, which betoken an *accidental* or *figurative*, but not a *proper, essential Union*.

This *figurative* Unity introduced by the *Nestorians* is that which they were still charged with by the Orthodox, and is thus expressed by the fifth General Council: Δύο πρόσωπα προσφασὶς λέγοντες, κατ' ἑνὴν τὴν προσωποῖαν, καὶ τιμὴν, καὶ ἀξίαν, καὶ προσκύνησιν, καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον, καὶ ἕνα χεῖρὸν ὑπακρίνονταί λέγουσιν. This with what went before I hope is sufficient to evince, that *Nestorius* was justly charged by the Church with affirming two Persons in our Saviour, as that which unavoidably followed from his denying the blessed Virgin to be θεοτόκος. And if so, I hope there is no injury in fastening upon *Nestorius* the just and necessary consequences of his impious Opinion.

For my own part, I always thought that one of the best ways of *confuting* Errors, and putting a stop to the Growth of them, was not only by shewing them to be *false*, but likewise by discovering the *dangerous Consequences* that attend them. A *simple Falshood* may be capable of Excuse or Extenuation: But an Error that carries along with it *great Mischief*, relating to the Honour of God, the Welfare of Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, ought not to be looked upon with *indifference*. And that the Opinion of *Nestorius* was of that sort, I come now to shew.

He stiffly and to the last peremptorily denied that the blessed Virgin, who was undoubtedly the *Mother of Christ*, was θεοτόκος, the *Mother of God*; this was to imply, and in other words to affirm, that the *Eternal Word* which dwelt in the Man Christ, and was the *Son of God*, was not the *same* with the *Son of the Virgin*, otherwise it would have been a plain contradiction to have denied it. He therefore did hereby clearly introduce *two Sons, two Christs, two Persons*, ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον, whereof the one was not the other, but were clearly distinct from each other.

The *first* mischievous consequence of which was, that it did overthrow the truth and perspicuity of the Holy Scriptures, which still speak of God and Man but as of *one Person*, truly and properly such. Now to use his Lordship's words upon a like occasion, *p. 53. of the Exposit. When a whole set of Phrases in its utmost extent, is very often and in a great variety applied to our Saviour, it is not possible to preserve any Reverence for the New Testament, or the Writers of it, so far as to think them honest, not to say inspired Writers, if we can imagine that in so sacred and important a matter they should still represent our Saviour, who was both God and Man, to be but One Person, if really, according to Nestorius his Opinion, he was Two. For they say that Mary was the Mother of our Lord: that He who was born of her was the Son of God, so that the Son of God might be truly said to be made or born of a Woman. That he who was in the Form of God, was in the Form of a Man; that the Son of David was the Lord of David; that this Lord of Glory was crucified by the Jews, laid in the Grave, and was raised out of it. That the Word was made Flesh; and represent it as the great Mystery of our Religion, that God was manifested in the Flesh; by which something of a far different nature from bare Inhabitation must be understood: otherwise it would not have been a Notion so new and surprizing, that the World should be astonished at it.*

The Doctrine of a *divine Presence and Inhabitation* of God in his Creatures, was that which was not unknown to the *Gentiles*, who supposed, tho' wrongfully, that he was that divine Spirit which actuated and animated all parts of the Universe. The *Jews* had more regular and just Notions, among whom it was a known and common truth, that God had long *dwelt in the Cloud of Glory*; that he did always dwell in good Men, and in a more eminent manner in the inspired Prophets. But that he should be so *manifested in our Flesh*, as to be personally united to it, so that
God

God and Man were but *one Person*, this was a *Stumbling block to the Jews, to the Greeks Foolishness*, and which they constantly rejected as a thing that exceeded all humane comprehension. So *Trypho, Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, &c.*

2dly, This Opinion of *Nestorius* clearly overthrew the whole Mystery of our Redemption by Christ, in which there are these several things which ought to be seriously considered by all good Christians. 1st, The extraordinary Love of God to Mankind, which was in a most illustrious manner discovered in this, that *he sent his only begotten Son into the World*, to accomplish the Salvation of Mankind. So *God loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c. Joh. 3. 16.* These are the words of our blessed Saviour himself, in which he doth seem not so much to *describe*, as to *admire* this amazing instance of his Father's Kindness and good Will to Men. This indeed was the greatest Example of Affection that God ever did, or indeed that ever he could give to Mankind. *He did not spare his own Son.* This, as it shews the Severity of God's Justice, and his implacable hatred of Sin, that he would *not spare his own Son* when he stood in the room of Sinners; so doth it evidence his admirable Love to Mankind, in that he thought nothing too great, too dear, but that he would part with it for their sakes. Since we are thus the subjects of his Affection, there is nothing too great to be the object of our Hopes. For since he hath thus *given us his only Son*, how shall he not likewise with him freely give us all things? Rom. 8. 32.

But now, if this *Son of the Virgin*, who was thus delivered up and died for us, were not likewise the *Son of God*, the force of all these Considerations and Arguments are quite lost. *God sent a good Man into the World*, saith *Nestorius*, to whom he joined himself, and with whom he vouchsafed to dwell in a more eminent manner than he did in *Moses and the Prophets*. This might be an act of Kindness, but

but no such great matter as to cause Wonder and Amazement among Men and Angels, who desire still to pry into these things.

The *second* thing to be considered in this great Work of our Redemption, is the admirable *Humility* and *Condescension* of our Saviour, who undertook and accomplished it. He who was the *eternal* and *only begotten Son of God*, the *first born of every Creature*, is content to be made and born again of a *Woman*. He who dwelt in Heaven, came down from thence, stooped so low as to enter into the Womb of the Virgin, and submitted to a *second Generation*. He who was in the *Form of God* took upon him the *Form of a Servant*, and in it made himself of *no Reputation*; lived a mean Life, and died a shameful, ignominious, and an accursed Death. He who from eternal Ages lodged in the *Bosom of his Father*, when he came into the World had *no where to lay his Head*. He who had Heaven for his Throne, and was there encompassed with Raies of Light and Glory, and shone with such a Splendor to which no mortal Eye could approach, now appeared in an obscure, mean Condition, was contented to be *born in a Stable*, laid in a *Manger*, wrapt in *swadling Cloths*, as every common Infant is wont to be.

Who can think of this without amazement? and when we reflect upon the Occasion of it, *viz.* that it was all *for our Sakes*; that he was content to be miserable, to render us happy; to be poor, that we might be enriched; to become ignoble and despised, that we might be made honourable; to die, that we might live for ever; who, I say, can consider this without the highest transports of Gratitude and Affection? But now, if he were only a *meer Man* that submitted to this, and was thus humbled, (as he must be no more, if the Godhead only *dwelt* in him as it formerly did in the *Cloud of Glory*, which notwithstanding that Inhabitation was but a *meer Cloud* still) it will infinitely weaken
our

our Love and Gratitude to our gracious Redeemer, and the *Wonder* of his Condescension will quite vanish.

Thirdly, The next thing to be considered, is the End of our Saviour's Birth and Coming into the World, which was to accomplish the Salvation of Mankind. *For us Men and for our Salvation*, saith the *Creed*, *he came down from Heaven*. He took our Nature upon him, that in it he might be capable of *dying*, and by his *Death* to make an Expiation for the Sins of the whole World. And accordingly *by one Offering he hath obtained eternal Redemption for us*. Now this he could not do, if he who suffered for us had not been God as well as Man: His Death would not have been a *perfect Atonement*, nor his Oblation an *all-sufficient Sacrifice*; his Sufferings would not have been *meritorious*, his Blood could not by its own internal Virtue *take away Sin*, nor be of sufficient Efficacy to *purge the Conscience from dead Works*. It was necessary therefore that he should be God, that his divine Nature being united to the humane, it might put such a value upon his Sufferings, that they might become an *all-sufficient Ransom* for the Sins of the whole World.

This was one of the pernicious consequences with which the *Fathers* still charged *Nestorius*, that by dividing Christ into *two Persons*, the *Person of God* from the *Person of the Man*, who died and shed his Blood for us; he weakened the Efficacy of Christ's Sufferings, and totally overthrew their *Merit*; because the Death of a Man could not prove a full, perfect, adequate *Satisfaction* to the Justice of God for the Sins of Mankind. And they never dreamt of any other *Satisfaction* but what was *equivalent* to the demerit of Sin, and the Punishment of the whole World.

In short, the Redemption of the World, founded in a *proper and perfect Satisfaction*, could never in their Esteem be accomplished by the Death of any *meer Man*, how much soever dignified and distinguished from other Men by a *divine*.

divine Presence and *Inhabitation* of the *Godhead*, except likewise the *Godhead* were so *united* to that *Man*, as that thereby they became *one Person*, and consequently, that the *Sufferings* might be stiled the *Sufferings of God*, and the *Blood* by which he *purchased his Church*, the *Blood of God*. This was alwayes denied by *Nestorius*, and indeed not only denied, but derided likewise by him, as it was before his time by *Jews* and *Pagans*; as also by the *Gnosticks* and *Marcionites*, who thinking it a great *Dishonour to God* to affirm of him that he was born, and suffered, and died, and rose again, would needs persuade the *World* that all this was performed not in truth and reality, but *in fiction*, in appearance only; the senses of the *Spectators* were imposed upon, and the whole *Series* of our *Saviour's Life* and *Death*, according to these *Hereticks*, was only *Delusion* and *Imposture*.

To proceed. This *Opinion* of *Nestorius* was attended with this evil consequence, in the *Third* place, that it renders all that religious *Worship* which hath been ever paid to our *Saviour* in the *Christian Church*, absolutely unlawful. And therefore the *Fathers* always charged *Nestorius*, as they did *Arius* before him, with *Idolatry*, because He made a *Creature* the *Object* of religious *Adoration*. For our *Saviour* was no more in *Arius* his *Esteem*; and no better by the account of *Nestorius*. For the *Inhabitation* of the *Godhead* did not make him *one Person* with *God*. And it was a standing rule in the *Christian Church*, that no *Presence* with, or *Conjunction* of *God* to a *Creature*, which came short of a *personal Union*, could entitle that *Creature* to religious *Worship*. And therefore these Sayings of *Nestorius*, *Propter utentem id quod ille utitur colo, propter latentem adoro quod foris apparet, in eo non separo dignitatem: separo naturas, sed conjungo reverentiam*; they rejected with the greatest abhorrence; because, as they plainly intimated a *distinction of Persons* in our *Saviour*, so they did directly ascribe

ascribe divine Honour to a *Creature*, viz. a Man honoured with a *divine Presence*, and thereby entitled, as *Nestorius* thought, to the Name, and the peculiar Privilege and Prerogative of the Godhead. But the Fathers still rejected this pretence; and with an unmoveable Constancy still affirm that *God alone* is to be worshipped.

Before *Nestorius* his time, the Orthodox argued against the *Arians*, ἡ κτίσις ὁ ἄγιος λόγος ὅτι προσκυνητός. Christ was no *Creature*, because he was worshipped by Christians. The force of this Argument is quite overthrown by the *Nestorian* Supposition, that a *Creature*, by reason of a *divine Presence*, may be adored. For the *Arians* might have replied, that Christ, it's true, was but a *Creature*, but that he was honoured with the *Inhabitation* of the Godhead, and a participation likewise of all divine Graces and Qualities which might render him capable of, and highly deserving this Adoration. And indeed this Plea might be of far greater weight than any thing that could be affirmed of the *Cloud*: But this, how plausible soever it may appear to some in our times, was looked upon by the Fathers as a frivolous and impious pretence; because no *Union*, as we said before, which was less than *personal*, could entitle a *Creature* to share with God in the Honors paid to him; so that the Person in whom the Worship was ultimately terminated, was *truly* and not *nominally* only God. *Cognoscunt Ariani*, saith *Athanasius Epist. ad Adelphium*, *nos qui Deum in carne adoramus*, ἡ κτίσμα προσκυνοῦμεν ἀλλὰ τὸν κτίστην ἐνδυόμενον τὸ κτίσιν σῶμα.

St. Basil and *Nazianzen* still argue at the same rate. *Cum Christum adoramus, Deum esse illum fateamur non creaturam*, μὴν θεότης προσκυνητή. And at the same rate did *St. Cyril* and his Followers argue against *Nestorius*. *His adoro apparentem propter occultum, assumptum propter assumentem*, as we heard before, they rejected with indignation; and against all the attempts made by *Arius* and *Nestorius*, to introduce Idolatry

into the Christian Church, those great and good Men beforementioned still opposed as an impregnable Bulwark, what was urged by our Saviour against the Temptation of the Devil, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*

As this was the sense of the *Fathers* of old, so all good Christians, and particularly our *Protestant Writers*, declare it to be theirs, in their Writings against the *Papists*. For as these latter have revived the same pretences for the Worshipping of Saints and Images, as the *Nestorians* made use of old, *viz. a divine Presence and Inhabitation*; so our Writers make use of the same Arguments to confute *Papish*, as the Fathers did *Nestorian Idolatry*; particularly the late Bishop of Worcester, in the Book so often before mentioned, cites and approves of the Testimonies of the *Fathers* against the *Arians*, and of St. *Cyril* against *Nestorian Idolatry*. And always contends in opposition to the Arguments of the *Papists*, taken from the pretended Worship given by the *Jews* to the *Temple, Ark, Cherubims*, by reason of a *divine Presence*; that no such *Presence or Conjunction*, or any *Union less than personal* to the Godhead, will entitle a Creature to *divine Worship*. That the humane Nature of *Christ* is not otherwise to be adored than as it is united to the Divinity by a true *hypostatical Union*; because thereby the Worship is ultimately terminated in God. And that the *Christian Church* always believed that *Christ* could only be the Object of our Adoration as he was God. This he repeats again and again. p. 574, 714, 746, 844.

By all which it is evident, that if that learned Prelate always spoke consistently with himself, he could not approve of those positions beforementioned, laid down in the *Exposition and Discourse*, *viz. that an Indwelling of the Godhead in a Creature gives it a just Title to the Name of God, and that Adoration will become due to it upon that score. And that the Jews of old worshipped the Cloud of Glory because of*
God's

God's resting upon it. For, to say that the Eternal Word was *hypostatically united* to the Cloud, I believe will by most be accounted *Blasphemy*. To worship it without such a *personal Union*, in the Judgment of the Bishop, must be plain *Idolatry*.

Lastly, The last pernicious consequence of *Nestorius* his Opinion was, that by denying the *Incarnation* and *Birth* of the Son of God, he overthrew the whole Christian Faith, and the whole Oeconomy of Man's Salvation. And this was particularly laid to his Charge by the *Fathers* assembled in the *Council of Ephesus*. For at the opening of the Synod, they laid the *Nicene Creed* before the Assembly, and then they shewed that *Nestorius*, by denying the Virgin to be the *Mother of God*, denied the Faith in all the parts of it, as it was established in that, and in the *Apostles Creed* before it. In the *Apostles Creed*, we are instructed to *believe in Jesus Christ the only Son of God*; this Title is enlarged with a more full and explicit acknowledgment of his Divinity in the *Nicene Creed*, where *this only begotten Son, begotten of his Father before all Worlds*, is said to be *God of God, very God of very God, begotten not made, of one and the same Substance with his Father*. This only begotten Son, born before all Worlds, *for us Men and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man, not only present with, and joined to a Man, but really made Man*. And if God was thus *made Man*, by a true, proper Conception and Birth, then it is certain, that *this Man* thereby became *God*; not indeed by a change and transmutation of Natures, nor only by Adoption and Grace, but by a *true, substantial Union* of two Natures in *one Person*.

Now if *Nestorius* had truly believed the Doctrine contained in these *Creeds*, the Controversie between him and the Church would soon have been decided. For, was not the Eternal Son of God *begotten of his Father before all*

Worlds, conceived likewise of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary? the *Creed* saith he was. Was not he that was *born* of the Virgin her *Son*? yes sure, this cannot be denied. Was not she then the *Mother* of her own *Son*? this can as little be doubted of as the other. Lastly, Was not this *Son of God*, thus begotten of his Father before *all times*, and born of his Mother in *the Fulness of Time*, the *true and Eternal God*? yes, the *Creed* saith he was. *God of God*, and to take away all fraudulent and figurative Expositions of that Word, it says further, that he was *very God of very God*: Doth it not then follow from all this, that she who was the *Mother* of *this Son*, was likewise the *Mother of God*? no Man can be so senseless as not to see the necessary connection between all these; and consequently, *Nestorius* his denial of this was founded not in his *Ignorance*, but *Infidelity*, and obstinate denial of this great and fundamental Article of the *Creed*, viz. *that the Son of God was born of*, and thereby became the *Son of the blessed Virgin*. This was the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation* which he denied and derided, and argued against it as a thing that was both absurd and impossible; because if the *Son* was thus incarnate, the whole *Trinity* must be so too, in his Opinion. For thus he objected against the *Incarnation*, as his Friend *Acacius* of *Melitene* informed the Council of *Ephesus* at the first opening of it. *Act. i. p. 498.*

Now by denying this one Article, he did deny all the rest, and thereby subverted the whole *Christian Faith*; as *John Cassian* truly laid it to his Charge. For such is the necessary connection between the parts of our holy Religion, I mean the essential and fundamental Articles of it, that he who denies one, must reject all the rest. He who was *begotten* of *God*, was *born* of the *Virgin*: He who was thus born, *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, was *crucified*, *dead* and *buried*. Oh, saith *Nestorius*, I am not able to bear these Sayings, they offend, nay, they wound my Ears at the mention

tion of them. What! to say that God was *born*, and *suffered*; and *died*, this is *Plaga auditus mei, vulnus aurium mearum*. But *Nestorius* was not the first that shewed his dislike of these Sayings; *Jews and Heathens* long before were equally scandalized at them. They were to the *one*, a *Stumbling-block*; and to the *others*, *Foolishness*. But we are not ashamed either of the *Birth or Death* of the *Son of God*; which no Christian will disown; neither can they deny, but they must likewise turn *Apostates*, and renounce the whole Christian Faith.

With this *Apostacy* the beforenamed *Cassian* charges *Nestorius*, *Lib. 6. de Incarn. Dom. cap. 17*. By denying the *Son*, saith he, *thou dost deny the Father*; for he who denies him who was begotten, at the same time denies him of whom he was begotten. Again. By denying him who was born in the *Flesh*, thou dost deny him who was born after the *Spirit*, viz. by an eternal Generation: because it was the same Person, who being begotten of God, submitted to a second Nativity, and was afterwards born of a Woman. Now, by not believing him to be born, thou must at the same time not believe that he suffered. By denying his *Passion*, what now remains but that thou deny his *Resurrection*; for none but he that submitted to *Death* could be raised from the dead. The consequence of this is, that by denying his *Resurrection*, thou must disown his *Ascension into Heaven*; because he that ascended is the same with him that descended first into the lower parts of the *Earth*. And in the conclusion he thus expostulates the matter with this Heretick: ¹ *Quantum in te est, as far as in thee lies thou wouldest not have it believed that Christ rose from the Dead, or is ascended into Heaven, or sits at*

¹ Ergo quantum in te est, Dominus Jesus Christus neque ab inferis resurrexit, neque coelum ascendit, neque ad dextram Dei Patris sedet, neque ad illum qui expectatur examinationis ultimæ diem veniet, nec vivos ac mortuos judicabit.

at the right hand of God, or shall from thence at the last day come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And now darest thou continue in the Church, and account thy self a Priest and Bishop in it, who thus impiously deniest those Doctrines, upon the Profession, and for the defence of which thou didst receive thy Priestly and Bishoply Office? cap. 18. And in the 10th chap. of the same Book, he upbraids him with his Infidelity in a greater sharpness and severity of Style. *What hast thou to do in the Catholick Church, who dost thus prevaricate in the Catholick Faith? Why dost thou with thy presence pollute the Assemblies of God's People, who deniest the Faith that is common to them all? And darest thou yet stand at the Altar, ascend the Tribunal, and from thence expose impudentissimum ac perfidissimum os tuum, thy most impudent and perfidious Forehead to the view of the Assembly? Darest thou assume the Honour of the Priesthood, sit down in the Bishop's Chair, and profess thy self a Master and Instructor of others? who art ignorant of, or, which is worse, deniest the first Principles of the Oracles of God; (and with them God himself) For such these Articles of our Creed have always been esteemed.*

Perhaps it will be thought by some, that it was too great a presumption in *Jo. Cassian*, who was but a *Priester*, thus to oppose, and treat thus roughly, so great a Prelate as *Nestorius*. But here it is to be remembred, that the matter in dispute between them was not a Trifle, or a doubtful *problematical Question*, about which Men might safely differ: But it was a *fundamental Article* of our Religion, the denial

Intelligis itaque ô infelix & furiosa perversitas, evacuas te penitus omnem Symboli fidem, omnem spei sacramentique virtutem? Et in Ecclesia insuper stare ausus es & esse te sacerdotem putas, cum omnia illa denegaveris per quæ sacerdos esse capisti? Lib. 6. cap. 18.

Quid facis in Ecclesia Catholica, Catholicorum prævaricator? Cur cæcum populi polluis, qui fidem populi denegasti? Insuper, & consistere in altario, & conscendere tribunal, & offerre impudentissimum ac perfidissimum os tuum populo Dei ausus es, occupare cathedram præsumere sacerdotium, profiteri Magistrum? ô infania, ô furor, Doctorem te & Episcopum putas, Cum eum ipsum Deum deneges, cujus te adferas Sacerdotem? cap. 10. ejusd. lib.

of which did, by an immediate and necessary consequence, subvert the whole Christian Faith. This then was a point in which every Man who was called by the Name of *Christ* had an Interest, and which every one therefore should, to the utmost of his power, defend against all such who either *openly oppose*, or *secretly* endeavour to *undermine it*. And this he may do without softening the matter with *Apologies and Excuses*, as if he were *ashamed or afraid to profess*, and to his power *maintain* the Gospel of *Christ*.

2dly, We are to consider, that such is the malignant nature of *Herefie*, and the *Infamy* that justly attends it, that it takes away all that respect, which a Man's Place, Function or Character would otherwise entitle him to. It degrades a Man from his high Station, puts him upon the same level with every ordinary Person; and he may be treated likewise in the same manner; I mean without those Excuses or Prefaces of respect which otherwise his place might justly call for. Every Heretick, according to *St. Paul, Tit. 3. 11.* is *an impenitent*, self-condemned. This is particularly true with relation to the *Sacerdotal or Episcopal Office*: Here, *viz.* in the case of *Heretical pravity*, the Authority is quite lost. He who is infected with it pronounces his own Sentence, before the Censures of the Church pass upon him: So that he cannot take it amiss, if those who are otherwise his Inferiors, attack him with the same freedom as they would a *vulgar Heretick*.

This we find was the Practice of the *Ancient Church*, *Presbyters* opposed the Innovations of the Faith when made by *Bishops*, and were not then, according to the Language of our times, stiled *Haughty and Insolent*, or proclaimed *Enemies to publick Peace and Order*, for so doing. On the other hand, they treated such *Hereticks* with that Severity which they deserved, and their freedom was allowed by the Church,
and

and they applauded for it. When *Paulus* ¹ *Samosatenus* published his Opinions against the Divinity of our Saviour, it was followed by an Uproar of the whole Body of the Clergy; *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, to a very great Number, assembled at *Antioch*, to put a stop to this growing mischief. And when his Errors were fully made to appear, they no longer treated him as a *Pastor*, but considered, and fell upon him as they would upon a *Wolf* or a *Tyger*, who instead of *feeding, destroyed and devoured his Flock*.

For sometime, it is true, he prevaricated, and by several *fraudulent Arts and Devices*, after the manner of *Hereticks*, he imposed upon the Piety and charitable temper of several learned and *eminent Bishops* there assembled. But at a second Meeting at *Antioch*, his Errors were fully detected, his Artifices laid open, and he himself was in the conclusion, as he deserved, condemned and deposed by the Council. This detection was chiefly owing to the Sagacity and Labours of *Malchion*,² a learned Priest of *Antioch*; who was so far from being censured for this his opposition to his *Bishop*, that his Name stands upon Record in the Annals of the Church; and he is transmitted down with an honourable Character to our times; so that wherever this Story of *Paulus Samosatenus* is told, that likewise which *Malchion* did, *i. e.* the Zeal, Wisdom and Learning which he shewed in detecting and confuting his Heretical Opinions, is likewise told for a memorial of him.

And it is very remarkable, that the Opinion condemned in *Paul* at *Antioch* is in a manner the same with that which was censured in *Nestorius* at *Ephesus*. For as *Bishop Stillingfleet* observes in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, p. 35.

1 "Οι δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιμένες, ἀκούσαντες ὡς ἦν λυμώμενα τῆς χριστοποιμανίας συνέτασαν. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 27.

Μύριοι τε ἄλλοι ἄρα προσκυτέρις καὶ διακόνεσι. Idem. cap. 28.

2 Μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπακουστικῶς διήλεγξε Μαλκίον, αὐτὸν τε ἄλλα λόγιον, αὐτὸς μόνον ἔχοντα τῆς ἀμνι, κρυφίον ὄντα καὶ ἀπατιλὸν φερεσθαι τοῖς ἀιδοῦσιν. Idem. cap. 29.

Paul made use of all the arts to disguise himself that he could; and when he found the making Christ to be a meer Man would not be endured, he went from the Ebionite to the Cerinthian Heresie, affirming that the λόγος did dwell in him, and that there were two Persons in Christ; one Divine, and the other Humane: and two Sons, the one by Nature, the Son of God who had a Pre-existence; the other, the Son of David, who had no Existence before his Birth. This is the Opinion which Dyonisius of Alexandria, in an Epistle to the Church of Antioch, sets himself against, as that which was affirmed by Paul. Some learned Men, such as Valesius, Dr. Cave, Dupine, do not think this Epistle genuine, and from the Expressions in it relating to the two Natures in Christ, think it was writ after the Heresie of Nestorius. But as the Bishop well observes, that was no New Heresie, as appears by the Cerinthians; and it was that which Paulus fled to as the more plausible: which is confirmed not only by that Epistle of Dionysius, but likewise by what others of the Fathers have delivered concerning it.

Athanasius lays it to the Charge of the Followers of Paul, in his Book *de Incarn.* That they held two Persons in Christ, one born of the Virgin, and a divine Person which descended upon him, and dwelt in him. Epiphanius Hær. 65. to the same purpose, that the λόγος came and dwelt in the Man Jesus. Photius saith that Nestorius tasted too much of the intoxicated Cups of Paulus Samosatenus. Epist. 35. and that his Followers asserted two Hypostases in Christ. If this be so, then the Errors of Paul and of Nestorius were exactly the same. And to this Opinion Bishop Stillingfleet inclines.

Some other learned Men have represented their Opinions with some difference, as not exactly the same. So Marius Mercator and Leontius of old. But tho' there might be some Variety according to them; yet they all agree in this,

that *Paul* explained his Opinion concerning our Saviour by an *Inhabitation of the divine Word*, by which some thought he meant a *divine Person*, others, a *divine Energy* whereby *Christ* acted, and which dwelt in him. *But this Doctrine of the Divinity in Christ by Inhabitation was that which was condemned in the Synod at Antioch, and the substantial Union of both Natures asserted.* So the *Bishop*, p. 39.

By all which it appears, 1st, That if *Paulus Samosatenus* was justly reputed a Heretick, and censured as such, *Nestorius* must likewise come under the same Condemnation. 2^{dly}, That the Christian Church never thought this great Article of our Faith, concerning the *Incarnation* of our Saviour, rightly explained by the *Presence, Actuation, or Indwelling* of the Godhead in him; as it formerly dwelt in the *Cloud of Glory*. Indeed the *Bishop of Sarum* saith, *It was so taken and understood by the Jews, this being agreeable to their former Notions, and the only Notion that could be allowed by them without Objection and Opposition.* If this be so, then we have some tolerable account of the reason of that Favour and Protection which *Paulus* received from Queen *Zenobia*. She was a *Jew*, and professed her self to be of their Belief. *Paulus* to oblige her, suited his Doctrine to her Perswasion, as *Theodoret* expressly affirms. She, it seems, retained the ancient Notions of her Forefathers in Religion; *Paul* advances an Opinion which was exactly agreeable to it; against which she could make no exception, and therefore took him into her Favour, and by Her he was protected against the Sentence passed upon him at *Antioch*, and continued in the Possession of his See till *Aurelian* had conquered *Zenobia*, and by his Authority he was at last ejected.

But whatever *Zenobia*, as a *Jew*, might conceive of this matter, the Christians of those early and following Ages had other Notions of it. They always looked upon the Doctrine of *Inhabitation* as an *Heretical Opinion*, they condemned

demned it as such in *Cerintus*,¹ *Artemon*, *Paulus Samosatenus*, as they did likewise afterwards in *Nestorius*, *Photinus*; which latter asserted the *Pre-existence of the λόγος*, and its inhabiting in *Christ* from his Conception: which is thus explained by *St. Hilary de Trin. lib. 7.* That God, the Word, did extend himself so far, as to inhabit the Person born of the Virgin. This he there calls a *subtile and dangerous Doctrine*. For which, *Photinus* was deposed at *Sirmium*: and what was there done was universally approved, not only at that time, but ever after. So that as the foresaid Bishop *Stillingfleet* observes, p. 50. of his *Vindication*, we have the general consent of the Christian World, even in that divided time, against the *Photinian Doctrine*. And for the same reason they must condemn *Nestorius*, who agreed with *Photinus* in asserting that the Word had a pre-existence, and that the Name of the Son of God did belong to *Christ* after the Inhabitation of the Word.

And thus have I endeavoured to shew the pernicious consequences of *Nestorius* his Opinion: and I insisted the longer upon them for a particular reason, viz. to prevent an Excuse, both of late and formerly made in behalf of some Men, who have the boldness to oppose the fundamental Articles of our Faith, yet have the Wit to do it in an *artificial and oblique* manner: That is, they do not directly attack the Faith, but yet express themselves in such a way as by a just and necessary consequence subverts it. And here it is said, that Men ought not to be urged with the *Consequences* of their

¹ This *Cerintus* was a *Judaizing* Christian: This may give some color, for ought I know, to that Notion of my Lord of *Savum's*, viz. that the *Jews* understood our Saviour to be God only by virtue of the *Indwelling* of the Godhead in him; and if so, *Cerintus* might learn this Doctrine from them. But I think we may venture to affirm, that he could never receive it from the Writings of the Apostles, who give us a quite different Explanation of this Mystery of the Incarnation, tho' his Lordship determines in favor of this *Jewish*, or if you please, *Judaizing* Notion, which in those early times was accounted a dangerous Herefie: and what was Herefie then, upon due examination, I doubt not, will be found so still.

Opinion; especially if the matters treated of be of a *mysterious* nature, and above our comprehension. Here, they say, there is room for *variety of Expositions*, and room for the exercise of our Charity towards the Persons which offer them. For tho' they expound the Article in such a manner as destroys the *true and designed meaning* of it, yet they are to be freed from Censure, provided they retain the Words, and believe them in any Sense, which the *literal* and *Grammatical Construction* will warrant.

Now this is an *Apology* which, if allow'd, will do incomparably more mischief to the Faith than any open and avowed Opposition to it. For if once this *Latitude* be allowed, so as to come into fashion, Men may not only in time undermine our whole Religion by a *treacherous Explication*, but which will prove more fatal, all liberty of detecting and opposing so pernicious an attempt will be quite taken away. For the answer here is ready: The Man believes the Article, he professes and is ready to subscribe the Words of it. 'Tis true, his Interpretation overthrows the *intended* and *generally received Sense*; but Men are not to be urged with the *Consequences* of their Opinions; especially if the subject of them be high and *mysterious*; here they may be mistaken, and their Mistakes call for our Charity rather than a Confutation. The former will shew us to be Friends to Peace: the latter, Promoters of Strife and Contention, which will do more Mischief to the Church, than all our Zeal can recompence in behalf of curious perhaps, but useless Speculations.

What shall we here say? Shall we part with our Religion, and the Articles of it, in compliance with these *Pleas for Peace and Moderation*? Noe, *non sic abibunt odia*. The Faith is a *sacred Depositum* committed to our Care, to be preserved inviolable and entire; and we cannot without the highest Treachery deliver it up to these empty, tho' popular pretences. 'Tis true, a Man is not always to be charged with the ill consequences of his Opinion, and that particularly

larly in two Cases. *1st*, When the Subject of the Dispute is *doubtful*, and where a great many things may very probably be urged, both from Scripture and Reason, on both sides of the Question. And this may probably be the case of the *quinquarticular* Controversie, as it is managed by the wiser and sober Persons on both sides. *2dly*, When the consequences are such as do not *easily*, and as it were appear upon the *first View*. That is, when they do not *immediately* flow from the Principles or Positions laid down, but must be drawn from thence by *long and laborious Deductions*; such which a wise Man cannot easily foresee: In this Case a Man may not charitably be urged with them, if after the discovery he sincerely disowns them. And yet even in this Case a Man may endeavour to confute such an Opinion which he takes to be false, by shewing the consequences which attend it. But this properly respects the *Error*, without any rigid Censure, and much less a Condemnation of *the Person*. The reason of this is evident, because the matter in debate is not so plainly declared, but that it may admit of different Explications, without any Injury to the common Faith: and this may be the Case of that Article concerning *Christ's descent into Hell*.

But in *Fundamental Articles* no such Excuses can be offered, nor ought to be allowed. All such pretences are cut off, by the *plain Expressions* of Scripture, joined with the *Declarations* of the Catholick Church; whereby the Sense of the Article, after long and serious debates hath been determined, and by which all Lovers of Truth and Peace should think themselves concluded. All opposition either to the *Sense or Words* of such Articles is inexcusable, as being the effect of *Pride, Obstinacy, Faction, a turbulent Temper*, tho' cloaked and covered over with the specious pretences to *Charity and Moderation*. And, in short, it is for the most part, to be resolved into *Heretical pravity*, which lies at the bottom of all this, and which makes Men refuse the *Language* for

for the sake to be sure of the *Doctrines* of the Church, which hath, as I said before, been contrived and settled after long and mature Debates, as the *best Fence* for the Security of the Faith, against the *Innovations* of crafty and designing Hereticks.

And this was the Case of *Nestorius*. His Opinion was destructive of the common Faith; this appeared by his refusing the Word *θεοτόκος*, by which the Mystery of the *Incar-nation* had been wont to be expressed by the Church. For that was an *Ecclesiastical* word used long before *Nestorius* his time. And therefore his Friend *John* of *Antioch*, who laboured all he could to skreen him from publick Censure, and was but too partial in his Favour, was very sensible of this, and therefore in very earnest and passionate Expressions endeavoured to persuade him not to decline that Word, which frequently and expressly was made use of by many of the *Fathers* and *Ecclesiastical* Writers, but never refused by any of them. That the refusal of this Word would shew him to be a Man of Pride, Vanity, Conceit, who opposed his own singular Notions to the Judgment of all who went before him; and thereby disturbed the Peace and Tranquility of the Church. The Epist. inserted into the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, *Part 1st*, is well worth the Reading. But nothing would prevail. This obstinate Man continued still to the last to oppose the *Faith* and *Language* of the Church, for which he was at length deposed by the *Council*, and the whole Church hath since ratified that Sentence, by their Approbation of what the Fathers there assembled did, and ever since reputing *Nestorius* a *Heretick*.

All which put together will be sufficient reason for us to shew our dislike of that position laid down by his Lordship in *pag. 52.* of the *Exposit.* *That we are not at all concerned*, viz. in the Matter of Fact, *whether Nestorius was misunderstood and ill used or not.* Now this pronoun *we* being here placed indefinitely, without any other Words which limit and determine

termine its signification, we cannot tell how far it may reach; nor whom it may comprehend; and therefore it is necessary it should a little be enquired into.

By *we* therefore doth his *Lordship* mean we of the *Reformed Churches*: If so, I think I may venture to say, that he hath not any just warrant to include them. Look but into the *Harmony of their Confessions*, and you will find them readily declaring their hearty Agreement and Consent with the *Ancient Church*, approving the Doctrine expressed in the *Creeds*, established in the *Four General Councils*; condemning the *Heresies* which were there declared contrary to the *Catholick Faith*. Some of them particularly naming *Nestorius* with a detestation of his Opinions, and at the same time making honourable mention of St. *Cyril* and the *Council of Ephesus*.

The *Church of England* sure can be as little suspected of an *indifference* in this matter, as any of the other *Foreign Reformed*; which hath upon all occasions declared so great a Reverence for the *Discipline, Doctrine, and Decisions* of the *Ancient Church*. Our Articles indeed do make no particular mention of *Nestorius*, but they do in express terms approve of the *Three Creeds*; in the latter of which, *viz.* the *Athanasian*, the Expressions made use of to explain the Doctrine of the Incarnation are, as his Lordship himself confesses, p. 106. directly levelled against the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian Heresies*. I think therefore I may venture to say, that *we, viz.* the Members and Sons of this Church, are not of the number of those who are thus *unconcerned* in this matter of Fact: we have a greater regard for the *Catholick Faith*; a greater reverence for the *Four General Councils*, and particularly that of *Ephesus*, and the *Fathers* assembled in it, then to think that they did rashly and uncharitably, without due care to inform themselves, and without just reason, condemn an innocent Man, and depose him, and transmit him with a mark of Infamy to all future Ages. *Socinians* and
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the Followers of *Episcopius* may perhaps make such Reflections; but those who are sound Members of this Church, God be thanked, are not of that number.

I cannot then imagine in whose name and by whose warrant his *Lordship* speaks, when he pronounces so positively, that *we are not concerned in this matter of Fact*. Perhaps he doth not declare the Sense of this whole Church, but only of those several Bishops and learned Men who have perused and approved this *Exposition*. His *Lordship* names but few, and the rest are comprehended under that general Character of *several Bishops and a great many learned Divines*; and therefore I can say nothing of Persons whom I have not the honor to know, and from whom therefore I can have no warrant to say any thing expressly, either one way or other.

But there is one Person indeed named, for whom I dare venture to speak, or rather *tho' dead*, he yet *speaks for himself* in the Writings which he hath left behind him, *viz.* Bishop *Stillingfleet*; I am sure he did not discover this *Indifference*. For in his *Book of Idolatry* beforementioned, he still in conformity with St. *Cyril* and the other *Fathers* of that and the after Ages, represents the Opinion of *Nestorius* as that which *did divide and separate the two Natures in Christ*. That the *Humane* had no *hypostatical Union* with the *Divine*. That according to the *Nestorians* *Christ* was to be considered as a *Humane Person*. That he was not God, but *homo Deifusus*, in regard of the *Humane Nature* which had the *Divine Nature* present, but not united to it. That their *Worshipping of Christ* was upon that score unlawful; that they were condemned for it by the *Christian Church*, because they did suppose only a real Presence, but no real Union between the two Natures in *Christ*. And in short, that there were two things which not only particular Persons, but the whole Church, blamed in *Nestorianism*. 1st, The *Heretical Opinion*, and, 2^{dly}, the *Idolatrous Practice* pursuant to that Opinion, *viz.* of the Separation of the two Natures in *Christ*. p. 846, 847. And in his

his vindication of the Trinity, p. 19. He represents the opinion of the Cerinthians, that they held an illapse of the λογος upon our Saviour, and so made him a kind of a God by his presence, as, saith he, Nestorius did afterwards.

Now he that had these notions of *Nestorius* and his opinion, could not possibly, one would think, shew himself so unconcern'd in this matter, as to leave it to the discretion of his Readers, to judge as they pleased, and either to condemn or absolve him indifferently as they thought fit. On the other hand 'tis certain, he hath determined in favour of the Church, and that if his Readers will be govern'd by his judgment, they likewise must think, that *Nestorius* was used according to his deserts; i. e. he was justly condemn'd for advancing an *Heretical opinion*, and promoting an *Idolatrous practise* consequent thereupon.

Nay if his *Lordship* had not made this declaration, I think I might have ventur'd to say, that he himself is not of the number of those who are unconcern'd in this matter. For tho' he doth not express himself directly in favour of *Nestorius*, yet he hath said enough to let his Readers understand what thoughts he had of him, both as to *his opinion*, and the *usage* he met with from the *Council of Ephesus*. Besides what hath been said relating to this matter in the foregoing papers, I shall consider both these a little farther.

His *Lordship* explains this Article of the *Incarnation*, as *Nestorius* did, by an *indwelling and inhabitation of the Eternal Word in our Saviour*, which doth import a *presence*, but no *real union* between both natures in Christ. This farther appears, beyond all possibility of a reply, from the conformity which he declares was between the *indwelling of the word in Christ*, and its *inhabitation in the Cloud of Glory*, where to be sure there was only a *local presence*, but no *personal union*. This was his *Lordship's* constant and settled notion; not deliver'd at random, or taken up in haste, but the result of serious

and mature deliberation; so often repeated by him upon all occasions, wherever this Article of the *Incarnation* comes to be mention'd, that we cannot possibly *misunderstand his Lordship*, or *mistake his meaning*. As appears by the testimonies before cited out of his *Exposition* and *Discourse*.

To which we may add what is to be found in his *Letter to Bishop Williams* p. 93. where he tells us, *there was no other notion in which the worship of our Saviour could give the Jews no offence, but that of the Godhead's dwelling bodily in him, viz. as it did in the Cloud in the days of their forefathers. We cannot conceive there was any other Idea of this matter but this, which was both suitable to their doctrines, and the practise of their forefathers during the first Temple.* The consequence of this notion is, that there are in our Saviour not only *two natures*, but likewise *two persons*. For as the *Eternal Word* and the *Cloud* were *two Hypostases*, whereof the one was only *present* with, but not *substantially* united to the other. So it was here, the Son of God was *present* with a *Human person*, who was actuated and influenced by him. This was laid to the charge of *Nestorius* of old, as we heard before. And his *Lordship* is so far from disowning this, that he represents the contrary notion, which yet was the constant opinion of the Church, as a *new and unexplicable subtilty*. For thus in his discourse, p. 33. he expresses himself. *Here new subtilties have been found out to state the formal notion of a person, which was supposed to consist in a special subsistence: so that it hath been thought that the humane nature in Christ had no special subsistence of its own.*

'Tis true the Fathers always thought so, and by this notion they explain'd the *real distinction* between the *three persons* of the blessed Trinity; and by this they proved that the Son of God assumed a *human nature* and not a *human person*. But, saith his Lordship, *it is not easy to explain this notion; since if subsistence belonged to the human nature, it might seem that it was not perfect if it had not a proper subsistence, of its own.* This was the constant objection

objection of the *Nestorians*, which his *Lordship* makes his own, and thinks it unanswerable. He saith, indeed, *that a Hypostatical union was proposed as a term fit to explain this by, that is, the human nature was believed to subsist by the subsistence of the word*: But, saith his Lordship, *it was not easy to make this more intelligible by offering a notion full as unintelligible as it self*. Thus doth he expose the doctrine of the Church, as an intricate and abstruse notion, formed not to explain, but to perplex a point, in which he saith, *we may arrive at distinct Ideas, or somewhat very like them*.

And it must be allowed, that the doctrine of *Inhabitation* is a more *intelligible notion*, than that of a *Hypostatical union*. But this will not be sufficient to determine in favour of the former against the latter: for what is easiest reconciled to our notions is not alwas most agreeable to truth. The Church hath thought so in this matter; for she hath declared for the *Hypostatical union*; but hath always judged the doctrine of *Inhabitation* to be an *Heretical opinion*, and hath accordingly condemned it in the persons of *Cerinthus*, *Paulus of Samosata*, *Nestorius*, *Photinus*, as we heard before. So much of the opinion of *Nestorius*.

Let us next consider whether his *Lordship* is altogether unconcern'd at his *usage*, whether he were *misunderstood or illused or not*. I should fancy he is not; because he plainly intimates, that it may be made to appear by *numerous citations taken out of his writings* that he did not hold the opinion for which he was censured and deposed: and then to be sure he could not but think he was not *rightly understood*, and very *unjustly punished*. In his *Letter to Bishop Williams*, being charged with favouring the opinions of *Nestorius* by his *Socinian* adversary: he makes this reply, p. 93. *we do not certainly know what Nestorius his opinion was*. If so, no doubt his true opinion was not rightly understood, because it is not certainly known what it was. The inference that every body must draw from hence is, that he was ill,

and indeed barbarously used, to be condemn'd thus at random. The *Fathers* assembled at *Ephesus* acted carelessly and inconsiderately, but this poor man felt the sad effects of their rashness and inconsideration.

But why doth his *Lordship* say, that *we have no certain knowledge of the opinion of Nestorius*? He may much better say that we do not know what the doctrines of *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Arrius* and *Photinus* were. For we have a very considerable collection of his works, viz. his *Epistles*, *Sermons*, *Discourses* preserved in the writings of *St. Cyril*, inserted many of them in the *History of the Council of Ephesus*, translated by *Marius Mercator* into Latin; and both *Latin* and *Greek* published by *Garnerius the Jesuit*; where every reader may without much trouble easily consult them: and by them we may readily and certainly find his opinions, and have greater opportunities of knowing them than those of any of the other *Hereticks*, condemn'd in the three other *general Councils*: so that if this want of knowledge of his opinions be an excuse, the other *Hereticks* have a much better claim to it than *Nestorius*.

The Bishop proceeds. *If the doctrine of Nestorius was, that he did not allow the term of the Mother of God to be due to the blessed Virgin, and that all that was farther charged upon him, was only a consequence drawn from that, then this was no heinous matter*: No! I thought it had; and by all that I have said before, the contrary, by this time, I hope is made fully to appear. I think that both his *denyal* and the *consequences* drawn from it were of a *very heinous nature*. His refusal of the word *θεοτοκος* was an infinite disparagement to our blessed Saviour, because thereby it appear'd, that He who was the *Son of the Virgin*, as our Saviour certainly was, was not *the Son of God*. It contradicted the holy Scriptures, which expressly affirm that *what was born of her was the Son of God*; and consequently, that the *Virgin* was really, what *Elizabeth* styled her, *the Mother of her Lord*.
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This word in the New Testament was equipollent, as his *Lordship* hath observed, to the word God. For the Jews who put the old Testament into Greek translated the name *Jehovah* by the word *κύριος*, so that according to the Jews phraseology, *κύριος* and *Jehovah* were but one and the same thing, Disc. p. 35. Not now to repeat the other pernicious consequences of this denial before-mention'd.

This sheweth, that to give or refuse this name to the blessed Virgin, was no *indifferent matter*. It was a thing of the highest importance, as St. *Cyril* told the Fathers at the opening of the Council; not a bare contention about an insignificant word: *ἅπας ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τὴν πίστεως ἀγών*. It was that upon which the whole controversy between the *Catholics* and *Nestorians* did depend. And therefore it will become us to be in good earnest concern'd likewise about it.

But saith his *Lordship*. The doctrine laid to the charge of *Nestorius*, was justly condemn'd. But I pray what was that? was it not the doctrine of *Inhabitation*, and dividing the natures in Christ, and thereby making *two persons, two Christs*? and is not this the very same which we find fault with in the *Exposition*? But taking it for granted, that the doctrine condemn'd by the Church was bad, but that it was unjustly charged upon *Nestorius*, what will the consequence of this be, but that the *Fathers at Ephesus* must be reputed a company of ignorant, rash, and wuthal malicious men, who without due information and a previous knowledge of his opinions, condemned an innocent man, and fastned what consequences they pleas'd upon his words, which might be capable of a right and fair construction. They acted without judgement and without charity; and being hurried on by I know not what furious passions, they culled out an

1 Οὐ πρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντων κηρυτταμένων πραγμάτων.
 Concil. Eph. p. 504. Edit. Labb. 2 Εἰς σαφὲς ἔννοειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἅπας ἡμῖν
 ὁ πρὸς τὴν πίστεως ἀγὼν ἐγκυρόταται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιθέτως, ὅτι εὐσεβείας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγία παράδοσις,
 Cyrill. Epist. ad Johan. Antioch. apud Conc. Eph. p. 1108.

innocent

innocent man to be the object of their rage. They dealt with him as the *Heathens* of old did with the *primitive Christians*, who cloathed them in the skins of wild beasts, and then expos'd them to be wooryed and torn in pieces on the Theater.

Might not *Nestorius* take up the complaint of *St. Paul* and say, that *he fought with beasts at Ephesus*, men as cruel and mercylefs as they: who cloath'd him with I know not what *Heretical opinions*, and then expos'd him to the fury and indignation of the Christians of that, and all future ages: who can have any reverence for *general councils* after this? Are these such assemblies, as that their determinations should be esteem'd and receiv'd with a veneration next to the *four Gospels*? Can the *Spirit of God* preside over and influence the Councils of these men, who are thus hurried on by a blind malice, and an ignorant rage: a zeal without knowledge and without mercy? We may as well think that the *Holy Ghost* was sent in a *cloakbag from Rome to Trent*, as that he should accompany *St. Cyril* from *Alexandria* to *Ephesus*, and direct the resolutions of that synod, where such a rash, mercylefs man presided.

These are the reflections that will naturally offer themselves to men, upon supposition of this *misapprehension* of *Nestorius* and his *ill usaze* that follow'd it. And no doubt they will afford no small pleasure to the disciples of *Soci-nus* and *Episcopus*, who know there can be no more compendious or successfull way of subverting the Catholick Faith, than by undermining the reputation of the *Ancient Catholick Doctors*, and the *Councils* in which they were assembled.

For tho the *Faith* doth not depend upon the authority and decisions of men, i. e. *in it self*: whose truth and certainty arises from other grounds and principles; yet the *determinations of the ancient Church* ought to have a great influence upon us and *our perswasion*. And therefore to weaken the
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the esteem and reverence which hath generally; and upon very just reasons, been paid to them, will at long run affect the *authority* of the holy Scriptures themselves, and consequently the *truth* of the mysteries of our holy Religion which are therein contain'd. And indeed next to the holy Scriptures, the *uniform opinion* and *practise* of the early professors of the Christian Religion, are the greatest confirmation of the truth of our doctrines, and the best fence against the attempts of *Innovators* of all sorts. And therefore we find the persons before-mention'd, viz. the disciples of *Socinus* and *Episcopius*, labouring with all their might to remove that esteem which men may have of the Ancient Fathers; and by several false, groundless and uncharitable suggestions, endeavouring still to weaken their reputation.

I must confess, that by so doing, they act wisely enough, like *Children of this world*. For besides that, their *authority* and *determinations* are the great rub they still meet with, and the obstacle in the way of their *new fangled opinions*, which can never prevail as long as men retain any reverence for *antiquity*, which is so directly opposite to them: they hereby provide for their own safety and indemnity. For if once the *primitive zeal, courage and concern* for the Faith which was so conspicuous in those great men who were assembled in *General Councils*, should be reviv'd; the writings of some men and the evil opinions contain'd in them, which now pass not only with impunity but approbation, would not then escape a just reproof and censure. But enough of this at present.

Having thus examin'd his *Lordship's Exposition* of the doctrine of the *Incarnation* as laid down in the Article; I come briefly to consider what he saith upon the last part of it, which contains the reason and ground of this wonderful dispensation, viz. that the *Son of God* being made *man*, might be capable of *suffering and dying for us*; where
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we have farther expressed the end of those sufferings, viz. *that thereby he might reconcile his Father to us; and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but likewise for the actual sins of men.*

Here indeed his *Lordship* acknowledges that the death of our Saviour was a true, expiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind; that it was not only a confirmation of the truth of his Gospel, a pattern of holy and patient suffering death, and a necessary preparation to his resurrection, in which the *Socinians* make the great efficacy of it to consist; but that he died *in our room and stead*; and therefore that his death is propos'd to us as *our sacrifice* whereby we obtain *reconciliation, atonement and redemption*. But yet for all this it cannot be allow'd that what is here delivered is a *just Exposition* of the Article; for tho' it contains *the truth*, yet it doth not declare the *whole truth* which yet was of great consequence to be here inserted. It being but reasonable to expect, that the *exposition* of the Article should be *full and compleat*, in order to guard it from the attempts of its enemies of all sorts.

Now besides the *Socinians*, who are the bold and open *enemies of the cross of Christ*, and deny his death to be a *proper sacrifice*, the *Remonstrants* ought not to be overlooked: who, tho' they own a *sacrifice*, yet constantly deny that any *true and perfect satisfaction* was thereby made to the justice of God. The *Socinians* then and the *Remonstrants*, tho' they differ in some things, yet in others they very well agree, and particularly in two, which call for our observation and dislike. The first is, that they deny the death of Christ to be strictly and *properly a punishment*. The *Remonstr.* indeed style it *pæna vicaria*, by which an unwary reader would be apt to imagine that they meant, that our Saviour underwent a punishment *vice nostra*, in our stead. But when we come farther to consider it, we find it amounts to no more, than this, that his sufferings were
afflictions

afflictions or calamities which he endur'd indeed for our sakes and in our room; but that his death was not *truly a punishment*, but was *loco* or *vice pœnæ*, serv'd instead of a punishment, and which God was pleas'd to esteem and accept for such. This was the constant and settled opinion of *Episcopius* as well as *Socinus*, that it is absolutely unlawful that one man, upon any pretence whatsoever, should be *punished* for the sins of another.

The second thing in which they agree is, that when they speak of a *satisfaction* made to God by the death and sufferings of our Saviour, they both mean that this satisfaction was made to the *will* and not to the *justice* of God. That God was *well pleased* with the *obedience of Christ* in his patient enduring of sufferings, and submitting to death in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, is acknowledged by *Socinus* and his followers; nay so highly *satisfied* with it, that for the sake of that he was willing to reward him with the power of forgiving sins. And the *Remonstr.* when things come to be examin'd, mean little more, tho' their expressions seem sometimes to carry this matter a little higher. According to them, there is no *true satisfaction* made to the *Justice* of God. For *Justice* cannot be satisfied but by a *punishment*; there is a necessary and essential relation between these two. But the death of Christ, if they are to be credited, was not truly a punishment.

'Tis true God was pleas'd to accept of the death of Christ *as a sacrifice* for the expiation of sin, and upon that score to release the sinner from the obligation to punishment. But all this is to be resolv'd into the *divine pleasure and acceptance*. The sufferings of Christ were no *true punishment*, but served *vice pœnæ*, as we heard before: and much less were they a punishment *equivalent* to the guilt

1 Potest Christus certo sensu dici loco nostro punitus, quatenus pœnam vicariam, pro divino beneplacito sibi imponendam, hoc est, afflictionem, quæ pœnæ vicem sustinuit, in se recepit. *Limb. Theol. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 22. sect. 2.*

and demerit of mankind. Now with relation to both these particulars his *Lordships* exposition is deficient, and therefore cannot be pass'd by without notice and dislike.

For first, when he comes to speak of the sacrifice of Christ, he doth not any where directly and expressly call his death *a proper punishment*, which yet was necessary to be done to guard it from the *treacherous explications* of the *Remonst.* as well as the *plainer denial* of the Socinians. 'Tis true, in stating the general notion of an expiatory sacrifice p. 53. he doth acknowledge, that, *according to the notion entertain'd of it by Jews and Gentiles, the sin of one person was transferr'd on a man or a beast, who was upon that devoted and offer'd up to God, and suffer'd in the room of the offending person. That by this oblation the punishment of the sin was laid upon the sacrifice, and an expiation thereby made for the sin. That these phrases in the old Testament whereby the sacrifices were said to be offer'd for the sin, or instead of sin, and in the name, or on the account of the sinner &c. are all to be apply'd to the death of Christ in the New Testament.*

But this is no more than what hath been affirmed by ¹ *Limbroch* (an Authour well known to, and in no small esteem with his Lordship) who allows that Christs death was a *sacrifice*; that in his sufferings there was a *permutation of persons*, he standing in our room and stead; that he took all the guilt of sinners upon himself, and suffered, *eorum loco*, in their place the *punishment* that was due to them. That the blood of Christ was the price of our redemption; that he was made *a Curse by undergoing an accursed death for us*; we sinned and he underwent that death which our sins had deserv'd. But all these pompous expressions

1. Christus fuit sacrificium verum ac proprie sic dictum pro peccatis nostris. Christus factus est maledictio pro nobis. Sanguis Christi fuit redemptionis pretium, quod pro nobis persolutum est. *lib. 3. cap. 20. 22.* Dominus Jesus impromeritum amorem erga peccatores testatur quod omnia eorum peccata in se transferat, eorumque poenas ipsorum loco pendat. *ibid. cap. 10.*

concerning the *expiatory virtue* of Christ's death, when he comes to explain his true sense of it, *in fumum abeunt*, vanish into the soft air and come to nothing.

For this *punishment* which Christ underwent for us, in the conclusion is found only to be *gravissima afflictio*, an affliction which was *pæna vicaria, quæ pæna vicem sustinuit*. And if this be all, then it is certain that his death was no proper sacrifice, but he was only reputed ' *tanquam piacularis victima*; and his oblation of himself was only *loco sacrificii*, and which did *sacrificii vices sustinere*. For in every true *expiatory sacrifice*, the *punishment* of the criminal was really transferr'd upon the man or beast that suffer'd in his room. But here in the death of Christ, there was something that look'd like a sacrifice, but not one truly so call'd; something that look'd like a punishment, but really and truly was only an affliction or calamity which he underwent for our sakes.

Now since the *atonement*, *reconciliation*, and *redemption* which our Saviour hath purchased for us, depends upon the nature of the *punishment* which he suffer'd, the *sacrifice* which he offer'd, and *price of our redemption* which he paid: if these are but *figurative and metaphorical*, all that is built upon them must be so too. So that all the benefits which we thought our Saviour by his death had procur'd for us, at length are, by this account, resolv'd into *fiction and figure*. Here was something that looked like an *expiation*, that resembled an *atonement*, that had the *likeness and appearance of a redemption*; but were not truly and properly such. So that, by this account, the sacrifice of Christ resembled those of the Law, where there was the *Image and shadow* of these good things, but not the *substance and reality*.

To proceed, his Lordship's exposition is deficient in the second place, that tho' he acknowledges the death of Christ to be a sacrifice, yet he doth not inform his Readers that

¹ So *Limb.* expresses it, and his blood was *tanquam redemptionis pretium*. Eod. cap.

thereby a *proper and perfect satisfaction* was made to the *justice* of God: this was in a manner as necessary to be inserted, in order to give us a clear and full information of the *redemption* of the world by the sufferings of Christ, as that those sufferings were truly a sacrifice and a punishment: because without this *satisfaction*, we despoil the sufferings of our Saviour of that great and *superlative dignity* with which hitherto they have been invested by the Christian Church, and thereby we weaken the *efficacy* of them and entirely overthrow *their merit*.

Now to assert the *internal and Almighty value* of the death of Christ, in which the *merit* of it doth consist, is as necessary, in a manner, as to declare that he died for us; and that with relation to God, our Saviour, and our selves. First with relation to God, and that whether we consider his *Honour*, or *Authority*, or lastly his *Justice*, which is the attribute that takes particular care of both, and therefore was principally regarded in this whole oeconomy.

It is confessed by his Lordship and by *Limb.* and the other Remonstr. *That it was not suitable to the Majesty of God as Governour of the world, nor to the Authority of his Laws, that pardon should be granted to sinners, except in such a way as might demonstrate the guilt of sin and God's implacable hatred of it.* Now this could not be done without a *punishment*, God's *hatred* being not to be effectually demonstrated but by it. For which reasons the *Rem.* and his Lordship will allow that it was not sufficient for Christ only to *dy for our good*, except he should likewise *dy in our room*; and endure either *punishment* or something that might be *like it*, and *instead of it*: so the *Rem.* shuffle and equivocate in this matter.

In general they allow the death of Christ to be a *sacrifice*, in which there was a *permutation of persons*, and a translation of *punishment*, which was necessary to compass the great ends before-mention'd, *viz.* the *securing the majesty*

majesty of God and vindicating the Honour of his Government; and as we must add, the appeasing his Justice which is the Attribute that takes care of his Laws and Honour. Now here we say, that not only a punishment, but an equivalent punishment was necessary, otherwise Justice would not have been fully satisfied: the dishonour cast upon God, by the violation of his Laws and contempt of his authority, could not have been fully vindicated, but this must have been perform'd by halves, by an imperfect punishment and an incomplete satisfaction.

It is true his *Lordship* hath other thoughts of God's Justice: for in his *Discourse of the death of Christ*, p. 42. where he handles this matter more largely, and expresses himself more openly and freely, he affirms, *that to say that Vindictive as well as Remunerating Justice is essential to God, is a speculation which the Scriptures do not lay before us; but is one of those metaphysical niceties which the Schoolmen and other writers of positive Divinity have laid down, in which the Scripture is absolutely silent.* But I am afraid, if we had time to examine this matter thoroughly, it would be found to be a dangerous position, which besides other inconveniences would be attended with this, *viz.* that, if believed, it would go a great way to overthrow God's providence, and to undermine all natural Religion, which is founded chiefly upon the belief, and fears consequent thereupon, that men by the light of reason have of God's punishing Justice.

But to wave that at present; this seems to be very plain, that if the death of Christ was not *equivalent* to the demerit of sin, that then the *hatred of God* against it, and his *indignation* against sinners would not have been so clearly demonstrated, as to have fill'd us with the greatest horror and amazement at it; and consequently would not have answer'd that great design, which by the confession of *Limb.* and his *Lordship*, God propos'd to himself in this wonderful dispensation; because other instances of Divine
vengeance.

vengeance might be produced which would be more amazing. Such as was the *punishment of the fallen Angels*, the *overthrow of the old world*, the *destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha by fire from Heaven* &c. in which the hatred of God against sin hath been displayed with greater evidence and a more amazing conviction, than in the sufferings of a *single man*, tho' honour'd with a *divine presence*, which conjunction added very little to the dignity of them; their whole *virtue and efficacy* together with the *satisfaction* founded in them, being in his *Lordship's* opinion entirely to be resolv'd into the *divine pleasure and appointment*, vid. Disc. p. 47.

2dly. As this account was necessary to be given with relation to God, so likewise with regard to our *blest Saviour*, because without it we rob him of the honour of being a *perfect Saviour*, and his sufferings of *that dignity and merit*, which hath always been ascrib'd to them by the Christian Church; who were always wont to recommend themselves to the mercies of God, thro' the *mediation* and *all-sufficient merits* of his Son. Now if the sufferings of Christ are truly *meritorious* of pardon, and I hope we do not prevaricate with God, or only pass a complement upon his Son, when in our addresses to Heaven we make use of that phrase; then there must be an equality *inter rem datam & acceptam*, between the pardon of sin and the punishment by which it was purchased; which was that *λύτρον*, the *price*, and if *meritorious*, it must be the *full and adequate price* of our redemption.

From hence it must follow, that *Justice* which demanded *punishment* is hereby fully and *perfectly satisfy'd*; which *satisfaction* (supposing God to allow of it, which allowance is absolutely necessary in this case) is founded in the *internal worth and dignity* of the sacrifice that was offer'd. On the other hand, if this *satisfaction* is to be resolv'd only into the *divine appointment*, then the *merit* of it is quite overthrown, and the *sacrifice* of our Saviour put upon the same

same level with the sacrifices of the old Testament, as to their *internal value*; because the *efficacy* of both of them, by this account, is owing only to the *external acceptance* of God: which how highly derogatory it is to the honour of our Saviour and the nobleness of his oblation appears at first view.

For at this rate we might say that it was *not possible for the blood of Christ to take away sin*; that it could not *purge the conscience from dead works*; if consider'd as to its *own* virtue and efficacy. 'Tis true it did so, but this was owing purely to the *divine appointment* and pleasure: and if God had *so pleased*, he might have accepted and been satisfy'd with the *blood of a beast* in compensation for that of a man; and then *in that case*, it might have been said that the *blood of a bull or a goat did take away sin, thoroughly purge the conscience*, and that *one such offering did perfect for ever those who were sanctify'd by it*.

These are strange positions, the very mention of which is enough to strike any Christian ear with horror and detestation; and yet they are consequences which unavoidably flow from that opinion which founds the *whole efficacy* of Christ's death in the *divine pleasure and appointment*. By which it sufficiently appears, that this is a very wrong, and not only so, but a very dangerous state of this matter. And yet as dangerous as it is, it is no more than what necessarily flows from that other notion, whereby the *divinity* of our Saviour is made to consist in a *divine presence and inhabitation*, because hereby the *Son of the Virgin* is made a *distinct person* from the *Son of God*, who was join'd to and dwelt in him. And if so, the *Son of the Virgin* who shed his blood upon the cross being but *a man*, (for he could be no more notwithstanding the indwelling of the Eternal word) it was not possible that his *punishment* (supposing that his death truly such) could be a *sufficient compensation* to the justice of God for the sins of the whole world.

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My Lord of Sarum's expressions both in his *Exposition* and *Disc.* plainly import a *distinction of persons* in our Saviour, and that it was only a man who died for our sins. In the *Exposition* he is represented as a good man, *who notwithstanding the indwelling of the Godhead in him, yet was capable of feeling vast pain in his body: nay to make him a complete sacrifice, he underwent great agonies in his mind, when those emanations of joy with which the indwelling of the Eternal word had ever before filled his soul, were quite withdrawn from him, p. 55.* In the *Discourse* more plainly; *that there was a divine person in whom dwelt the Eternal word, who after he had open'd his doctrine and set a pattern of perfect holyness to the world, was fallen upon by a company of cruel and perfidious men who in conclusion crucified him: he in the meantime bearing besides the visible sufferings in his body, inexpressible agonies in his mind, which he bore with an absolute resignation to his Fathers will, and a perfect charity to his persecutors. This was so pleasing to God, and so accepted by him, that he not only raised him from the dead, nay, exalted him on high, giving to him even as he was man, all power both in Heaven and Earth: but upon the account of it, he offer'd to the world the pardon of sins together with all other the blessings which accompany it in his Gospel.*

In this account here are several things that are liable to just and great exception; but that which I produce it for at present is to shew, that his Lordship is of opinion, that in our blessed Saviour we are to consider *two persons* as well as two natures; 1st. here was the *Eternal Word*; 2^{dly}. here was a *man*, styled expressly a *divine person*, not the same with the *Eternal Word* but one *distinct* from him, and in whom he vouchsafed to dwell; that is, here was a *presence* but no *real union*, as Nestorius formerly stated this matter.

This *Divine person*, honour'd indeed with a *Divine presence*, but still a meer man, a *humane person* died for us, enduring great pains in his body and inexpressible agonies in his mind, with a perfect charity to men, and an entire
resigna-

resignation to the will of God: this was so pleasing to God that upon the account of it he honour'd *this man even as such*, with all power in Heaven and Earth; which being *Infinite and Omnipotent*, one would think a *finite person* should not be capable of: but so it was according to this explication; in which *his Lordship* hath the joint suffrage and concurrence of *all the Socinians* in confirmation of his opinion: Together with *this power*, the pardon of sins is tender'd to the world, attended with all other the benefits of the new Covenant, which Christ hath purchas'd, by *his obedience* to the will of his Father; but yet so that the *whole efficacy* of it must (and according to the exposition cannot otherwise be accounted for) be resolv'd into the *divine pleasure and acceptance*.

But now on the other hand, when we ascribe this *Almighty virtue* to the death of Christ, which made it an *Equivalent ransom* for the redemption of the world, we are bound to affirm that this is owing to the *divine nature*, which was *substantially* united to the *humane* in which he suffer'd: the *person* who dyed for us being *God* as well as *Man*. So the *Fathers* assembled at *Ephesus* when they assert the *merit* of his sufferings against *Nestorius*, resolve it into the *personal union* of God and Man. It was *God* who suffer'd, and dyed, and therefore his sufferings were *Al sufficient*.

On the contrary, if the Eternal Word or Son of God was only *present with* and *dwelt* in Christ, then forasmuch as he must be but a *man* who dyed and shed his blood for us, (for inhabitation falls far short of a personal union) it was not possible that the death of this *humane person* could make a *full and perfect satisfaction*. For how could the life of a *single man* be equal in value to the lives of *all mankind* which were forfeited to Justice? If his sufferings were *satisfactory*, this *satisfaction* must be made to the *good will* and pleasure, and not to the *justice of God*, as the Socin. and Rem. state this matter. That is, God out of his singular
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grace and favour was pleas'd to accept of a *small* part instead of the *whole sum* that was due to him, with which he was *contented*, tho' it were but inconsiderable, and but a meer trifle in comparison of what he might have demanded.

But this account is highly derogatory to the *honour of our blessed Saviour*, as we have plainly shew'd: and infinitely *weakens the hopes and security* of us poor sinners, which was the third thing to be consider'd in this doctrine of the satisfaction. For our *security* is chiefly founded in this, that God is truly and *fully satisfied* by the death of Christ, so that if we perform the conditions of the New Covenant, we need not fear any obstruction to our pardon from the *threatnings of the Law*, or *demands of Justice*; for these are as *entirely satisfy'd* by the death of our Saviour (who was not only a *divine person* in whom the Eternal Word did vouchsafe to dwell, but *one and the same person* with him) as if all mankind had dy'd and thereby fallen a sacrifice to his displeasure. In short, his *anger is atoned*, his *wrath appeased*, his *Justice fully satisfy'd*, and God and man are now *perfectly reconciled*.

This was the constant opinion of the ancient Church. The Christians of the first ages had no other notion, but that he who was *their Saviour* was *their God*; because none who was less than he could accomplish the great work of their Salvation. And there were four things relating to this wonderful dispensation in which they did all agree, and which they constantly maintain'd against all the Enemies of their Saviour.

First, That the great end of his coming into the world was that he might be a *sacrifice for sin*, and thereby atone the displeasure and *satisfy* the Justice of his Father, and reconcile him to mankind, who were obnoxious to his indignation, both upon the account of *original guilt* and their *actual sins*.

2dly, That this *Atonement and Satisfaction* was made by his

his undergoing the *punishment* which was due to our sins. The Law threatned death to the transgressors of it, which therefore must be executed one way or other. Either the *criminal* must dy or some person for him. And this our Saviour did by standing in our room and stead, and enduring not only an *affliction* or *calamity*, but a *proper punishment*. For he suffer'd what the Law threatned; and what is executed in pursuance of that sanction must be properly a punishment, or else we can have no notion of it.

3dly, That this *satisfaction* thus made was *perfect* and *complete*, the punishment which he underwent being *adequate* to the whole demerit of sin.

This was particularly insisted on by the orthodox in opposition to *Nestorius*, and by which they refuted his impious opinion concerning our Saviour. 'How could the death of a meer man, say they, be equivalent to the sins of the whole world? This was a thing that was taken for granted on all hands. And therefore they make use of it as a *principle* and *medium* to prove the *Divinity* of Christ. They argue, I say, from it, and the argument is taken *ab absurdo*: because the denial of that would be attended with this mischievous consequence, *viz.* that the death of Christ neither was, nor could be a *sufficient ransom*, because not *equal* to the punishment of mankind.

That it was so, that the blood of Christ was ἡ ἀπάντων ζωῆς ἀντάξιον; that his death had ἀνταλωπύουσαν ἀξίαν τῷ πλήθει τῶ ἑσπερίου; was an opinion current among all Christians, not doubted of, and much less deny'd by the *Nestorian Hereticks* themselves, who did not proceed so far in opposition to our Saviour as to disparage the dignity and weaken

Ἰ Πῶς δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸ πάντων ἀπέναντι, ὁ πάντων ἀντάξιος, ἢ ἀπλῶς πρὸς ἀνθρώπου νοεῖται τὸ πάθος. ἢ μὲν ἄνθρωπος νοεῖται κοινός, πῶς ἀντάξιον ἢ ἀπάντων ζωῆς τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ. πῶς τῶς πάντι τῷ Χριστῷ τὰ τοσαῦτα καταδωμάτα; πῶς ἐγένοντο δυνάμεις; πῶς ἀναρρίπτει θανάτῳ ὁ θάνατος, εἰ μὴ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἰδίῳ ἐποίησεν. So *Theod. of Ancyr.* and *St. Cyril* argue against *Nestorius* in the Council of *Ephesus*.

the efficacy of his sufferings as the *Socinians* and *Remonstr.* have done. This was indeed the necessary consequence of their opinion, but never deliver'd by them in direct terms. But times are alter'd and with them opinions likewise. What was accounted *absurd* in those earlier ages, is by many reputed *Orthodox* in ours: and what was then look'd upon to be an *important and sacred truth*, is now ridicul'd and expos'd under the contemptible name of the *doctrine of Equivalents*.

4thly, That since our Saviour made such a full and *complete satisfaction*, it was a clear proof of his *Divinity*. For how could the sufferings of *one man* be equal to the punishment, and thereby satisfy the justice of God for the sins of *all mankind*? The sufferings of Christ did so indeed, and this was an argument of their *superlative* worth and vertue; but their dignity was owing to the *Divine nature* which was united to the *Humane*. ὁ θάνατος ὁ χρεῖς τὴν διώκαμιν; πᾶν χρεῖς τὴν ἰσχύϊ τῶν ποσῶν κατὰρτημάτων ἐκ πότη; ὁ ἔλαβεν. It was *God that dyed*, and then 'tis no wonder that he should lay down such a price as was not only equal to our guilt, ἀλλὰ ἀξίαν ἔχων ἃ πάσις ψήφοις ὑπερέχουσιν, but which did by many degrees exceed it. For the doctrine not only of *Equivalents*, but of *superabundants*, was the current opinion of the Ancient Church. His Lordship indeed hath very different apprehensions of things from those Ancients. For in his Disc. p. 42. he tells us, *That to affirm that a person of an infinite nature was only capable of acts of infinite value, and that such a one was necessary for the expiation of sin, is one of those metaphysical speculations that the Scripture doth not set before us.* And in his Letter to Bp. Williams, p. 91. *The doctrine of equivalents is reckon'd among the niceties of the Schoolmen: a matter not revealed in Scripture; no part of the doctrine of our Church, which rests only in the general notion of expiation and reconciling us to God.* That Grotius managed the controversy meerly in order to

1 Sic Theod. Ancy. apud Conc. Eph.

assert the expiatory vertue of this sacrifice, without insisting on those metaphysical niceties and notions which had been introduc'd into it by *Anselm*, it seems, in the end of the 12th Century; with which the Primitive Church was not acquainted.

Who would not now imagine when he reads these passages and finds his *Lordship* so positive and peremptory in his affirmations, but that these things are just as he represents them. And yet upon examination the reader will find the quite contrary to be true. That *Grotius* when he asserted the expiatory vertue of Christ's death, intended such an expiation as is perform'd by a plenary and perfect satisfaction made, not only to the will, but to the Justice of God, and therefore cites *Anselm* and *Arnoldus* in confirmation of his doctrine; and their notion of expiation was, that it was made by a payment of the whole debt: for they say our Saviour *totius debiti summam reddidit, & plus quam debetur*. So that tho' the guilt of sin did abound, the grace of Christ, and the merit of his sufferings did superabound.

'Tis true the Schoolmen introduc'd many niceties into Religion, which the Scriptures do not lay before us, and with which the Ancient Fathers were not acquainted. But that this of an equivalent satisfaction is one of them we constantly deny. It was always believ'd by the Primitive Church, and is the known doctrine of ours. Nay they both declare it to be not only a truth, but so important and necessary a truth, that without it we can have neither the faith, nor hope, nor deserve the name of true Christians.

Thus St. Cyril in a Sermon preached publickly by him at Ephesus, tells his Auditors in the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 6. 20. That we are bought with a price; not with corruptible things, such as silver and gold, but *τιμῷ αἵματι*, with the precious blood of Christ, 1 Pet. c. 1. v. 18. The preciousness of which he makes, as we heard before, to consist in this, that it was *ἰσὺς ὁμοῦς ἀντιτίμου*, of equal value to the whole world. Those

1 Vid. Conc. Ephes. par. 2. Act. 1.

who

who deny this, as the *Nestorians* by consequence did, by disowning Christ's true divinity, he styles *παιδιά ἀπωλείας*, Children of perdition, a seed of falshood, *οἱ τὸ ἀρροασάμεναι αὐτὸς διαπρότεω ἀρνέωμεναι*, who denied the Lord that bought them. For to deny the dignity and value of that price by which they were purchased was, in his esteem, the same as to deny that they were redeem'd and bought by Christ. And in his 'Epist. to *Valerian*. he repeats what he had upon all other occasions declared, that the death of Christ could not be a *sufficient expiation* except it were *God* that dyed for our sins. And if he were not *God* that suffer'd, how could *God* be said to be born and to be incarnate? and if he were neither born nor dyed for us, *αἶχε*) δὴ ἔν τὸ Χριστιανῶν μυστήριον, καὶ μεματαιώται λοιπὸν ἡ τῶ σωτηρίας ἐλπίς. Then there is an end put to the great mystery of our Salvation, and to all our hopes of it, which are hereby entirely subverted. This was the common Faith of all good Christians in those early days, and so up to the times of the Apostles, and from thence down to ours; and particularly declar'd by our ² Church.

And thus at length we have brought to a conclusion what was thought fit to be said by way of Examination of the *Exposition* of the *second Article* of our Religion by my Lord of *Sarum*, which 'tis to be hoped, will appear sufficient to justify, in part, that charge which was brought against his Book by the *Lower House* of Convocation: viz. *That it was so far from being a just Exposition, that it contain'd many things contrary to the Articles themselves and other receiv'd doctrines of the Church of England*. The Examination therefore of what is said upon this and the other Articles by his Lordship, becomes a duty necessarily incumbent upon the Members of the *Lower House* for several reasons.

¹ Ibid. par. 3. cap. 40. ² See the first Sermon concerning the Salvation of mankind, and the third part, where the sense of our Church is plainly and fully declared.

1st. A general accusation brought by them against an eminent Prelate without the mention of specialties, may bring them likewise under a charge of *scandal and defamation*. It is requisite therefore that they should make good their *Exceptions*, not only by producing particular passages, but likewise by offering those arguments and proofs upon which the exceptions were grounded.

Again: There are several other persons who may think themselves concern'd in this matter, who, as his *Lordship* tells us in the Preface, which is farther ' confirm'd since by one of his friends, *solicited him to this undertaking: and after he had prepar'd this work he communicated his papers to several persons of great judgment and integrity, and at last publish'd them with the most deliberate care and caution.* This being so, those other *Learned Divines*, as well as his *Lordship*, may reasonably expect satisfaction; who by their *solicitation* to have this work undertaken before-hand, and *approbation* of it afterwards, may think themselves included in this charge.

Lastly: 'Tis said, ² *That the greatest prejudices are against the writer and not against the work; that the attempt against his Book was a poor matter of disgust, which was unbecoming so great a Body as the Lower House, and which in conclusion would reflect upon none but themselves.* All this is said with great assurance, but with as little regard to *truth* as there is to the *reputation* of that Assembly, which is thus uncharitably reflected upon. But when all is done, the truth and justice of this charge must be left to the judgment of all impartial Readers, who after they have *carefully and calmly* compar'd what is, or shall be said on both sides, without *passion* and *prejudice*, will then be sure to shew their approbation or dislike of the *Exposition*, as they shall find just reason.

But the *judicial and final determination* of this case, must be reserved for that place where the accusation first began, and

1 History of the Convocation p. 220. 2 Ibid. & p. 209.

that is the *whole Convocation* : (I mean if it be thought advisable that this work should undergo any other and more publick Examination.) And when that is once passed, it will have this effect, that it will either end in the *Conviction* of all parties, or at least *silence* all farther debates about this matter.

F I N I S.

